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THE NAVAL OUTLOOK

Recent debates in Parliament and discussions of the naval situation have undoubtedly been of service in quieting public anxiety, clearing away misapprehensions, and enabling a fairer appreciation to be made, both of existing conditions and of the outlook in the immediate future. The First Lord of the Admiralty has admitted in the House of Commons that the forecast of possible German progress in shipbuilding put forward by him in March 1909 has not been realised. Mr. McKenna, on the occasion when this admission was made, explained in considerable detail the reasons which led him two years ago to make the statement which caused a 'scare' throughout the Empire. At that time the writer challenged the accuracy of the forecast in the pages of this Review, expressed his belief that the German Admiralty would have a heavy task laid upon them in carrying out their great shipbuilding programme, and anticipated the improbability of any acceleration in its execution. It is not, however, for the purpose of showing that the view then taken by him was correct, that these incidents are recalled; his sole desire is to emphasise the necessity for calm consideration when dealing with the

vital question of the sufficiency or otherwise of the naval strength of Great Britain. Hasty conclusions, much less any approach to panic, must be avoided, if naval programmes are to be wisely framed and the continued maintenance of British sea-supremacy assured. Nothing can be gained by attributing to rivals rates of relative progress which will not be realised, or which responsible authorities of foreign navies declare they do not contemplate attempting. It would, of course, be simple madness to take risks which can be avoided; in all cases of doubt our true policy is to err in excess rather than in defect. On the other hand, a waste of the national resources is involved if expenditure is allowed to exceed the amount which will secure an ample margin of power against all probable combinations of foreign fleets. There is an upper limit of taxable capacity even for the wealthiest nation.

It scarcely seems credible to-day that two years ago writers, claiming to be well-informed, were loudly declaring that, unless eight Dreadnoughts were laid down 'in the next few months,' and 'pushed on night and day,' our 'naval supremacy was doomed'; and that 'our national life, our Imperial existence would be worth little more than two years' purchase.' At that time also leading and responsible politicians asserted that Germany would have thirteen completed Dreadnoughts (battleships and cruisers) available for service in April 1911, as against twelve British ships of similar types. Mr. McKenna himself said that Germany at that date might have nine such ships against our twelve. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of June 1911 twelve British Dreadnoughts were completed and in full commission; two others had finished their trials in March and April, and could be brought into service immediately in case of emergency. Germany has five ships of similar types in commission, and four other ships which are practically finished, the official dates for their completion falling in June and August 1911. Two more German ships are expected to be ready in April 1912, by which date the Royal Navy will have been strengthened by six other powerful battleships and armoured cruisers, making our total of completed Dreadnoughts twenty as against eleven German ships of corresponding type. The contrast between this comparison and the alarmist predictions of April 1909 may be allowed to speak for itself.

The creation of a modern fleet by Germany during the last ten years, and the rapid rise of her relative naval power, are undoubtedly events of first-rate importance in connexion with the determination of the proper standard of strength for the British Navy. At present Germany and the United States of America may be regarded as practically equal to one another in respect of 'capital ships'—that is to say, ships suitable for employment as

units in fleets. During the last four years German programmes for new capital ships have been twice as great as American programmes; and this fact will necessarily produce in the immediate future a superiority in numbers of German capital ships. German Navy laws have also been more comprehensive and systematic in the provision made for cruisers, destroyers, and other subordinate (but important) classes of war-vessels; and this difference will add to German superiority. France has abandoned the attempt to maintain the second place she so long held amongst the great maritime Powers; and Germany has attained that position by means of an enormous and well-directed effort. British naval programmes must, therefore, be largely influenced by what Germany is doing or proposes to do, and account must be taken of possible combinations in which Germany may play the leading part. In these circumstances, much attention has naturally been devoted of late to the growing naval strength of the Triple Alliance; and particularly to new departures in the construction of Dreadnoughts for the Austro-Hungarian and Italian navies. Comparisons have been made with the combined naval force which Germany, Italy, and Austria will possess when Austrian and Italian battleships—which are now in process of construction or about to be laid down—are completed. The writer has already recorded in these pages his belief that the Italian Navy will never be found arrayed against the British Navy. It is a matter of common knowledge to readers of Austrian and Italian journals that recent shipbuilding programmes are regarded in these two countries rather as rival efforts than as contributions to combined action against a third Power. There has been open acknowledgment by responsible persons of the probability of concerted action between the fleets of Austro-Hungary and Germany in case of war with Great Britain, but no corresponding declarations have been made in Italy, nor are they likely to be made. Of course, the opinions of private individuals count for little in regard to such matters of high policy, since Governments alone can possess trustworthy information. It will therefore be understood that although Italy has been included in some of the hypothetical anti-British combinations made hereafter, the assumption is adopted solely for statistical purposes.

Notwithstanding the recent and disastrous failures of prophets of evil, a school of writers still exists whose pleasure it is to magnify unduly the relative power of the German Navy, as well as the progress of that fleet relatively to the Royal Navy. This school asserts that there still looms in the future a 'critical year,' when our pride of place will be lost, unless heroic efforts are made without delay. For the moment the year 1915, when the existing alliance between Great Britain and Japan will terminate, and the

Panama and North Sea canals will probably have been completed, is selected for the coming crisis. In the interval it is supposed that most warships of the pre-Dreadnought types will have become practically worthless for fighting purposes. The British Navy is admitted to be at present relatively very strong in 'pre-Dreadnoughts,' but is considered to be comparatively weak in Dreadnoughts; and it is contended that, as a consequence of the wholesale and rapid disappearance of pre-Dreadnoughts from the Effective List of the Royal Navy during the next four years, there will necessarily occur a serious reduction in our relative strength as compared with possible combinations of foreign fleets. If these views were correct it would undoubtedly follow that prompt action would be necessary, although even then there would be no ground for anxiety in view of our unrivalled resources for building warships. But the writer is of opinion that the present conditions, and the outlook in the immediate future, furnish no justification whatever for these forebodings, and will endeavour to justify that opinion by a summary of the facts recently made available on good authority respecting the existing naval situation. These facts are drawn for the most part from the Dilke Parliamentary Return for 1911, and the new volume of Brassey's Naval Annual, both of which have been published within the last few weeks. Naval Estimates for 1911-12 are also now available for all the principal maritime countries, and in many cases their introduction has been accompanied by important official statements. Where the Dilke Return has failed to give information, recourse has been had to Brassey's facts and figures; but in many cases the writer has preferred to employ trustworthy information personally obtained from other sources. For ships whose construction is, as yet, only projected, the known particulars for the latest types building for the same navy have been assumed to hold good for their successors. This assumption may hereafter need to be corrected; its temporary adoption cannot sensibly affect the broad conclusions which are drawn hereafter in regard to effective 'capital' ships which the navies compared now possess or are likely to possess in 1915. It is not a case in which practical importance attaches to a few hundreds of tons or horse-power, or to exact accuracy in the numbers and calibres of guns. Without question it may be assumed that the 'capital' ships laid down for each navy in any year are intended to be at least individually equal in fighting power to their possible rivals. Hence it follows that, so far as modern *matériel* is concerned, the really important comparison must be that of numbers of ships; and in that section of the comparisons made there is fortunately accurate information available for both completed ships and ships building, or projected up to the present time. There is also little room for doubt or disagreement in

regard to the period of construction for 'capital' ships which may yet be laid down; so that it is possible to fix with close approximation the latest dates at which ships must be commenced if they are to be available for service in 1915.

In the following tabular statements particulars are given for completed 'capital' ships—battleships and armoured cruisers—at present appearing in the Effective Navy Lists of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Italy. Dreadnoughts—that is to say, 'capital' ships built since the advent of H.M.S. *Dreadnought* in 1905—and pre-Dreadnoughts are dealt with separately. Austria and Italy have no Dreadnoughts completed. It should be explained that in dealing with the armaments, guns of 9.2-in. calibre and above are classed as 'heavy,' those from 8.2-in. to 4-in. as 'secondary.' This grouping tells against rather than in favour of British armaments, but more detailed comparisons cannot be made within the available limits of space. The totals for aggregate displacements and horse-powers are given in round figures:

'*Capital*' *Ships*, 1911.

(Battleships and Armoured Cruisers.)

	Ships	Displacement (tons)	Horse-power	Gun Armaments: Heavy	Gun Armaments: Secondary
Great Britain—					
Dreadnoughts	12	222,000	356,000	112	188
Pre-Dreadnoughts	74	996,000	1,394,000	280	832
Totals	86	1,218,000	1,750,000	392	1,020

NOTE.—Two other Dreadnoughts are practically finished, and could be used in an emergency. Eight vessels of the *Royal Sovereign* class are excluded.

	Ships	Displacement (tons)	Horse-power	Heavy	Secondary
Germany—					
Dreadnoughts	9	180,000	296,000	100	108
Pre-Dreadnoughts	31	354,000	538,000	98	454
Totals	40	534,000	834,000	198	562

NOTE.—Four Dreadnoughts are included which are just completing: also two pre-Dreadnoughts which are as old as, and much less powerful than, the Royal Sovereigns.

	Ships	Displacement (tons)	Horse-power	Heavy	Secondary
Austria } Pre-Dreadnoughts	15	133,000	230,000	73	177
Italy } Pre-Dreadnoughts	19	187,000	330,000	47	258

NOTE.—The Italian battleship *Sicilia* laid down before the Royal Sovereigns is included in the totals.

	Ships	Displacement (tons)	Horse-power	Heavy	Secondary
Germany and Austria—					
Dreadnoughts	9	180,000	296,000	100	108
Pre-Dreadnoughts	46	487,000	768,000	171	631
Totals	55	667,000	1,064,000	271	739
Triple Alliance—					
Dreadnoughts	9	180,000	296,000	100	108
Pre-Dreadnoughts	65	674,000	1,098,000	218	889
Totals	74	854,000	1,394,000	318	997

Readers can hardly fail after perusing these comparisons to endorse the opinion expressed above, and to be convinced that an ample margin of power exists at the present moment in 'capital' ships of both Dreadnought and pre-Dreadnought classes.

The Coronation Review at Spithead should furnish additional evidence of the satisfactory position at present occupied by the Royal Navy. Their Majesties the King and Queen, as well as thousands of their faithful subjects, on that occasion saw an assemblage of fifty-seven British 'capital' ships, including the twelve completed Dreadnoughts for which particulars are given above. There were also present forty-five pre-Dreadnoughts, having an aggregate displacement tonnage of 630,000 tons, engines capable of developing 900,000 horse-power, and armed with nearly 200 heavy guns and 470 secondary guns. As a simple matter of fact, not in any spirit of vain boasting, it may be claimed that this fleet surpassed in power that which would be formed if it were possible to bring together all the completed 'capital' ships on the Navy Lists of Germany and Austria. In the Dreadnought class there is a marked superiority; in the pre-Dreadnoughts an even greater preponderance of power, as will be obvious from a comparison of the figures just given with those stated in the preceding tables for Germany and Austria. When it is remembered that this great fleet was assembled at Spithead in honour of the Coronation and for inspection by his Majesty without any withdrawal of ships from foreign stations, or interruption of ordinary repairs to the fleet, and that behind it there are twenty-nine completed and effective 'capital' ships none of which is twenty years old, it may be hoped that this splendid display, in addition to fulfilling its primary purpose, will also serve to set the public mind at rest, and will sweep away the effect of the persistent agitation and unreasonable pessimism which have prevailed in recent years.

Turning to the consideration of the probable condition of affairs in the newly selected year of anticipated naval 'crisis' it is proposed to ascertain: (1) What is the probable number of new 'capital' ships which will be completed on the 1st of April 1915; and (2) What is the number of ships now reckoned as effective which will probably have been struck off the Effective Lists by that date?

Before dealing with ships now building, or projected, in current Naval Estimates, it is necessary to take into account the periods which will be occupied in their construction. So far as Germany and Great Britain are concerned, that subject was dealt with exhaustively by the writer last December in the pages of this Review. The conclusions then stated have been confirmed by statements made recently in the House of Commons by the First

Lord of the Admiralty; and it must suffice to restate them briefly. British battleships and armoured cruisers of the largest dimensions are produced in from twenty-four to twenty-seven months, reckoning from the date of order to the date of delivery of ships by contractors in readiness for immediate commissioning. The speed trials and gunnery trials required by contracts usually take place some months before delivery, the period which intervenes after these trials are finished being utilised in the opening-up and examination of machinery and in completing details of structure and fittings. In case of emergency, when the trials of a ship have been completed satisfactorily, she might be brought into service. In Germany the period of construction for 'capital' ships—from date of order to date of commissioning—has been thirty months as a minimum and about thirty-five months on the average: the contract trials have been commenced at dates varying from twenty-six to thirty-three months from the date of order, averaging about thirty months. Consequently the average difference in the periods of construction in the two countries has been about eight months, and that difference is in favour of British ships. In these pages and elsewhere the writer has repeatedly insisted that the critical dates for warships are those of *completion*, and not those when ships are ordered or laid down: and that view is evidently correct. On the basis of past experience, therefore, a British ship which is laid down about eight months later than a German ship will be ready for service at or about the same time. This has happened repeatedly during recent years; British ships which have been ordered late in a particular financial year have been completed as soon as, or sooner than, German ships ordered quite early in the same financial year. This difference of practice should be understood; because critics are fond of comparing the numbers of ships ordered or laid down, while ignoring the more rapid construction of British ships. The critics are also fond of forecasting what *might* be done in the way of more rapid construction if the German Government so desired. What requires to be realised—more especially after the regrettable incidents of 1909—is that German programmes of shipbuilding are embodied in Navy laws, and are always accompanied by detailed financial statements in which the incidence of expenditure for the several financial years is indicated. These Estimates are, of course, based on an intended rate of construction; and if that rate were accelerated the Estimates would have to be revised. Positive proof has now been given, and the fact has been officially recognised by British Ministers, that there has been no sensible acceleration of the execution of the German programme. There have also been repeated declarations, official and semi-official, that there is no intention on the part of the German Admiralty to accelerate its execution. In these circumstances it

is worse than foolish for British writers and speakers to make assertions to the contrary, or to dwell on what Germany might do. Our concern is with what Germany is doing or proposing to do, and in that regard the Navy Laws speak plainly. It is to be hoped, therefore, that there will be an end to these baseless and irritating charges of secret acceleration in the construction of German warships.

Happily, there has been a prospect recently of a better condition of affairs. Sir Edward Grey, in the House of Commons (on the 13th of March), said:—

> I have always held that frank exchange of information between the two Governments through their naval attachés would guard against surprise. It would convince each nation and the world that neither was trying to steal a march upon the other and it would have a pacific effect.

A few weeks later Mr. Arthur Lee returned to the subject in the course of a discussion on the Navy Estimates, and endeavoured to ascertain the exact nature of the information it is proposed to exchange. In the opinion of Mr. Lee the exchange 'would be of little value unless the standard [of naval strength] of both countries was understood.' In reply Mr. McKenna said that he was not informed how far the negotiations had gone, but did not imagine that they 'would include the exchange of information which could go beyond what was ordinarily stated in the House.' This is a perfectly reasonable course in the circumstances, and it cannot fail to have been noted that on many occasions recently the First Lord of the Admiralty, in answer to questions respecting German shipbuilding, has made direct allusion to 'official dates' of completion for certain German ships, and has said respecting others that he had no official information. The important matter (as was said previously) is for us to know when it is intended to have German ships ready for service. In regard to the standard of strength decided on for the German fleet there never has been any secret: the Navy Laws have made that clear to the world. Further development may take place, of course, and Germany will be within its right in taking whatever course may be considered necessary in the interests of the Empire. It may be anticipated from precedents that any change which may be decided upon will be announced and embodied in Navy Estimates. The duty of the British Government, and the definite resolution of the British people, is that our naval force shall never be allowed to fall below the standard which will make it adequate for the fulfilment of its essential duty—the maintenance of our supremacy at sea. In the fulfilment of that condition the Admiralty should find no difficulty, provided they have accurate information in regard to

the numbers and dates of completion of the ships to be laid down by Germany and other Powers. The proposed exchange of information will assist greatly in that particular. That this step is likely to be taken is a matter for natural congratulation, and is especially satisfactory to the writer. At the height of the scare in 1909 he made a suggestion in that sense, and may be permitted now to make a brief quotation from what was then said in these pages (*Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1909):

> Surely there can be no reason for hiding or attempting to hide information as to the dates at which warships are ordered or laid down or the proposed dates of completion. The German Navy Acts really contain this kind of information so far as the intended programme is concerned. If, for any reason, changes in that programme should be made, although there is no obligation on the part of the German Admiralty to make the facts known, there would undoubtedly be less chance of suspicion of ulterior purposes or possible intentions to accelerate progress, if changes of plan were made openly.

It may be added that the difficulties which have arisen and which are now, it may be hoped, to be partially removed, are the direct consequence of action taken by the British Admiralty in 1905. When the *Dreadnought* and *Invincible* were ordered there was loud and repeated advertisement of the necessity for secrecy in regard to these novel designs. Parliament was refused particulars, avowedly 'in the public interest.' Naturally Germany followed this lead, and abandoned its previous practice of freely publishing particulars of new warships when they were commenced. It is not for us to complain, therefore, if the German authorities prefer to continue the game we taught them; and undoubtedly they play it well. The writer hopes to live to see the day when an earlier and better practice will be restored and information freely interchanged; his experience of both systems having convinced him that the policy of professed secrecy is provocative and practically useless.

Keeping in mind the foregoing general considerations, and particularly the fact that the period of construction for British warships has hitherto averaged about eight months less than the corresponding period for German ships, we will next deal with the question of additions likely to be made before April 1915 to the ranks of Dreadnoughts in the four navies which have been considered. For British ships it will be seen that all vessels which may be effectively ordered on or before the 1st of April 1913, should be available for service two years later. For German ships, if built at the rate hitherto adopted, the orders for the latest of those which are to be available in April 1915 should be placed about August 1912—that is, in the next financial year. At the present time fourteen capital ships are building and completing for the

Royal Navy, the cost of one of these being borne by New Zealan An armoured cruiser is also being built for the Australian Nav making a total of fifteen 'capital' ships which will be available the naval defence of the Empire. Obviously the undertaking employ the *New Zealand* and *Australia* on the China an Australian stations can in no way separate them from the wor hitherto devolving on and performed by the British Navy. It not necessary to deal at length with the statement that becau these cruisers are to serve in Far Eastern waters they must b excluded from estimates of our naval strength. The narrowne of the conception of a naval war being limited to European wate is indisputable; the fact that six large German armoured cruise were demanded and authorised in 1906 on the ground that the were necessary for the protection of German interests on dista stations, and the further fact that some vessels of the class—whic in the preceding comparisons have been reckoned amongst avai able 'capital' ships—are now actually serving in the Far Eas furnish a complete answer to the argument advanced. It will b assumed therefore that all fifteen 'capital' ships now building fo the Royal and Australian Navies must be taken into account i estimating our war strength. Official particulars for many o these ships, as well as for the latest German ships, are lacking but the figures given below will be sufficiently near the truth fo the present purpose. Any inaccuracies therein will not affect th broad comparison of relative force, since there is no doubt abou the numbers of ships building and projected for the several navies Germany had eight Dreadnoughts building at the beginning o this financial year; Austria and Italy have each four Dreadnought building or about to be built. Authentic information is availabl for the Austrian and Italian vessels. In the following tabl appears a summary which may be of interest, but does not profes to be exact except as to numbers of ships:

Dreadnoughts Building and Completing.

(April 1911.)

	Ships	Displacement (tons)	Horse-power	Gun Armaments	
				Heavy	Secondary
Great Britain and Australia	15	340,000	600,000	140	300
Germany	8	200,000	300,000	90	100
Austria	4	80,000	100,000	48	48
Italy	4	85,000	110,000	51	74

NOTE.—Two of the Austrian vessels are not yet begun, althou their construction has been authorised.

All the vessels mentioned in the table will be available fo service before April 1915. It is highly improbable, however

that either Austria or Italy, in view of financial considerations, can complete any other 'capital' ships by that date. Germany will lay down this year four more Dreadnoughts; five others will be begun for the Royal Navy. The designs for these vessels may not yet be finally determined, but all of them will be on service before 1915. Germany can also finish by April 1915 any 'capital' ships which are ordered up to August 1912 without increasing her ordinary rate of construction. Under the provisions of the Navy Law of 1908 only two 'capital' ships are proposed to be laid down in the next financial year, and if these are laid down early in the financial year the total number of completed German Dreadnoughts will be twenty-three in April 1915. A larger number may be ordered, although the most recent reports indicate that this is not likely to happen. This is obviously a case where we must 'wait and see.' When German Navy Estimates for 1912-13 appear, their contents must necessarily affect the contemporary British programme. According to precedent the German Estimates will be presented towards the end of this year; so that the facts as to numbers of German ships to be begun next year will be public property before a decision has to be made respecting the corresponding number of ships to be included in the British Navy Estimates for 1912-13. As above explained, all the British ships ordered in that financial year can be completed within two years and be available before 1915. It would also be possible, if required, to add to our force of Dreadnoughts available for service in April 1915 any ships begun in April 1913. The position in 1915 will therefore stand as follows: Great Britain will have thirty-two completed vessels (including the *Australia*); in addition she can have ready for service all the new ships which may be included in the Navy Estimates for 1912-13, and any ships ordered in 1913-14 provided their construction is commenced in April 1913. Germany will have twenty-three completed vessels, including two to be laid down in 1912-13 under the Navy Law of 1908, plus any other vessels that may be laid down next year. Austria and Italy will each have four Dreadnoughts in service. Having regard to our enormous warship-building resources and relatively rapid rate of production, it is clear that no cause whatever for anxiety need exist in regard to the condition of affairs in 1915. When requirements have been ascertained at the close of the present year the necessary provision can be made in our new Navy Estimates; and, without any special effort, all the ships which may be required can be made ready for service in good time.

Those persons who fear the occurrence of a crisis in 1915 and urge the necessity for large immediate additions to the Royal

Navy appear to have proceeded on the following lines: For the Triple Alliance they have included in the list of 'capital' sh available for service in 1915 all the German Dreadnoughts n building or completed, the four new vessels to be laid down tl year, and at least two to be commenced next year; so makin total of twenty-three ships. The addition of the eight ships Austria and Italy makes a grand total of thirty-one Dre noughts. On the side of Great Britain the total correspondi total has been given as thirty, and has apparently been reach by making two assumptions: first, the two great cruisers n building for Australia and at the cost of New Zealand have r been reckoned in our effective strength; secondly, no account h been taken of British ships which may be ordered in 1912-13 a can certainly be completed by April 1915, or of the possibility having also ready at that date ships which may be begun in Ap 1913. As these assumptions are erroneous, it follows that t predictions of a coming crisis in 1915 based upon them have foundation so far as Dreadnoughts are concerned.

Moreover, it is absurd to assume, as has been done, that or Dreadnoughts ought to be counted in estimates of relative na strength; or that pre-Dreadnoughts must and will disappear fr the effective lists of war fleets within the next five years. The is, of course, an 'age-limit' for warships; and for every ship whether styled Dreadnought, super-Dreadnought, or pre-Dres nought—a time will come when she will be struck off the Effecti List, not because she is worn out, but because the responsil authorities decide that her period of useful service has ende The German Navy Law does not contemplate the wholes scrapping of pre-Dreadnoughts. On the contrary, it conte plates the inclusion of a large number of 'capital' ships these types in the establishment of fifty-eight 'capita ships which is the standard of strength at present adopt for 1920. The official 'age-limit' for 'capital' ships was fixed 1900 at twenty-five years for battleships and twenty years for lar cruisers; in 1908 it was reduced to twenty years for all 'capita ships. That period is reckoned from the beginning of the fina cial year in which the first instalment for the cost of a new sh was provided; and the law requires that the construction of t 'substitute ship' for each vessel approaching the limit shall undertaken at such a time that the substitute shall be ready f service before the vessel whose place she takes is struck off t Effective List.

In dealing with probable removals of pre-Dreadnoughts fro the Effective Lists of the four navies—with which question are at present concerned—it will therefore be desirable to ado

the German formula and to apply it generally. This procedure yields the following result:

Effective Pre-Dreadnoughts.
(April 1915).

	Ships	Displacement. (tons)	Horse-power	Gun Armaments Heavy	Gun Armaments Secondary
Great Britain	65	860,000	1,800,000	244	724
Germany	29	335,000	520,000	86	446
Austria	11	112,000	190,000	61	149
Italy	15	156,000	275,000	43	192

The oldest ships included in the British list are the six vessels of the *Canopus* class, the first of which were laid down late in the financial year 1896-7. In the German list the five vessels of the *Kaiser* class which were laid down in 1895-8, and the armoured cruiser *Fürst Bismarck*, laid down in 1896, are also included. No one can deny that the German group is distinctly inferior to the *Canopus* class in dimensions as well as in offensive and defensive power. In dealing with the Austrian and Italian navies care has been taken also to make no under-estimate of the ships which are taken as still effective in 1915.

Another fact worth mentioning is that the construction of about two-thirds of these British pre-Dreadnoughts—including twenty-seven powerful armoured cruisers—has fallen within the present century. It is obviously absurd to treat such ships as obsolete or requiring replacement at an early date because later types have been devised.

The outlook is not equally satisfactory when attention is directed to the cruiser class of the Royal Navy, whose special functions in time of war would include scouting for fleets and the protection of oversea commerce and communications. As to the necessity and importance attaching to the proper performance of these functions the teachings of history are clear and unmistakable. Modern developments of propulsive apparatus, wireless telegraphy and other details of warship equipment, important as they are, have not touched the fundamental principle that *special classes of cruisers* are necessary, and that *large numbers* are essential to success. Some persons have maintained, and still hold, the opinion that armoured cruisers, even in moderate numbers, would speedily sweep the sea clear of smaller protected cruisers, and that the day of the latter is therefore ended. To this argument may be opposed certain facts of experience: (1) The ocean is a very big place in which it is not easy to discover commerce-destroyers; (2) in the past the existence of more powerful types has not rendered smaller and less powerful types unnecessary or useless, and is unlikely to do so in future.

Up to 1904 the action of successive Admiralties had given to the Royal Navy a splendid force of protected cruisers, which then

numbered over one hundred. The Spencer programme—due in great measure to Admiral of the Fleet Sir Frederick Richards—developed this commerce-protecting fleet, and provided simultaneously in all parts of the world numerous well-equipped naval bases for the operations of the modern British Navy. Unfortunately there came an interruption of this historic and continuous policy when the Dreadnought era began. It became the fashion to depreciate the value of all types of sea-going warships except those which were considered suitable for use in the 'fighting line' of the fleet—a doctrine absolutely contradicted by naval history. Protected cruisers in particular were discredited; the 'scrap-heap' policy was adopted; vessels whose value has since been recognised by their recall to active service were described as 'worse than useless' and relegated to the Motherbank and other anchorages—there to rust and deteriorate until they were sold and broken up. From 1903 to 1909 no protected cruisers were built, many existing vessels were struck off the Effective List of the Royal Navy, and numbers were greatly diminished. The only new unarmoured vessels added to the fleet were eight so-called 'Scouts,' whose only merit was their high speed, but which had neither the armament nor fuel-supply necessary for scouting duties with fleets. These 'Scouts' have since found employment as 'mother' (or depôt) ships for torpedo-destroyer flotillas. For four or five years this depletion of the cruiser classes continued, and the result was deplorable. It was the more serious because Germany was simultaneously taking systematic and continuous action in the construction of protected cruisers. The *Pelorus* class of the Royal Navy was first used as a model, certain modifications which were thought to be desirable being introduced; and since this start was made the German Admiralty have developed a strong force of so-called 'small' cruisers, the full establishment of numbers for which under the Navy Laws has been fixed at thirty-eight, while the age-limit is fifteen years. According to the Dilke Return, Germany had fifteen vessels of the class completed on the 1st of April 1911, the oldest of them having been launched so lately as 1903; six more are building, and two others are to be begun this year. In addition, there are nine protected second-class cruisers of earlier type and nine unprotected small cruisers on the Effective List of the German Navy, and as these vessels reach the age-limit 'substitute' ships will be built, bringing the total number up to the full establishment of thirty-eight and keeping it there. Successive vessels will no doubt be of improved types and probably of larger dimensions.

After a considerable interval the construction of protected cruisers was resumed, the British Navy Estimates for 1908-9

oviding for the commencement of five vessels, all of which are w completed. In April last seven similar cruisers were build-, exclusive of two sister vessels for the Australian Navy, and ee other protected cruisers are to be commenced this year. icluding the Australian vessels the Royal Navy will therefore mmand the services of seventeen such cruisers when all which now building or projected have been completed, whereas ermany will have twenty-three similar vessels on the Effective ist, the oldest of which was begun in 1902 and launched in 1903. iis state of things is unsatisfactory and is entirely due to the wise action described above. On the other hand, it does not rly indicate the relative standing of the two navies in regard to uisers. The Dilke Return shows that in April last the List of Royal Navy included the following protected cruisers of earlier pes: seventeen first-class, thirty second-class, sixteen third-ss—total, sixty-three. More than twenty of these vessels were ilt under the Naval Defence Act of 1889 and have passed the rman age-limit, although still capable of service. Nearly as ny more, not built under the Act of 1889, have also passed t age-limit; only six were launched in or after 1903. Clearly suspension of construction for several years, and the wholesale rapping' which was practised simultaneously, have seriously ejudiced our position *vis-à-vis* to Germany in regard to modern es of protected cruisers; and this condition of affairs must not allowed to continue. It is true that in modern pre-Dread-ught armoured cruisers Great Britain possesses an enormous eponderance—thirty-four ships of 407,000 tons as against ne ships of less than 95,000 tons, but it is important to note t in our previous comparisons for 'capital' ships this superiority armoured cruisers has been taken into account. Any use of r armoured cruisers for protection of commerce and communi-tions would therefore correspondingly lessen the strength sumed above as existing in British 'capital' ships.

In connexion with this subject of commerce protection there s of late been much anxious discussion of the injury which may ssibly be done to British commerce in time of war by the nployment of auxiliary and improvised armed cruisers drawn om the mercantile marines of foreign countries. It has been serted that many German steamships actually carry armaments the holds, and that their commanding officers are in possession the necessary authority to arm and use their vessels for purposes commerce destruction in case of the outbreak of war, wherever ey may be, on receiving notification of the fact. Whether or t this statement be true, it is a matter of common knowledge at arrangements exist by means of which many of the finest and stest mercantile steamships in the world can be taken up by the

Governments of the countries under whose flag they sail, and employed as armed auxiliary cruisers. Such an agreement holds good between the British Government and the Cunard Company; in past years similar agreements existed with most of the leadin British steamship companies. Germany, Austria, Italy, and France have adopted a similar policy, and in doing so our lead was followed. No well-informed person has ever contended that these auxiliary cruisers, with their great dimensions, huge bulk absence of protection (except in the shape of coal) and comparatively light armaments, would be a match for even the smalle classes of cruisers primarily designed and built for fighting. It was never proposed to substitute armed mercantile auxiliaries for regular cruisers, and it is noteworthy that the Boards of Admiralty which approved and acted upon the policy of subventio also carried out great schemes of cruiser construction. The real issue is clear enough and must not be confused. Is it advantageous or otherwise to be in a position to utilise in case of wa the splendid ocean-going steamships of the British mercantil marine for such services as they may be thought fit to perform and to provide for arming them rapidly when they are taken ove by the Admiralty?

Lord Brassey added one more to his many public services whe he again drew attention to this subject in the House of Lords o the 11th of May. Lord Brassey adequately recognised the conse quences which necessarily followed the formation of the Interna tional Maritime Company—or 'Atlantic Combine'—by America capitalists eight years ago, but he expressed the opinion—in whic most persons will concur—that 'the change of policy was ill judged' which led to a discontinuance of subsidies, and a retur to the system of taking up vessels in an emergency. No questio will be raised in regard to the wisdom of the course followe by the Admiralty in replying to the Combine by making an agree ment with the Cunard Company, under which the *Mauretani* and *Lusitania* were built and the other vessels of that fleet wer made available for naval service in case of need. It is satis factory also to be informed by the official spokesman for th Admiralty (Lord Granard) that 'armaments are kept ready for a the ships controlled by the Admiralty.' What is less satisfactor and indeed is open to serious doubt, is the wisdom of the decisio of the Admiralty in 1903 'not to consider the subsidy of an merchant vessel with a speed of less than 22 knots.' Lor Granard stated that this was 'the policy of the Admiralty to-day and gave departmental reasons therefor. Summarised they ar as follow: When the arrangements of 1887 were made th fastest Atlantic steamships had a speed of 19 knots, and there we no regular cruiser with a speed (under natural draught) of mo

than 16 to 17 knots. To-day regular cruisers, British and foreign, obtain speeds approximating to 25 knots, and only the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania* can exceed that speed. The noble Lord then added: 'It followed as a natural sequence that any armed merchantman that did not exceed the speed of the fastest regular cruisers must in the course of time fall a victim to the cruisers.' If space were available it would be of interest to make clear the numerous wrong impressions conveyed in this brief statement. All that can be said is that no regular cruiser, except a very few of the great 'cruiser-battleships' recently built, can maintain a sea-speed approaching 25 knots, in moderate weather, for any length of time. The *Indomitable*, it is true, ran from Belleisle to the Fastnet at that speed in 1908; but it is notorious that extraordinary exertions were made and that the fuel supply was practically exhausted by that run. Our new protected cruisers (Town Class) are reported to have attained maximum speeds of about 26 knots on contract trials of short duration; but no experienced person familiar with the facts will attribute to these vessels the power of maintaining for long periods, and in a moderate sea, speeds approaching 25 knots. Their proportionately small length, displacement and fuel supply will unavoidably make them no match in steaming at sea for the great German Trans-Atlantic steamships to which a sea-speed of 23 to 23½ knots is assigned: and these steamships are on the list of auxiliary cruisers. In weather which would prevent the cruiser from being driven hard, the merchant steamer would experience no sensible check; the sea-keeping capability of the latter vessel, due to her much greater size and fuel supply, would be much in excess of that possessed by the cruiser. On these and other grounds which cannot be mentioned, it is to be hoped that the Admiralty will be disposed to reconsider this subject, and to secure a fuller utilisation of the resources of our mercantile marine in the protection of commerce. Foreign countries have taken action to arm and use as auxiliary cruisers many swift steamers. Lord Brassey put the case mildly when he remarked in the debate that, 'although cruisers had absorbed a large proportion of the Shipbuilding Vote, still they were very few for the protection of a commerce which extended to every sea.' Against the raids of foreign mercantile auxiliaries British auxiliaries would certainly be effective, whatever may be their value as compared with regular cruisers. Lord Brassey's conclusion is sound:

> Our policy should be not to rely on the Navy alone, but to organise a reserve consisting of the vessels subsidised for swift communication with he States of the Outer Empire and for opening up new lines of trade.

The 'States of the Outer Empire' are themselves beginning to realise that they must take a larger part in this enterprise.

Their fuller awakening to this duty is the most beneficial result of the scare-period of 1909. Australia and Canada are already contributing to the Imperial Navy groups of cruisers which will be of much service in protecting ocean trade-routes where they converge upon the home-ports of the Commonwealth and the Dominion. The larger scheme for an Australian navy now under consideration will, if carried out, make still more effective provision for similar service in Southern Seas.

Closely connected with the question of commerce protection, and the general operations of the British fleet during war, stands that of our naval bases. Six years ago changes were made which seriously affected the state of preparation for war and the general efficiency of many foreign naval stations, and attention was then drawn in these pages (*Nineteenth Century and After*, April 1906) to the consequent risks and disadvantages incurred. As a result of the creation of the navies of Canada and Australia, the condition of some naval stations—and especially of those at Halifax and Vancouver—has already been improved, and still further improvements are probable. For other foreign stations—according to answers given recently by Mr. McKenna to questions asked in Parliament—conditions are still as unsatisfactory as they have been since 1906, and this is much to be regretted. It is hardly conceivable that present conditions can be allowed to continue permanently, or that the advantages which we inherited from ancestors who were experienced in naval warfare are to be sacrificed to the doctrine that all important operations of war are in future to be carried out in European waters. The matter deserves and should receive further consideration, especially in view of the approaching completion of the Panama Canal.

Naval works at home are also in a condition which demands careful examination and effective action. The rapid growth in dimensions of modern 'capital' ships, and the great concentration of battle fleets in home waters, have brought into prominence the question of the sufficiency in numbers and the suitability in location of docks capable of receiving Dreadnoughts for the purpose of examination, cleaning bottoms, and repairs. Mr. McKenna has been catechised repeatedly on this subject, and has naturally endeavoured to put the best face upon the matter in his replies; but it is obvious that on the East Coast of Great Britain we are not well-off in this respect. As matters stand, docking accommodation at Portsmouth is also quite inadequate to meet the needs of our latest ships, and there ought to be no delay in securing greater facilities. It is but fair to add that action has already been taken and works are in progress.

Difficulties incidental to the rapid growth in dimensions of ships are not confined to home ports; they are and will be felt at

all our principal naval stations abroad. A French writer (in *Le Yacht* of June 1), after describing in very appreciative terms the new harbour and dockyard recently constructed at Gibraltar at great cost, pointedly draws attention to the fact that the use of about one-half of the port will be impossible for recent British battleships owing to their great draught of water. This fact has been long known to those who have studied the question closely, and it can be independently ascertained from charts, so that there is no secrecy in regard to it. But it is unquestionably serious and may well necessitate before long large additional expenditure on works in order to secure sufficient accommodation for the fleet, as the number of commissioned Dreadnoughts is increased.

At the moment the most important works in progress are those at Rosyth. According to a scheme framed some years ago, it was proposed to make a first-class naval station at that place, and the probable cost was roughly estimated at seven millions sterling. About five years ago a printed memorandum—undoubtedly due to official inspiration—was widely circulated, and received much notice in the Press; in it a claim was distinctly made that recent naval reforms had saved, or would save, the whole seven millions which it had been contemplated to spend at Rosyth—in other words, that the works would not be undertaken. After long hesitation a modified scheme was framed for executing a part of the works. In 1907-8 a sum of 10,000*l.* was voted for preliminary investigations; in 1908-9 the vote was 30,000*l.*, while the estimated cost of the works and machinery was given as about 3,400,000*l.* In the current Navy Estimates the total estimated liability as stated approaches four millions sterling for the naval depôt new magazines and machinery; and it is clear from what has been said that further works will be necessary. Up to the end of March last only 356,000*l.* had been spent; about 360,000*l.* more is the anticipated expenditure for this financial year. About three millions (including machinery) will therefore remain as a liability on the 1st of April 1913. To onlookers this rate of progress appears slow, but the First Lord has assured Parliament that encouragement has been given to the contractors to hasten completion by means of a substantial bonus; and it is anticipated that this will be done. The contract date for completion of the works in progress is September 1916. The First Lord hopes for completion a year sooner (September 1915); if so the rate of expenditure must be much increased. It is obviously most desirable that when works of this importance have been started they should be pressed forward as rapidly as possible. Shorter times are required for building large ships than for constructing the docks and harbours suitable for their use; but that fact is frequently forgotten by the advocates of unrestricted increase in dimensions, and in

the cases considered it was obviously not recognised and acted upon so soon as it ought to have been. All that is now possible is to advance the necessary works with the utmost rapidity, even if the cost is thereby somewhat enhanced.

It has been asserted that the British force in destroyers—especially destroyers likely to render effective service in the North Sea—had become inadequate because greater progress had been made by Germany in recent years. It is true, no doubt, that under the Navy Laws, German destroyer-flotillas have been enormously developed during the last ten years. A total establishment of 144 destroyers is aimed at, the annual addition to the flotilla is twelve, and (according to the Dilke Return) on March 31 last Germany possessed ninety-two completed vessels of the class, all but one of which had been launched in 1899 or later; seventeen others were then building, and twelve new vessels have since been ordered. Great Britain at the same date possessed 176 completed destroyers, of which ninety-six had been launched in 1899 or later, twenty-eight vessels were building, and twenty more are to be ordered this year. The period of construction for German destroyers, built as they have been in 'batches,' was for a time less than the corresponding period of construction for their British contemporaries, many of which were of an experimental character and of new types. This condition of affairs was only temporary; it has been remedied, and later British destroyers have been produced as rapidly as the German. When all the destroyers now building or to be built this year are completed, Germany will have 121 vessels. Great Britain will then possess 144 of equal age, as well as eighty vessels of earlier types, presuming in each case that there are no removals from the lists in the interval. The age-limit for destroyers is not easily determined; the German Navy Law fixes it at twelve years, but if destroyers are properly cared for and re-boilered they remain effective for longer periods. Destroyers are now properly regarded as adjuncts to fleets just as torpedo gunboats were regarded twenty years ago; but it does not follow that the smaller vessels—launched, say, before 1900—are useless because their successors are larger and more powerful, as well as greatly superior in speed and capacity for sea service. It has been the fashion to speak of these early destroyers recently as if they were negligible, but that is not a reasonable view—especially when regard is had to their good condition and their relative size and characteristics, as compared with not a few of the German destroyers still reckoned as fully effective. Although of less age, these German vessels are really not superior to many of the earlier British destroyers which have been kept in good condition. The simple fact is that in this department of naval force Germany has secured advantages which

necessarily attach to a later start in naval construction when it is accompanied by a rigorous prosecution of shipbuilding programmes.

So late as 1904 we had over 120 destroyers, and Germany less than one-third that number. Admitting that our action in reply to Germany was somewhat dilatory for a time, that fault has been remedied by the construction of twenty new destroyers annually during recent years, and the present condition of affairs cannot be regarded as unsatisfactory by any impartial inquirer.

In respect of submarines Germany also made a late start, but has been endeavouring to make up arrears recently by spending about 750,000*l.* annually on vessels of that type. On the 31st of March 1911 (according to the Dilke Return) Great Britain possessed sixty-two completed submarines and twelve were building. It is proposed to begin six more this year, making a total of eighty vessels. Germany at that date had eleven submarines complete, but the Return gives no particulars for vessels building or projected. It has been stated that in the autumn of 1912 Germany will possess thirty submarines; that they are being constructed in groups of six vessels annually; and that in April last, besides the eleven completed, thirteen others were in hand and in different stages of advancement. In this department there has been no adverse criticism of the relative standing of Great Britain.

The next move in the competition in warship-building will be made by Germany, and even if there is absolute adherence to the programme foreshadowed in the Navy Law of 1908, only two armoured ships being commenced in the next financial year, the burden of naval expenditure consequent on existing commitments will be heavy for both countries. Readers desirous of understanding the intricacies of German Naval Estimates cannot do better than consult the admirable Report on the Imperial Finances made by Count de Salis and presented to Parliament last March. It shows that this year about 35 per cent. of the expenditure on new German ships and their armaments will be obtained from loan, and that the total of such expenditure will be about 12 millions sterling. Even that high figure is exceeded considerably by the corresponding expenditure proposed for new British ships and their armaments in 1911-12—which is about 17½ millions, or an excess of about 43 per cent. above the German. The current year, therefore, must give us a sensible gain on Germany, as we build more quickly and certainly ought not to build more dearly.

Mr. McKenna has expressed the hope that the high-water mark of naval expenditure has been reached by both countries. If Germany only lays down two armoured ships in each of the two following financial years, her expenditure on new construction and armaments (according to the Estimates attached to the Navy Law

of 1908) will fall about a million sterling next year and a further million and a half in the following year. This will make corresponding reductions possible in our expenditure, but there are certain items which may sensibly affect the actual reduction. For example, if the progress of naval works is quickened larger amounts must be paid to contractors. If a larger cruiser programme is decided upon, it must carry with it corresponding increase in cost. Moreover, the prices of new ships are said to be advancing after a long period of depression, and this may sensibly affect the contracts to be made next year. Mr. McKenna, in the detailed comparisons of costs of Dreadnoughts and pre-Dreadnoughts made in the course of his speech in the introduction of this year's Navy Estimates, unfortunately overlooked or omitted to make allowance for the extraordinarily low prices which have ruled during the last three years in shipbuilding and engineering markets. Again, it has been claimed by Admiralty representatives in Parliament that they have been able to obtain considerably lower quotations for armour than ruled at the time when the pre-Dreadnoughts were built, and it is ascertainable from the Navy Estimates themselves that considerably lower prices have been paid in some cases for heavy gun-mountings and their machinery. All these circumstances—some of which are of a temporary character and others due to the increased competition for orders arising from the considerable enlargement of sources of supply in recent years—have favoured relative cheapness in the case of vessels of the Dreadnought class. These results have been favourable to the public purse, but they have vitiated the detailed comparisons made by the First Lord, and leave still open the question which he professed to answer—how many King Edwards or Lord Nelsons could be built for the same sum as would suffice for a certain number of Dreadnoughts.

The foregoing review of facts will, it is believed, lead readers to the conclusion that the naval outlook for this country is not unsatisfactory, and that it gives no real cause for anxiety. In 'capital' ships—even if all that is claimed by the advocates of Dreadnought types were conceded—the British position is and can be kept secure, provided that adequate steps are taken at proper times. There is no reason to believe that any British Government will neglect that plain duty. In cruisers there is need for a thorough reconsideration of our position, and for action at an early date. The question of utilising fully the strength inherent in our unrivalled mercantile marine, and securing its assistance in the protection of oversea commerce and communications, also demands re-examination. In minor classes of warships, including destroyers and submarines, our relative standing is altogether satisfactory. The present condition of some of our naval stations,

especially those abroad, leaves much to be desired, and special expenditure will have to be incurred if they are to be restored to efficiency and made available in case of war.

Germany holds the key of the situation; her action in the next financial year will determine the programme of shipbuilding for Great Britain. At present there is a probability that only two new armoured ships will be laid down in 1912. If this becomes a fact, then the hope of Mr. McKenna may be realised, and our naval expenditure for the current financial year may prove to be a 'high-water mark'; but this is by no means certain as yet. If events fall out otherwise the position must and will be faced. British sea-supremacy must be maintained, whatever the cost of that maintenance may be. This is no new doctrine; it should give no cause of offence to Germany or any other country when it is restated; just as this country had no real cause of offence when (in the Preamble to the German Navy Act of 1900) it was asserted that 'Germany must have a fleet of such strength that even for the mightiest Naval Power [*i.e.* Great Britain] a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy.' Each nation has the right to determine its own standard of strength. It cannot be denied that the continued existence and well-being of the British Empire absolutely depends upon supremacy at sea. That statement does not hold good for any other Empire in the world. Although a few foreign critics have recently treated the British claim as improper and provocative in existing circumstances, that claim is both ancient and vital. It cannot be surrendered, and the experience of a century has demonstrated that its fulfilment involves no danger to the peace and prosperity of the world.

W. H. White.

WANTED—AN INTERNATIONAL POLICE

If the traditional visitor from Mars were asked, on his return to his native planet, what the inhabitants of Terra are doing, he would doubtless dwell more upon the moral and social aspects of the communities he had observed than upon their material development, which, for all we know, may be vastly inferior to that of the Martians themselves. The disparity in the conditions of life here and their wide range, from toil-less luxury to the bare struggle for existence, would have impressed him as it does all students of things human; but I venture to believe that, among the extraordinary phenomena to attract his attention, not the least extraordinary would be the jealousies, suspicions, and animosities now prevailing, one might almost say raging, between the different peoples of this earth. Omitting the case of Japan, which does but imitate its presumed betters, he might sum up the situation by asserting that the most marked exhibition of these evil propensities is to be found among the hundreds of millions of Christians who worship God in professed acceptance of the moral code proclaimed nearly two thousand years ago by the Prince of Peace. 'Could there,' he might inquire, 'be a more grotesque contradiction between prophecy and fulfilment than is disclosed by the alarming state of affairs which I *have just* witnessed and examined?' And, it may be added, no more severe indictment could be brought against Christendom than the bare recital of the facts in the case.

The discouraging feature of this universal distemper is that its most striking symptoms are of *comparatively* recent origin and growth. Well may the pessimist see no light behind the clouds and so lose all hope of better things. On the other hand, the optimist, with even more reason, may *hold that* it is always darkest just before dawn and that the present menacing attitude between the nations, being but the work of man's hand, can by man's hand be equally well changed into franker recognition of each other's necessities and legitimate aspirations, into such mutual concessions and agreements as will postpone indefinitely the Armageddon toward which all seem now to be tending.

Classing myself among the optimists, I venture to make my umble and insignificant contribution to the solution of the most mportant general problem with which the statesmen of the world re now confronted, claiming a place in the ranks on the ground hat nearly thirty years ago I formed and expressed an opinion n this subject which time and thought have only served to trengthen, although, since that date, certain events have occurred o modify somewhat the application of that opinion. It was then ny great privilege to be much in the company of my wise and ble friend, now, as Sir George Sydenham Clarke, the Governor f Bombay, and between us we discussed pretty much every topic f general or special interest, including, in particular, the ikelihood and nature of wars to come. On the last subject we onceived and formulated some peculiar, if delightfully fantastic, otions. Briefly summarised, we reached the conclusion that, ince peace was an almost indispensable condition of human rogress, no more important duty lay upon Governments than he adoption of well-considered measures to secure and preserve t. It may be ascribed to the enthusiasm of youth that we agreed etween ourselves that this noblest of all missions devolved, or hould devolve, upon the Anglo-Saxon race. We knew this conlusion to be a counsel of perfection and wholly chimerical, but it vas a pleasant picture to paint, and who shall deny to the artists he joy they experienced in laying their brilliant colours upon heir imaginary canvas? Specifically, we would have had the United States and Great Britain unite in announcing that they vould exert their joint power to prevent warfare, even to the point f taking active sides with any nation which had expressed a willngness, and against the nation which had refused, to submit to rbitration any serious difference arising between the two and not ettled by diplomatic methods; the latter preferring the 'arbitranent of war,' a specious phrase, for war settles nothing but nilitary superiority, and that only for the time being. Might prevails, whether right or wrong, but mankind being more keenly nterested in the victory of right than in the victory of might will ooner or later cease to regard war as in any sense a rational composer of international quarrels. At that moment, Great Britain's fleet and America's great potential, if not actual, army, when thrown into the scales would have turned them inevitably in favour of the nation ready to accept the results of arbitration, and the war would have been averted, for the other Government could scarcely decline to follow suit in the face of so overpowering a combination.

Of course, all this was Utopian in the extreme, the unsubstantial fabric of which dreams are made, and no one was more keenly or regretfully aware of its futility than the two young men

who would have done such great things, they thought, had onl the power been given them.

But much water has flowed beneath the bridge since thos quiet evenings in 1884, and the civilised world has made sever unhoped-for advances towards the goal we then had in mind. At the same time, new factors, at that moment unforeseen, hav been injected into the perplexing question. The Hague Tribun has been established, to win through its decisions increased con fidence in the possibility of composing international differences . the processes of sweet reason. Treaties of arbitration have pass from the realm of the dreamer into the commonplaces of wor politics. The latest of these treaties, due in large measure to th personal interest of America's broad-minded and courageo President, Mr. Taft, will put a seal upon the banishment hostilities between the English-speaking peoples. The almc universal satisfaction with which the proposal has been receiv on both sides of the Atlantic cannot fail to make other peopl covet similar conventions in their turn.

Marching *pari passu* with this growing practice of appeal arbitration is the sinister fact that nowhere are armies and navi diminishing in numbers and strength; rather are they increasi by leaps and bounds, bearing through heightened and constant heightening cost more and more upon the taxpayer, and indirec by his distribution of their charges upon the clerk, the artisa and even the family of the poorest day-labourer. It is incredi that two such utterly antagonistic movements should co-exi but none the less it is true.

I am not among those who see no good whatever in armies an navies—quite the contrary. The army of Italy has been a scho of incalculable value to that kingdom. It discharges no man un he can read and write and cipher; it has been the means of wel ing together into one harmonious whole the inhabitants of th peninsula by recruiting a regiment in one province and sending to duty in another. Where formerly men were Lombards , Tuscans or Neapolitans first and Italians afterwards, now they a Italians first and provincials secondly. I have myself m Venetians who having served their time and been discharged Calabria had married there, and in so doing had converted the Calabrese wives and neighbours to the belief that good men wer to be found in other parts of Italy. Nor can anyone fail to conced the great advantages, physical and moral, to the bulk of t German nation of the strict training in obedience, cleanlines erect carriage, of the gymnastic exercises and military drills whic its army provides. What would be the effect on the submerge tenth in London of a couple of years under the colours is hardl conceivable. Such service would straighten them up, fill out thei

chests, give brawn to their muscles, put self-respect into their hearts, and return them to civil life far better citizens than they are now or, under the present conditions, they can ever hope to become. In my own experience, the improvement observed in the lads we take in is quite remarkable. I may fairly say that all are better, indeed much better in every way, for the few years they spend on board our battleships. No, there is a great deal to be said in favour of military establishments in their educational capacity, but whether this is not in itself a serious arraignment of our educational systems, which fail to yield what armies and navies, with other ends in view, do succeed in producing, is a riddle I leave to the casuists. At least it is proper to contend that if ever armies and navies cease to be, the State must give its youth the training in physique and character which the services, I had almost said alone, furnish, or it will be culpably negligent in performing a solemn duty. The real pity is that such a small percentage of the male population comes under this salutary influence which all need sorely. Whether this schooling can best be had in the ranks or through some other equally efficient instrumentality is a matter to be decided by those more competent than I can pretend to be in dealing with such problems.

It will be many a long day before armies and navies can be entirely abolished, for they are the nation's visible police, without which Governments would be powerless to compel and maintain order. Our civilisation has not reached the point where the policeman and his club can be dispensed with. When that happens, and not before, armies and navies may disappear. But this consideration has little or nothing to do with the desirability of reducing them to dimensions that involve no serious burden, or with those larger moral questions, the undue exaltation of brute force and the unrestrained spirit of militarism.

The paramount necessity of Great Britain's superiority on the sea is, I believe, scarcely challenged. It is an economic rather than a military necessity. This predominance which she now possesses would remain even if all existing fleets were reduced in like proportion, a suggestion advanced by certain writers and others only to be received with scant courtesy. In the meanwhile what is happening? Germany, which has built up a huge commercial marine without the help, material or moral, of a navy, has become the second naval Power of the world. What her object is since history has demonstrated its needlessness hitherto, can only be surmised. To-day her tonnage under construction is 297,750. France and Italy, which, owing to their long coast-lines, seem more dependent than Germany is, or can be, upon a fleet, have together under construction only 282,085 tons. Japan has 89,450 tons on the stocks, a heavy load for her frail financial shoulders

These figures, by the way, take no account of vessels of 1000 tons or under. In a fashion more or less vague, these programmes can be understood, but one is wholly at a loss to comprehend those of Austria, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, not to mention Russia, Peru, and Turkey. What possible need these have or can have for battleships is not apparent, yet, to a greater or less degree, they have joined in the mad chase. No wonder the visitor from Mars carried back a gloomy report of the state of affairs on Terra.

America's need of a large army and navy is based upon the obligation to maintain the Monroe Doctrine and upon her interests in the Far East. As to the latter, a growing discontent is manifest in the States, for more and more of the people there are beginning to realise the unwisdom of retaining remote colonies, administered at no inconsiderable cost to the taxpayer, with no present or prospective return to him and wholly for the benefit of the native inhabitants, who resent our presence there as much as they welcome our dollars. The possibility of being dragged, *nolens volens*, into some Oriental imbroglio of no concern to us; the evil effect on the national conscience of holding alien races in unwilling subjection, something without warrant in our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution; the folly of an altruism which believes men can be taught self-government in any other manner than by governing themselves, are being urged by those Americans who would throw off the incubus of the Philippines while it can be done without sacrifice of honour. The roll of such Americans would be found to contain many names conspicuous for high character, civic virtue, and lofty patriotism. One strong argument which these gentlemen advance takes the form of this query: 'Are we consistent in preaching the Monroe Doctrine for the American continent when, at the same time, we are reaching out and occupying forcibly a great archipelago in the Eastern Hemisphere?' They claim that our position before the world and our advocacy of that famous doctrine are weakened by this incongruity, and they assert that were the whole body of facts laid before the voters in a plebiscite the verdict would be 'Withdraw from the Philippines.' Personally, I cannot think that the whole group and all it contains, even if exploited for our own selfish interests, are worth one good American life, such, for instance, as that of my late friend Lieutenant Walter Rodney, brutally murdered in Mindanao, as I write, by a native *juramentado*, running amok.

So far as the South American republics are concerned, their ultimate safety lies in combination. Sooner or later this is certain to come about, either in political union or alliances which shall relieve them of the occasion and the cost of navies. Incidentally they will then be able themselves to guarantee the operation of the

Monroe Doctrine, and thus spare the United States the necessity of keeping up a great fleet for this sole purpose.

These considerations go far to establish the fact that navies are chiefly political in nature, and that where a great navy exists behind it must lie some potent if unrevealed international motive. It would be unfair to hold that it is always and only due to Jingoism, or to the moneyed interests that find their profit in the manufacture and sale of battleships, armour, guns, and munitions of war, powerful as these influences are honestly believed to be by certain writers on the subject.

European countries are in a different category from those of South America. Their languages are not the same, their institutions, traditions, aspirations wholly dissimilar. Mutual agreement they may effect, but political amalgamation is out of the question; and even mutual agreement bristles with difficulties arising from international or racial distrusts, jealousies, possibly animosities. In what way can they be induced to recast their military systems?

The question is practical in the highest degree, notwithstanding the contentions of those humanitarians who find in public opinion an all-sufficient weapon against the peace-breaker. Possibly they are right when speaking in the future tense, but we are living in the present, and the logic of facts is, unhappily, against them. It is an admitted duty of the State to protect its subjects, failure to do so being unpardonable. Wise rulers must, therefore, be convinced, before taking steps to lessen the burden of armaments, that these steps do not sacrifice this necessary and obligatory defence. The world's history is largely one of war. It would be childish to blind our eyes to this melancholy truism; but just as in the mechanical world things are done every day which, a few years ago, would have been scouted as impossible, had they been fore-imagined, so there is no reason to despair of introducing much less intrinsically improbable developments into international politics. The pessimist has his own place and salutary functions, but progress is due to the optimist. Why be afraid of optimism in this connection? Or why scoff at it as preposterous and visionary?

Advance towards the imperfect civilisation of to-day has been along well-defined lines. At first the family was the social unit; then came kinship. In these two states every man was a law unto himself, unchecked save by dread of his neighbour. Later was the tribe, with subjection to a chief who dispensed justice, such as it was, while not wholly denying to the individual his right of private vengeance. The tribes lastly united with others to form the nation with, ultimately, organised courts to settle all disputes, whether affecting persons or property, and a police to enforce their decrees and maintain order. The individual looks to the State for

protection and to the State he has surrendered his right of personal vengeance. Theoretically this is the condition of affairs to-day, yet even the Anglo-Saxons have only recently discarded the duel. Men now living may have heard or read at the time of a British Prime Minister sending a challenge, an episode referred to by Mr. Balfour in his recent Guildhall speech; while duels, however innocuous according to the humorist, are still in vogue across the Channel.

The advocates of universal peace must have patience, must be content with a steadily growing public sentiment in favour of their aims and with the continued progress now making towards their goal, rather than despair because the whole measure of disarmament is not immediately feasible. If the disappearance of the exercise of private vengeance on the part of the individual be cited as a precedent, allowance must be made for the time element. However much they may regret the slowness with which the world moves, yet, as Galileo said,

> E pur si muove,

for it has already reached the point when the reference to The Hague of very thorny disputes is unattended by the loss of national dignity.

After all, wherein does the real power of a court reside? In the justice and wisdom of its findings? Not at all. The disappointed plaintiff, or the defendant cast in heavy damages, has no holy respect for either judge, jury, or statute.

> No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
> With good opinion of the law.

None the less, having lost his case, he conforms to the orders of the court without delay, because he knows that back of the court is the police of the town, or city, or county or State, supported, if need be, by the nation's entire army and navy. Resistance is futile. He may loathe the whole judicial scheme and machinery, but he fears the strong hand that sustains them and makes obedience to them imperative. Herein is The Hague's weak point: it lacks the means to enforce its decrees. Consequently it is but a court of arbitration pure and simple, pronouncing its verdict on the subject at issue only when the two litigants agree in advance to abide by that verdict. It is not yet a court to which one nation may apply for justice against another nation. International law has not attained the development and authority of statute and common law. Until it does, the peoples of the earth are going to see that their fleets are powerful and their armies equipped with the latest things in rifles and aeroplanes. Up to

nt moment war has been almost the normal state, and actually engaged in hostilities the nations have been their tomahawks and casting jealous and angry eyes on hbours across the border. Naturally they find it very o abandon the practice, horrid though it be.

suppose some strong Government whose motives are picion, which has nothing to gain by the new order of ter recognising existing boundaries on the principle of *etis*, and likewise recognising the right of every country e its affairs in its own fashion within those boundaries, nvite the other strong nations to unite in threatening to jointly on the side of any Government which agreed to nternational differences to The Hague should hostilities mminent, and against the other refusing so to submit its ne Hague tribunal would then become a real court, with and overwhelming police to compel acceptance of its s even against a party *in absentia*. The matter in ques-ld be adjudicated on its merits, even if one party y refused to appear in court, and the decision would n some such manner as this the dream of the two young , many years ago, pondered over this great problem may substantially, if not exactly, true. The suggestion is at onsonance with the growth of the nation from its origin nily. That nations should ever be willing to give up t of private vengeance seems to the majority of persons surd and fantastic in the extreme. In the same spirit t-grandfathers scouted the idea of abandoning the duel eeping with a proper sense of honour, but swords are no rn and gentlemen realise that disgrace lies in their own l deeds, not in what others say of them.

s may not happen for years to come, but the trend of in that direction, for in it is the only practical path of the affairs of nations are to continue their development arallel to those of the affairs of individual men—a logical tent supposition. It is hard to believe that any of the ers could eventually decline to enter into such a compact, for the moment Russia, which still has a bone to pick n, a consideration which makes one less sanguine of the acceptance of such a peace-assuring measure.

hen (for I am convinced that sooner or later this notion rge Clarke's and mine will virtually govern international the bright day dawns when the principal Powers shall o give The Hague tribunal the physical force it now necessity for great armies and navies will disappear. It and more discreet to assume good grounds for their

existence than to hint at sinister motives, and it is surely wiser to remove those grounds than to advocate an universal reduction of armaments which no Government is ready to inaugurate.

I have elsewhere said that peace is not so much a condition as a frame of mind. When everybody wants it, wars will cease. For this reason I feel that much time and discussion will be needed before the suggestion made in this writing can be generally accepted. As the English-speaking peoples are taking one long stride in the ways of peace, one is not too foolishly optimistic who dares hope they will eventually, either separately or together, take this next and even more important step. It will have far-reaching and beneficent consequences, since it follows, as clearly as any effect follows any established cause, that, the grounds for the swollen armaments of to-day being removed, armies and navies, where retained at all, will automatically shrink to such proportions as the local necessities shall dictate.

CASPAR F. GOODRICH.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY AND FEDERAL HOME RULE

In a series of seven letters which appeared in the *Times* between the 20th of October and the 2nd of November, 1910, a member of the Unionist party, writing under the assumed name of 'Pacificus,' drew public attention to the serious position in which this country would be placed if the Conference on the House of Lords question, then sitting, failed to come to an agreement. The controversy, he maintained, went so deep down towards the very foundations of our Constitutional life, and must so profoundly affect the future relations of political parties, that no settlement of it by the ordinary methods of party controversy could possibly be accepted by all parties as final or satisfactory. Such a settlement would necessarily involve a continuance of the dispute with results of a character most injurious to the peaceful and orderly progress of our public life. He urged, therefore, that, if the Conference did fail to come to an agreement, another Conference should be called together, to consider, however, not merely the question of the constitution of the House of Lords, or of the relations between that House and the House of Commons, but to take a large and comprehensive survey of all the Constitutional questions that are obviously ripening for settlement and which are being imposed upon us by the enormously increasing complexity and weight of our public business. Among these questions he specified, first, the urgent need there is of relieving the Imperial Parliament of some portion of the impossible task now laid upon it by the adoption of Federal Home Rule; and, second, the need of some understanding in regard to the future relations of the several parts of the Empire to each other and the whole. In support of his proposal he contended that there was nothing in the interests of any party, or in the policy identified with any party, that ought to prevent its acceptance. What was needed was that all should rise above the immediate issues of the day to the height of a great national situation, and freely lend themselves to a reasonable discussion of questions the settlement of which must for all time to come profoundly affect their history and the history of their country.

The contingency in view of which 'Pacificus' wrote actually happened. The Conference failed to come to an agreement. But a second Conference has never been proposed. The views of 'Pacificus,' though they found a remarkably large measure of acceptance both among members of his own party and the public generally, failed to convince those to whom they were primarily addressed. The Conference once ended, politicians went about their business in the old spirit and sought to settle their differences by the old methods. None the less the main contention of 'Pacificus' was solidly grounded. Our Constitutional difficulties never can be satisfactorily settled so long as they are dealt with piecemeal and in isolation the one from the other. They are indissolubly connected, and they can be settled in such a way as will commend itself to the reason of the country only if they are viewed together and dealt with as parts of a great whole. The general acceptance, for example, of any scheme for settling the relations of the two Houses of Parliament, and for determining the powers and constitution of the Second House, does unquestionably depend largely upon the general judgment on the merits of Federal Home Rule. If that judgment is favourable, and if there is a general agreement that, in some form or other, Home Rule is to become part and parcel of the Constitutional machinery of the United Kingdom, then it is certain that the question of the future powers and composition of the House of Lords will be approached and discussed in a totally different spirit from that in which it is now being considered. For under any scheme of Federal Home Rule large powers would pass from the immediate control of the Imperial Parliament to the subordinate Legislatures in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales; and this transfer of power would certainly largely affect the question of the distribution between the two Houses of the Imperial Parliament of the residue of powers that would be retained by that Parliament. On the other hand, if we deal with the House of Lords question as if it were the sole Constitutional question awaiting settlement, and as if the Imperial Parliament were to remain for all time in the full possession of its present powers and responsible for the full discharge of its present duties, then equally certainly that question will be considered in a totally different spirit and settled in a totally different way from the spirit that would prevail and the way that would be allowed if it were considered in connexion with a scheme of Federal Home Rule. Finally, if the questions of the House of Lords and of Federal Home Rule are considered without any regard to the question of Imperial Federation, our settlement of these questions may injuriously affect the possibilities of this larger federation, and interpose difficulties in its

way which those who may have to deal with it ought not to be called upon to encounter.

But, if this is a just account of the situation in which we find ourselves, is it too late to alter the course we are now pursuing? I venture to think that it is not. The crisis, indeed, is upon us; but it is not yet past, and there is even still time to reconsider our mode of dealing with it, and to settle it in a spirit consistent with our great traditions and with the permanent peace, order, and good government of our country. In any case it will well repay us to consider our present Constitutional problems as a whole and in all their connexions; and I propose to attempt to do this.

In such an attempt what comes into the forefront of the argument is not the question of the House of Lords, nor even the question of Home Rule; but the congestion of business in the House of Commons and the need of devising some scheme of relief from it. It is true that, when the two Houses fail to work in harmony with each other, the business of the country is impeded and the congestion in the House of Commons is increased. But no reform of the House of Lords, no change in the spirit in which it approaches the work of the House of Commons, would give the relief required. The congestion dates, in fact, from a time when the attitude of the House of Lords towards measures of reform was more sympathetic, or, at least, less openly hostile, than it has been in recent years. Ever since the Reform Act of 1832, when the demand for democratic legislation first found effective expression in the House of Commons, it has become, year by year, more and more impossible for that House to discharge the duties imposed upon it.

Evidence of this, if it be required, is abundant. As long ago as 1848 the first of a series of Select Committees, all appointed for a similar purpose, met to consider by what means the transaction of public business in the House of Commons could be expedited. In the autumn of 1872 Lord Russell wrote a letter to the *Times* on the block of Parliamentary business, and, among other remedies, made what must then have been regarded as a startling suggestion, that 'the local wants of Ireland and Scotland might be better provided for than they are at present if the four provinces of Ireland and the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland had each an elected representative assembly.' Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered in Midlothian in 1879, six years before his adhesion to Home Rule, said, 'I desire, I may almost say I intensely desire, to see Parliament relieved of some portion of its duties. I see the efficiency of Parliament interfered with not only by obstruction from Irish members, but even more gravely by the enormous weight that is placed upon the time and the mind of those whom

you send to represent you.' And he added, 'The Parliament is over-weighted. The Parliament is almost overwhelmed.' In the *Radical Programme*, published in 1885, with a preface by Mr. Chamberlain, it is stated that 'recent experience has made it perfectly clear that Parliamentary Government is being exposed to a strain for which it may prove unequal. The overwhelming work thrown upon the Imperial Legislature is too much for its machinery.' In September 1885, Mr. Gladstone, again reverting to the subject, said that 'the task of the House of Commons in our time has habitually exceeded what had ever been imposed upon a legislative body in the whole history of the world.' Evidence of a similar character might be indefinitely multiplied; but it is unnecessary to go further. That there is congestion is notorious; and I have said enough to show that it is also inveterate and due to causes for which the action of the House of Lords is not responsible.

The evil effects of the congestion it is impossible to exaggerate. The House of Commons has been forced by the very conditions of its work to divest itself of much of its great attribute of control, and to content itself with a function hardly distinguishable from that of a Court of Record which silently registers and gives legal effect to the decisions of Government. And for this neither the House nor the Government can be justly blamed. The vast volume of merely necessary business could on no other condition be performed at all. But surely we suffer grievously from it. The work that is done is admittedly done in a hasty, slovenly and imperfect manner; and much that ought to be done is totally neglected.

But this is not all or the worst. Parliament has sought relief from some portion of the impossible task laid upon it by delegating very great powers to Government Departments. These Departments, under the authority of some Statute, issue Rules and Orders which have themselves the binding force of law. They have thus become sources of legislation, possibly conflicting, certainly more or less arbitrary in their character; and a growing discontent with their action and revolt against it is manifesting itself throughout the country.

Side by side with this there is the fact that Ministers act more independently and with less control than has ever been the case since the institution of Cabinet Government. It is not merely that the House of Commons, as I have just noted, has had to resign itself to the loss of much of its attribute of control over the Executive, but that the Prime Minister himself is unable to exercise that general supervision and guiding influence over departmental action which used to be regarded as the chief function of his office. In this connexion it is also to be noted that the

burden imposed upon Ministers is becoming an absolutely intolerable one; and that their energies and abilities are being largely lost to the country by being dissipated and exhausted, not in the consideration of great questions of policy, but over an infinity of detail forced upon them by an overburdened legislative and administrative system.

There is still another and an even more serious evil which springs, as I believe, from the same prolific source. The appearance of political groups in the country and the House of Commons can, I think, be traced almost exclusively to impatience at the constantly recurring failure to deal with measures of legislation which have had behind them the approval of the requisite Parliamentary majority to secure their enactment, but which could not be proceeded with because of the block in public business. The spirit of these groups is, as yet, with us different from the spirit which animates the groups that exist in France and in Germany. In the case of these two countries they are animated by a class spirit which is still happily almost entirely absent from our political life. In the action of these groups there is little or nothing of that restraining influence which with us modifies party action in the interests of the community as a whole. We still win our way by an appeal to reason; but we do so in circumstances of difficulty and danger which put an increasingly severe test upon our political capacity.

The Labour party came into existence not because its members had a new political gospel to preach, nor because there was any irreconcilable opposition of principle between it and the Liberal party; but because a large section of the community had become impatient at the slow rate of progress made in securing those social and political reforms to which the Liberal party was pledged, and because it was believed that the delay was due to a want of sincerity and earnestness among Liberals in the promotion of these reforms. If proof of this is required it is to be found in the fact that the opposition between the Liberal and the Labour parties is less marked to-day than it was five years ago, though in the meantime neither party has departed in any degree from its principles or its pledges.

The origin of the Irish party is not the same. It owes its existence to the hostility of the British electorate towards Irish claims; and for a short time, at least, in its history it became a group in the Continental sense of the term. It pursued its purpose in entire indifference to British interests and with a readiness to bargain with any political party if only that purpose could be achieved. But who, knowing anything of Irishmen in general, or of the individual members of the Irish party in the House of Commons, can doubt that, once Home Rule becomes an accom-

plished fact, opinion in Ireland, both on domestic and on imperial questions, will be set free to flow in its natural channels and be determined by the same influences as determine opinion on the same questions in England and in Scotland?

But while all this is true, while it is true that, in spite of the existence of political groups, we still retain the practical political capacity of our race, it is also true that we are exposing our political life to dangers of the most grave and serious character. For no Parliament can continue to work under conditions of extreme congestion, such as those under which the Parliament of the United Kingdom now works, without incurring the risks of weak, divided, and ultimately of corrupt action. A method of relief from the congestion must be devised.

One remedy, and one remedy only, has so far been tried. It has been to expedite business by restricting liberty of debate. The remedy has produced evils of an even more grave and serious kind than those it sought to remove. For under it, and because of it, the power of the House of Commons has dangerously dwindled and the power of the Executive has dangerously increased. But, besides this, the remedy has completely failed in its purpose; and leading men on both sides have repeatedly stated their belief that in this direction no permanent or satisfactory solution of the difficulty lies. In proof of this I give one quotation from a speech by Mr. Balfour. In moving the resolution, on the 11th of November 1902, for the closure by compartments of the Committee stage of the discussion of the Education Bill, he said that 'the resolution amounts to an admission that our rules—great as are the changes effected in those rules since closure was first proposed by Mr. Gladstone twenty years ago—that our rules, with all these changes, are not sufficient to enable this House to deal with the legislative work that is put before it.'

But a real remedy must be devised; and unless we are listlessly to stand by and see the spirit of our Constitution destroyed by a too strict adherence to the forms within which it now works, what other remedy, adequate to meet the case, can be suggested except a measure of Federal Home Rule by which the control of the strictly separate interests of each of the countries constituting the United Kingdom would be transferred from the Imperial Parliament to secondary and national authorities? The suggestion is not new. Liberal leaders have for long advocated it. Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, Lord Loreburn and Lord Haldane, have repeatedly urged it upon us. So also, while he was still with us, did Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The views held by Mr. Gladstone upon it are equally beyond question; and it was astonishing to hear Mr. Balfour state in the House of Commons as recently as the 24th of April of this year, that

he (Mr. Gladstone) would have regarded the suggestion 'with nothing less than horror.' In the speech from which I have already quoted, the speech delivered in Midlothian on the 26th of November 1879, after stating that Parliament is 'over-weighted, almost overwhelmed,' he went on to say, 'If we can take off its shoulders that superfluous weight by the constitution of secondary and subordinate authorities, I am not going to be frightened out of a wise measure of that kind by being told that in that I am condescending to the prejudices of Home Rulers. I will condescend to no such prejudices. I will consent to give to Ireland no principle, nothing that is not upon equal terms offered to Scotland and to the different parts of the United Kingdom. But I say that the man who shall devise a machinery by which some portion of the excessive and impossible task now laid upon the House of Commons shall be shifted to the more free, and therefore more efficient, hands of secondary and local authorities, will confer a blessing upon his country that will entitle him to be reckoned among the prominent benefactors of the land.' Pleading at Edinburgh, on the 27th of October 1890, for an acceptance of Irish Home Rule as part of a scheme that would be equally applicable to England and Scotland, he said, 'You know that for a long time it has been agreed on all hands that Parliament was not strong enough for its work. There was too much to be done, and they could not get through it. But in one thing they were perfectly irreproachable. It is not their shirking personal labour. No assembly in the world has ever done an amount of personal labour to compare with that which is now done by the British House of Commons. But we have been agreed as to the great excess of the amount of work, and as to the necessity for a great change. Two methods of change have been proposed. We from the first have held, not that it was not right to make regulations more strict in this point and in that, where it could be done without serious violation of principle; but we have held all along that the true method of making Parliament strong enough and free enough to do the business of the country was to adopt large plans of what is called devolution—devolving upon subordinate bodies large portions of what now encumbers and obstructs the progress of Parliament, so that its hands might be free, and, without an increase of labour, it might be able to get far better through its proper work.' He then went on to show how inestimably valuable was 'the absolute freedom of debate' secured by the old rules of Parliamentary procedure, and how the new rules tended to destroy this freedom.

The testimony of Mr. Redmond may also be quoted to the same effect. In the speeches he has delivered on Home Rule

during the last ten years he has almost invariably referred to this aspect of the question. On one occasion, speaking in the House of Commons, he said, 'It was an idle pretence that the House of Commons could at the same time attend to great Imperial questions and the local affairs of England, Scotland, and Ireland. . . If the House were to regain its position in the country it would not be by further limiting its rights and privileges, but by some great measure of devolution.' And again, 'The work thrown upon the House of Commons was increasing year by year, and under the new conditions the Parliamentary machine was breaking down. The ultimate remedy for this state of things would be found in the devolution of business from that assembly to local bodies.' And yet again, speaking this time in Dublin, he said, 'When next Home Rule was proposed it would not be in answer to any abject appeal from Ireland, but it would be proposed by some English party (and he cared not which) for its own sake, for the sake of England, for the sake of the English Parliament, and for the sake of the British Empire. When that proposal was made it would be time enough to consider whether it could be accepted as an honest compromise or not. He for his part did not believe they would have very long to wait until some such proposal was made.'

There is, therefore, high authority in support of the proposal to provide a remedy for the evil by the adoption of Federal Home Rule. On the other hand, it has been urged against it that it would weaken our unity of action and might possibly lead to disintegration. It is of no use to say, in answer to this, that the fear is groundless. Both statement and counter-statement rest upon opinion merely, and will be received according to individual preconceptions and the authority and reputation of those who make them. There is, however, one example in the history of the British Empire which may help us to come to a rational judgment on the point. The British North American Act of 1867 effected two objects. It not only brought the several Provinces of Canada into a Federal Union; but it dissolved the Union between Upper and Lower Canada which had been constituted by the Act of 1840, and it gave to each of these Provinces independent legislative powers, in common subordination, however, to the Dominion Parliament. The undoubted success of that great Act might at least encourage us to contemplate a modification of the terms of Union between the countries of the United Kingdom without the fear that it would weaken the cohesion of the parts or the strength of the whole.

We may go even further than this. Federal Home Rule is not inconsistent, in idea, with the terms of the existing Union between England, Scotland, and Ireland. Each of these countries

has now its own law and its own administrative system regulating and controlling its own domestic interests; and to each of them might be given independent powers of dealing with these interests without any radical departure from the spirit of our present practice. It is, in fact, true to say that, as regards strictly domestic interests, the Union has never been, nor has it ever aimed at becoming, a complete legislative and administrative union. Each country retains, and is intended to retain, the special and independent features which give to its national life all its character and all its meaning. Of the difficulties of carrying out this intention in a United Parliament we have had a too abundant experience. Each country may be compelled at times to obey laws exclusively affecting its own interests which a majority of its own representatives would have summarily rejected as inconsistent with the real conditions of its life. This has been the almost normal case in regard to laws affecting Ireland. It is not infrequent in the case of Scotland. And an illustration of it in the case of England is to be found in the Education Act of 1902, which would almost certainly never have been passed had it not received the support of the Irish members, whose interests, as representatives of Ireland, were in no way concerned with it. It may even with truth be said that the House of Commons is by its very constitution incompetent to discharge the duty of legislating for the local wants of the separate countries of which the United Kingdom is composed. For it is in the nature of things that an Assembly constituted of representatives from all these countries has not, and cannot, as a whole, have that local knowledge, or be pervaded by that no less important local sympathy, which are essential to successful legislation in the interests of each.

There are three other considerations, to which I desire briefly to refer, which might induce men of all parties to regard with sympathy a proposal to establish a system of Federal Home Rule in the United Kingdom.

The first relates to the need there is for simplifying the issues submitted to electors at times of election. At the present moment and under existing conditions these issues raise questions concerned with the interests of the three kingdoms taken separately, with the three kingdoms regarded as a whole, and with the Empire in all its parts and as a whole. These issues are so numerous, and opinions upon them cross each other in such inextricable confusion, that no elector at a single election could possibly give a clear judgment upon them. And who can doubt that the orderly progress of our public life is thereby injuriously affected? Federal Home Rule would go far to remove the evil.

The second relates to the bearing of Federal Home Rule on

the possibilities of Federation of the Empire. One of the minor arguments used by Mr. Gladstone in 1886 in support of Home Rule for Ireland was that it would largely improve these possibilities. But if this was true of the proposal to concede Home Rule to Ireland, it is much more true of the larger proposal we are now considering. The constitutional structure of the Empire is at present incomplete. The self-governing Dominions have local Legislatures dealing with local interests; but they have no regulated share in the government of the Empire of which they are such large and important portions. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, has a Legislature on which rests the double responsibility of regulating and controlling the special and local interests of the countries it represents, and at the same time of regulating and controlling the wider interests which it shares in common with the Dominions. It cannot, in the nature of things, continue permanently to discharge this double responsibility. Of one or other of the two separate and separable capacities in which it acts it must sooner or later divest itself. And surely it would be wise to associate its great traditions rather with its function of supreme presiding authority over the Empire at large than with its function of local Legislature of the countries of the United Kingdom.

The third and final consideration brings us back to the point from which we started. It relates to the bearing on the House of Lords question of a proposal to establish a system of Federal Home Rule. This proposal is being forced upon us, as we have seen, by considerations overwhelmingly strong in their character and totally unconnected with the ordinary subjects of party controversy. But an agreement upon it between parties would put an entirely new aspect on the controversy now being waged on the House of Lords question. That controversy has sprung from the opposition of the House of Lords to Liberal measures of legislation dealing with Finance, with Irish Home Rule, with Electoral Reform, and with Land, Temperance, Religion and Education. Over no other subject has any serious dispute ever arisen. The claim of the House of Commons to have undivided control over finance has already been formally conceded by the House of Lords. The subject of Irish Home Rule would become merged in the general scheme applicable to the United Kingdom as a whole; and Electoral Reform would necessarily accompany and be largely determined by this scheme. The remaining subjects are subjects which, under any conceivable scheme of Federal Home Rule, would be remitted to the subordinate Legislatures to deal with; and they would there be dealt with under conditions which would allow the judgment of the electors upon them to be expressed with a clearness and certainty impossible under existing conditions.

. is surely, therefore, true that an agreement between parties bout the principle of Federal Home Rule would put a new aspect n the House of Lords question, remove it from the arena of party olitics, and allow it to be settled on terms consistent with the ormal and traditional relations of the two Houses.

I will add in conclusion that Federal Home Rule is at once mperative and inevitable; that it is in itself consistent with the pirit and working of our Parliamentary system; and that it rovides the only adequate means of preserving that system from he paralysis and decay which are fast overtaking it. The question ow is whether we shall all consent to raise ourselves 'to the eight of a great situation and freely lend ourselves to the reasonble discussion of difficulties the settlement of which must for all ime to come profoundly affect the destinies of our country.'

J. A. MURRAY MACDONALD.

FRANCE IN NORTH AFRICA.

Now that France has become so deeply involved in the affairs of Morocco, while on the eastern and south-eastern frontiers of her African Empire she is troubled and perplexed by a revival of Turkish power, it may be as well to pass in review her position in North Africa, the work which she has achieved there since 1830, and the claims on the gratitude and consideration of Europe which she may have acquired by her eighty-one years' labours in North Africa. My qualifications for attempting this task are, that I have travelled in Algeria at intervals since 1879, that at one time and another I have visited all parts of Tunisia and something of Tripoli, that I know Egypt pretty well, and have recently returned from a journey into the eastern parts of Morocco.

French ambitions in regard to African dominion date from the end of the Crusades, from the landing of Louis IX at Carthage. This best of French kings might have succeeded with his project of conquering Tunis, as an additional bulwark of the Angevin Kingdom of Sicily and Naples, had it not been for the outbreak of the plague, from which he died, amid the ruins still standing of the Roman capital of Roman Africa. Under the reign of Francis I the bold plan was adopted (copied by Queen Elizabeth in the latter part of the same sixteenth century) of an alliance with the Turk and the Moslem, in consequence of which French fishermen and merchants acquired a better footing in the commerce of Algeria, Tunis, and Egypt.[1] Louis XIV developed distinct designs on Egypt and Abyssinia owing to the reports which he received from French consuls and travellers as to the weakness of the Mamluk government of the Nile Valley. Although his projects came to nought, they did not die away completely, but gave birth in the second half of the eighteenth century to the exploring journey of Sonnini, a young Alsatian traveller patronised by Buffon. French designs on Egypt finally bore fruit in the great expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte, who by landing at Alexandria with 40,000 men in 1798 really began the modern European scramble for African dominion.

[1] From this period dates the establishment of the French at La Calle in Eastern Algeria, their first foothold on the North African coast.

The vital importance of Egypt to British schemes of empire over Southern Asia (together with the possession on the part of Great Britain of the requisite sea power to enforce her purposes) brought about the French withdrawal from Egypt. But the Napoleonic invasion of that country with the marvellous past achieved immense good, and was followed by 110 years of Egyptological research. It also resulted in the tracing of the Nile to its source and the eventual redemption of Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan from the appalling devastation caused by the anarchical rule of Moslem Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Circassians, Greeks and Nubians.

The destruction of the French Navy during the Napoleonic wars brought France into contempt amongst the corsairs of the Barbary States. The worst phase of North African piracy had arisen early in the sixteenth century, in an attempt of the Barbary States and their allies, the Turks, to repel the attacks of Spain on North Africa and to avenge the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. But during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the beginning of the nineteenth, these corsairs, not content with attacking the coasts and the commerce of the Spanish Peninsula, extended their piracies into the Irish and British Channels, ravaged the coasts of Italy (usually without any provocation at all), and even molested the commerce of the United States when that Power achieved independence. By 1818, Great Britain, Holland, and the United States had practically ensured respect for their flags, their commerce, and their citizens on the part of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli; but France was still openly flouted by the Algerines and Moors, since the Turkish Deys and Beys of the Algerian coast and the Sultan of Morocco believed that France had not got the requisite naval strength to punish their insolence, and that no other European Power would champion the French cause (though Great Britain came to its assistance in 1819). Consequently, petty attacks on French shipping continued after the Napoleonic wars were over, and French consuls were treated with scant respect. The immediate cause of the French quarrel with Algiers was the refusal of the French monarchical government to repay to two Jewish citizens of Algiers the balance of a debt due for the supply of corn to the French Directory in 1796. This refusal led to quarrels between the Dey and the French Consul (besides disputes as to the subsidy due for and the right to fortify the French fishing and trading stations on the Algerian coast), and so by degrees to the final rupture in 1829 and the strong expedition sent by the Government of Charles X to attack Algiers in June 1830.

No doubt this expedition was determined on with a view to restoring the prestige of the French monarchy by a display of

military and naval strength in the Mediterranean, but it is incorrect to suppose that the French Government had no ulterior objects at that time. It is clear that the loss of Egypt rankled, and that under the pretext of chastising an independent Turkish prince, an attempt was going to be made to establish France on the opposite side of the Mediterranean, if such a project could be carried out without provoking Great Britain to war. The fall of Charles X's Government in July 1830 only slightly arrested the prosecution of the French plans; because although the French Government under Louis Philippe professed to be carrying out merely temporary measures in North Africa and to be ready to negotiate with Great Britain for withdrawal, nevertheless by the close of 1830 the French had taken possession of all the leading seaports of Algeria between the frontiers of Tunis and Morocco.

The liberal government of Louis Philippe being viewed sympathetically in England, British opposition to a French North African Empire relaxed, and by 1834 the French Government had deliberately assumed the responsibility for conquering and administering Algeria from the Mediterranean to the Sahara. In 1844 the insolent power of Morocco received a short, sharp, and wholesome lesson, and never again seriously attempted any interference in Algeria. Thenceforth and until 1904 only the opposition of Great Britain and of Spain stood between France and a conquest of Morocco. Great Britain also extended some kind of protection over Tunis until the Berlin Congress of 1878.

The British occupation of Cyprus, Egypt, and the Egyptian Sudan, together with the establishment of a protectorate over the eastern half of Nigeria, led inevitably to a relaxation of British jealousy in regard to Tunisia and Morocco, and to various agreements by which Great Britain withdrew her opposition to the extension of French interests in those countries, and agreed with France in ignoring the claims of Turkey to exercise any political rule beyond the southern frontiers of Tripoli, Fezzan, and Barka.[a] Consequently, in 1904, by that agreement with Great Britain which recognised the privileged position of the United Kingdom in Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, France believed herself to have (with the mental reservation of Italian aspirations in Tripoli and Spanish claims to the Riff coast of Morocco) a very free hand over North and North Central Africa; from Wadai and Bagirmi on the south-east, to the Atlantic coast on the west, and the Mediterranean on the north. The curious diplomatic trick by which Germany—when Britain and France were on bad terms—had first obtained from Great Britain a free hand on the Upper Benue and the Shari, and had then made use of this recognition

[a] For the simple reason that no such rule had ever been exercised either by Turkey or by her Egyptian or Tripolitan vassals.

of German rights to admit France to the Upper Benue and Lake Chad, inspired the French (combined with other indications) with the idea that Germany viewed with approval the creation of this huge empire in Africa as a pledge of peace, and an indication that France had tacitly turned her back on Alsace-Lorraine and would devote all her energies, wealth, and military strength to the creation of a vast French dominion over the northern half of Africa.

But there was a rude awakening for both France and Britain when the German Imperial Government insisted on the retirement of M. Delcassé, and by the special visit of the Emperor in the spring of 1905 gave an almost aggressive German recognition to the independence of Morocco.

The Conference of Algeciras in 1906 patched up an arrangement which saved the face of Germany, admitted to some extent the claims of France and Spain to interfere in the affairs of Morocco, and yet tied the hands of France very effectually in regard to the absorption within her own dominion of this most unruly Berber State. The Balkan crisis of 1909, provoked by another advance of Austro-Germany in the inevitable march to the Ægean Sea, led to a relaxation of stringency in regard to French operations in Morocco: indeed, in most organs of the French Press it was believed in 1909 that Germany had handed over Morocco to France in return for a free hand in the Nearer East. But this apparently was not the case: neither Power had committed itself very far in either direction. France now finds herself awkwardly situated in Morocco. The cruel, misgoverning Sultan deserves little commiseration; nor need we waste overmuch pity on his unruly and unwilling subjects, who are madly fanatical against the Christian European, pitilessly cruel, tribe against tribe, warped and spoilt by twelve centuries of civil war. To preserve her position in North Africa France is obliged to interfere in Morocco, and Germany (if I may crystallise vague threats into plain facts) obliges France to play the *rôle* in Morocco of the Sultan's ally and supporter. Far and away the best thing for Morocco and the people of Morocco at the present day would be the distinct and clear establishment of a French protectorate and the reduction of the Sultan to the same position as that now (honourably) occupied by the Bey of Tunis. Then, indeed, the country would go ahead. Its native population would increase by leaps and bounds, its incalculable natural riches be thrown open to commerce, while science would gain prodigiously by the examination of wonderful monuments of the past stretching back into far distant ages of pre-history. There would be revelations of a palæontological fauna which would almost rival that of the Himalayan foothills: there would be fresh discoveries in botany,

in living zoology, and the evolution of human races, which would exceed in interest anything yet made known by the French in Algeria and Tunis. Yet Germany not only bars the way, but is said to have incited Spain to claim more than her fair proportion of intervention in Northern Morocco, and possibly even to forestal the French in opening-up railway communication with Fez, the real capital of the Moorish Empire. Meantime, and until Germany and France can come to an understanding, the good days of Morocco are delayed.

Of course, Germany is right to act in what she believes to be the best interests of the German Empire. Germans in official positions with whom one may discuss this question will point out, with some bitterness, that France deals with North Africa on very different lines to those adopted by the United Kingdom in regard to India and all British possessions controlled in any way from London. The commercial policy of the French Government between Tunis and the Morocco frontier is one of protection for French subjects, so as not only to give them an unfair advantage in trade, but—since French capital does not enter North Africa very enthusiastically—to lock up the development of the resources of Algeria and Tunis in a somewhat dog-in-the-manger fashion: whereas, if this policy of protection, these differential duties and undue favour to French *concessionnaires* came to an end, there would be an enormous development of German commerce throughout North Africa. In regard to Algeria and Tunis Germany has nothing to say, since the present arrangements were recognised or not disputed by her many years ago: but she is loath to give up what claims she may possess to equality of treatment in Morocco, without either marked compensation in other parts of the world or some clear understanding with France that if the French flag is to wave over Morocco the whole of that country is nevertheless to enjoy a free trade *régime* quite different to what prevails in Algeria and Tunis. 'Then,' say the Germans, 'under the protection of the French flag we can perhaps become the strongest commercial Power in Morocco. We believe in that country and in its resources, and Germans prove to be very successful there as commercial agents.'

On the other hand, those forces which are behind the French Government in the commercial world of France still dislike very strongly the abandonment of protection for French interests. They ask why France should go to the great expense in men and money of conquering and administering Morocco, and maintaining law and order in Algeria and Tunis, mainly for the benefit of the commerce of other nations. They declare that if the present restrictions in Algeria and Tunis were not in force (and as regards Tunis they would like these restrictions strengthened and amplified

when existing commercial treaties come to an end) the bulk of the commerce would not be French, but would be British and Maltese, Italian or German.[3]

So far as Great Britain is concerned, she has for a very apparent compensation elsewhere surrendered any claims she may possess to free trade in North Africa. She has done so in regard to Algeria and Tunis, and is, no doubt, pledged to do so in Morocco if France succeeds in becoming with the assent of Europe the predominant power in that country. Yet in spite of this abandonment of British claims to free-trade treatment, mark how the trade of the British Empire with Algeria and Tunis has increased since the establishment of French dominion over those countries, and in spite of the preferences accorded to French trade. Our commerce might have multiplied with these countries at an even greater rate under a free-trade *régime*; still, we may be grateful for and sensible of the fact that it does so well under existing conditions,[4] and we are entitled to surmise that it will not fare badly when the French similarly rule Morocco. Much the same may be said in regard to the trade of Italy with French North Africa. As regards concessions: it strikes me from actual observation that there are not a few British concessionaire companies in Algeria and Tunis engaged in boring for oil, in digging phosphates, in lead, zinc, and iron mining operations, and in varied manufactures.

French people who discuss in an informal way this question of Morocco and of German claims to free-trade treatment, profess to believe that if France pledged herself, in return for an admitted political control over the greater part of Morocco, to maintain indefinitely a free-trade *régime* in that region, it would hamper her position in Algeria and Tunis and make it difficult for her to maintain any Protectionist policy in those countries, since goods entering Morocco under a free-trade treatment might so easily penetrate across the Sahara frontier into Algeria and Tunis.

[3] At present France and the French Empire do an annual trade with Algeria and Tunis of a combined approximate value of 31,000,000*l.* (taking the figures of 1908 as a sample): the German trade with French North Africa for the same annual period is only about 673,000*l.*; that of Italy about 1,400,000*l.*

[4] The approximate value of the trade between the British Empire and Algeria and Tunis for 1909 was 2,300,000*l.*, nearly twice as much as in 1880; British trade with Morocco for the year 1907 was about 1,714,000*l.* in value; French trade with Morocco for the same period was 1,635,000*l.*; German trade with Morocco for 1907 was 652,000*l.* The total value of the trade of Morocco with the outside world in the year 1908 was approximately 5,600,000*l.* in value. Yet Morocco has an area of about 219,000 square miles and a population of at least 5,000,000. The area of settled Northern Algeria (distinct in administration from Southern or Saharan Algeria) is 184,500 square miles, and its population is about 4,800,000; but after eighty years of French rule there less than five millions of Algerians do a trade with the outside world of an annual value of about 31,000,000*l.*

Personally, this seems to me a foolish argument. Morocco is under a free-trade *régime* at the present day, but the French hold in force the eastern frontier regions of Morocco, and the amount of goods which evade Algerian customs duties and penetrate into that country or into Tunis cannot, from the miserable conditions of transport, bring any appreciable loss to French revenues or commercial interests. Moreover, a provincial feeling is arising in both Algeria and Tunis which is resenting with ever-increasing strength the holding in tutelage of those countries to French merchants and capitalists, and this feeling is the more noteworthy since it is voiced chiefly by Frenchmen or colonists of French descent who are asking that Algeria and Tunis may have free trade and unfettered steam transport with all the world. A bitter feeling is arising as to the poor speed, poor accommodation, and other defects in the lines of French steamers which connect the Algerian and Tunisian coasts with the South of France, and when I was in North Africa in the early part of the present year I noted with some surprise the exaggerated enthusiasm with which the French colonists of Tunis and Algeria welcomed in their Press the establishment or extension of German lines connecting North Africa with Genoa. I believe myself that what remains of protection and privilege for French commerce and French capital in Algeria and Tunis is on the road to extinction, and that these countries will prosper so greatly under a complete *régime* of free trade that not only will their loyalty to the French nation increase, but their very prosperity will indirectly enrich France in many ways, while it will greatly add to her power in Europe.

Meantime, the position is this, that Great Britain has received compensation for any harm which may come to her commerce by the establishment of French rule over Morocco, while Germany has not; and the plea of previous articles of mine in this Review has been that, for the sake not only of the world's peace but of the development of the world's resources in barbarous countries, the position of Germany and of German commerce should receive the most careful attention at the hands of the other Great Powers, in order that Germany might receive fair play and be deprived of any inducement to disturb the world's peace by assertions of fair or of unsatisfied claims.

But in addition to this, any impartial student of North African affairs, of the North African past and present, must feel impelled to make an appeal to the most highly educated nation in the world —Germany—for sympathy and even indulgence in regard to the French position in North Africa.

Let us consider a brief summary of what France has done in these regions since 1830. She found Algeria in this condition. A

Dey[5] of Turkish descent ruled at Algiers and along the coast for a hundred miles or so on either side of that town. He maintained his power chiefly by the aid of Turkish soldiery, and raided and robbed the Berber inhabitants of the interior wherever he was strong enough to do so. Another Turkish Dey resided at Oran and governed the coastline between Mostaganem and the Morocco frontier, and inland as far as Tlemcen. On the east of the Algiers Deylik there was an independent Turkish Bey at Constantine, who controlled the coast between Philippeville and the Tunisian frontier. The Regency of Tunis was the hereditary sovereignty of a Turkish prince or Bey who was in somewhat nearer relations of suzerainty with the Sultan at Constantinople. These Turkish princes merely governed the littoral and held a few strong and ancient towns in the interior. Elsewhere the Berber and Arab tribes were more or less independent, and those of nomadic habits were constantly raiding the settled agriculturists, hindering all progress, incidentally aiding the advance of the sandy desert, keeping down population and allowing their flocks and herds to destroy the forests and thereby lessen the rainfall and humidity. The condition of Algeria and Tunis in 1830 was lamentable, and offered the most striking contrast to the times of the Roman or even Byzantine Empire, when North Africa far down into the Sahara Desert, and especially along the Mediterranean coasts, was almost crowded with stone-built towns and possessed quite a number of magnificent cities, the public buildings of which—as may be seen by their surviving ruins—vied in architecture and beauty with those of Italy. The water supply was carefully preserved and was utilised for the maintenance of a prosperous agriculture and horticulture. Roads traversed Algeria, Tunisia, and parts of Morocco in all directions. Wild elephants still existed and were frequently tamed and exported to Europe, whilst their ivory was an article of commerce. Much of Morocco, it is true, remained a savage country; yet it does not seem to have been as markedly hostile to European penetration as at the present day, and the forests of the Atlas furnished a good deal of timber to the Roman world. In Algeria and Tunis there were fewer swamps and arid tracts than there are now (still more was this the case in comparison to 1830), and consequently the country was far more densely populated and seems to have had little or no malaria.

The first blow to the prosperity of Roman Africa came from the

[5] 'Dey' was a cant soldier's term in Turkish for 'uncle,' and was applied by the janissaries to the leader or representative whom they elected (at first an elderly man) to represent their interests in the government of these pirate States. In the seventeenth century this nominee of the Turkish soldiery, among whom there were very many European renegades, displaced the Pasha sent from Constantinople and became sole ruler. The same was the case with the military Beys of Tunis and Constantine.

invasion of the Vandals, but this damage was repaired by the Byzantine conquest. The Arab invasions of 648 and 669-88 dealt undoubtedly a deadly blow at Roman civilisation between Tangier and Tripoli, yet in time there was a certan recovery; checked again by the 'Hilalian'* Arab invasion of the middle eleventh century, by the widespread ravages of a plague (coming from Egypt) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the irruption into Morocco and Western Algeria of the negroid Murabitin (Al Moravides) in the eleventh century. Yet there was a great revival of civilisation of a Roman type once more under the Berber dynasties between Morocco and Tripoli, a civilisation no doubt mainly inspired by Moorish Spain and lasting until the arrival of the fatal Turks in the middle of the sixteenth century. With the Turkish invasion of Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli at that period began three centuries of misery and degradation for North Africa, while at the same time the de-civilisation of Morocco commenced and continued under the present Sharifian dynasty, a dynasty which came from the south—Sus and Tafilalt—and which negrified Morocco by its conquest of the Western Sudan and its importation of negro troops and negro slaves into Morocco.

In Algeria France has drained innumerable swamps and planted millions of hectares of barren land. The climate here and there has become more humid, and therefore has made agriculture or stock-rearing more possible or profitable, and is far more healthy for Europeans and natives than it was seventy years ago. There are districts at the present day regarded as sanatoria which, in the remembrance of the writer of this article, were seriously unhealthy in 1880. Far down in the Sahara Desert artesian wells have tapped the underground water-supply which percolates through so much of that seemingly hopeless area. This has led to a great increase in barley cultivation and in the growth of date palms, and consequently of the indigenous population of Berbers and Arabs. The extinction of the lion, finally achieved about 1888—regrettable though it may be from a naturalist's point of view—and the considerable diminution in numbers of the large panthers, the chitas, and hyenas, have also operated favourably on the keeping of live stock. The French have battled with the locusts on a heroic scale, and in many parts of Algeria this once constant plague has become nothing more than a tradition, a remembrance of the bad old times in the minds of the middle-aged or old. Districts which I saw as blank, hopeless, sandy desert in 1880 were flourishing gardens or orchards when I revisited them in 1897-8

* A term now much in use by French historians to describe the considerable 'Arabising' of Northern Africa which occurred during the eleventh century, due to the invasion of the Sahara and Mauretania by the Arab tribes of the Beni-Hilal and the Beni-Soleim.

or in 1911—growing oranges, figs, dates, pomegranates, lentils, barley, lucerne, and caroubs. Good carriageable roads where not one carriageable road existed in 1830 have been made throughout Algeria to the extent of about 1900 miles and extending as far south as Wargla in the Sahara Desert. In Tunisia in 1880 there were about 150 miles of carriageable roads. At the present date this French protectorate has about 1800 miles of well-made roads over which horse-carriages, motors and bicycles can pass with ease and comfort. In the wilder regions of the Regency excellent rest-houses for natives and for Europeans—clean, comfortable, and safe, and with simple wholesome food for men and forage for beasts—are maintained by the Tunisian Government. In 1880 I was unable to travel anywhere in Tunis at any distance from the principal towns without an escort, special permission and special facilities. At the present day Tunisia is as safe and as open to tourists as France itself, while, of course, the same thing can be said not only of Algeria but of all those frontier regions in the east and south of Morocco which are in French occupation. The beautiful and picturesque oasis of Figuig in south-eastern Morocco, the reaching of which some ten years ago would have been a feat almost deserving a minor reward of a geographical society and which would have occupied some three weeks from London or Paris, is now a steamer and railway journey from either of those capitals of no more than five or four days, and requires no special permission or any more foresight than the writing a day or two beforehand to the comfortable Hôtel du Sahara to secure rooms. Six hundred and seventy miles of railways have been constructed in Tunisia and over 2000 miles in Algeria, and on the whole these railways, if not as speedy, are actually more comfortable in average accommodation than the railways of Sussex and Kent. No town of Algeria or Tunis is without its one or more hotels, and the food, accommodation, and moderate prices of these establishments are deserving of well-merited praise in the tourist world. In fact, if Marseilles were a better-organised port than it is, and the direct steamship lines between Marseilles, Algeria and Tunis provided swifter and larger boats, with better accommodation and better food, Algeria and Tunis should absorb a large proportion of those European tourists who between October and April travel in search of sunshine and flowers.

A glance at commercial statistics will show how the trade of Europe and the United States has increased with French North Africa during the last thirty years. No Congo policy has been followed here. The land has not been taken away from the indigenes, who continue to possess their due proportion of it and who have long since come to feel a marked confidence in the justice of the French courts, or, as in Tunis, in their native tribunals.

reformed and controlled as these are by French oversight. The position of the Jews has entirely changed since the arrival of the French. They are now on the same footing as Europeans, and consequently of late years have shown a marked improvement in morale, in education, and in physique. Under the direct encouragement of France, something like 295,000 colonists of French descent exist in Algeria and are at last beginning to prosper.[7] About 35,000 French men and women are now established in Tunis, in which country also Italian immigration instead of diminishing has increased since the establishment of the French protectorate and can now show a total of something like 84,000 colonists. There are also 11,000 Maltese living happily and safely in the same *region*. In Algeria there are 40,000 Italians and 10,000 Maltese, more especially in the eastern part, besides another 30,000 or so Italians and Maltese that have become French citizens and a part of the French-speaking community. In the western parts of Algeria there are 160,000 Spaniards, and another 40,000 colonists of Spanish descent who are naturalised French citizens. An increasing proportion of the Spaniards in Algiers are becoming French subjects, and their children, I have noticed, are bi-lingual, speaking French with as much fluency as Spanish. No matter what gibes may be cast by French and English at the somewhat barbarous manners of the Spaniards of Oran or the Italians of Bone, it is clear to the present writer that the children and the descendants of these other Latin colonists are rapidly assimilating in character with those of French descent, and before more than one or two generations are past will, together not only with the Jews, but even a proportion of the Berber population, become fused into a homogeneous French-speaking population of North Africa.

The French of late have done much not only to realise the importance of the Berber element in North Africa and the great difference of character and value between the Berber and the Arab, but to bring home these differences to the Berbers themselves and induce them, as far as their unhappy attachment to Islam permits, to throw in their lot with that of the European world in the future. In Tunis and in Western Algeria the practice of monogamy is spreading amongst the Berbers, always well inclined to it in principle; for amongst the unspoilt Berber peoples woman holds a far higher position than among the Arabs or Turks.

[Quite the unhappiest thing that ever happened to North Africa was the Muhammadan conquest in the seventh and eighth

[7] In 1861, there were 112,229 French settlers and 80,517 Italians, Spaniards, Maltese, Germans, and Swiss—192,746 European colonists, as against about 680,500 in 1907.

centuries. But for the religious barrier thus created the civilisin work of Rome would have been continued over all this region with out check. One hundred years hence, when we are—all over th world—much wiser than at the present day, it will be realise that one of the most disastrous episodes in human history was t uprising and the success of Muhammad.]

Islamic fanaticism still attains its culmination in the wester and eastern extremes of the Muhammadan world; in Morocco an in Afghanistan. In Tunis, perhaps owing to the deep-seate influence of Rome in this most Roman part of Africa, there ha never been quite the same hatred of Christian Europe an Christian civilisation as elsewhere in North Africa; and sin 1881 the peaceful penetration of France and her wise and wel planned measures for the administration of the country and i restoration to prosperity, have been little, if at all, opposed interfered with by Muhammadan fanaticism. But in Algeria th struggle has been long and obstinate, and is still not at an en though there has been a perceptible amelioration since t beginning of the twentieth century. Mons. Edmond Doutté in h exceedingly interesting work on Morocco, published in 1905 points out that, in spite of optimism based on consciousness well-doing, Frenchmen would be rash in concluding that the presence in Algeria or Morocco was really desired by th Muhammadan natives of those countries, still less that the was any widespread wish on the part of the Moroccans for French protectorate. He points out, for example, how unpopul for a long time was the law of compulsory vaccination in Algeri though its steady maintenance has almost extirpated smallp from that region. The Algerians believe it to be a crafty pla for sterilising them sexually and thus arresting their increase Though if they glanced at statistics they would see that und French rule the native population has increased from 2,340,00 in 1861 to 4,418,000 in 1907. The laws for the establishmen of personal property, for the registration of births, death marriages, and testamentary dispositions, for taking a census the population, for establishing insurance and mutual-benef societies—in fact, every measure to increase the welfare of th masses—were viewed at first and for long with the profounde suspicion. Even yet, in such of the Muhammadan schools Algeria as are not under the control of the French Governmen the pupils are taught systematically that the Christian is tryin to warp their social life into a denial of Islam and consequent

* *Merrakech*, published by the Comité du Maroc, Paris. Two other books the present condition of Morocco well worth reading are: *Morocco of To-day*, Eugène Aubin: J. M. Dent, 1906; and *Les Confins Algéro-Marocains*, p Augustin Bernard: Paris, Emile Larose, 1911.

is bringing them within danger of Hell-fire in the next world. Yet Mons. Doutté, whom I met at Algiers at the beginning of this year, has written his definite conviction 'that a slow but sure movement is growing which draws us and our Moslem fellow-citizens in Algeria together into a community of feeling, and that this movement is undoubtedly strengthened by the good administrative measures of recent years. It is a movement which cannot be hastened by impatient advances on our part, nor can it be seriously delayed by the existing fanaticism of middle-aged Muhammadans, but it is as irresistible as the progress of a glacier. . . . Actually our entry into Algeria, by the suspicion and terror of the foreigner which it aroused, hastened or accentuated the Islamising of not a few Berber peoples and tribes who had hitherto almost remained in a pagan state, while it sharpened the fanaticism of the Muhammadans in the great towns of Algeria and Morocco.' In his book on *Merrakech* (Morocco) Mons. Doutté gives a number of illustrations of the way in which Muhammadans in Algeria and Morocco still seek to express their hatred or contempt for the Christian; how in their answers they almost invariably evade the reply of 'Peace be on you' to the Christian's polite greeting, the struggle being especially to avoid the use of the word *salam* (peace). In letters this is sometimes written indistinctly so that it may read *semm*, which means 'poison,' or the phrase used is 'Peace on those . . . who follow the true religion.'

Of late years French travellers and officials have noted a revival of Muhammadan fanaticism on the Tunisian borders and in Morocco; and they have not hesitated to charge Turkey with being the direct inspirer of this renewed hatred of the Christian, and have even bitterly reflected on Germany as the instigator for her own purposes of Turkey, especially under the Hamidian *régime*, and quite recently (1910) under the Young Turkey renaissance. That there were *agents provocateurs* coming from Turkish Tripoli into French Tunis some twelve years ago, I am able to confirm with my own observations when travelling then in the extreme south of Tunisia. A little later on a well-known German official in the Levant certainly went to indiscreet lengths in the Tripolitaine, in Egypt, and in Syria, in inflaming Turkish and Arab opinion against both France and England, and suggesting that the real friend of Islam was Germany, and that under German protection Islam might regain the empire of its palmy days. How much of the accusations levelled against this official was true I am unable to say, but that the impression was given about five years ago, from Morocco to the Euphrates, that Germany was about to champion the cause of Islam against the other European Powers, I am fully aware from my own experiences in

travel. If the high authorities of the German Empire cou selled any such methods on the part of their minor agents in t Eastern world, no doubt it was in pursuance of some Germ interest or ambition, and they were no more blameworthy in th direction than the governing authorities of Great Britain wh they have allowed people to blacken the character of the Frenc the Boers, or the Portuguese when at issue with those nationaliti Yet I question the prudence of the pro-Islamic attitude attribut to German policy in 1905-6 and in 1910, for I believe that in world-questions, such as the support or otherwise of Islan fanaticism, Germany must be *solidaire* in her interests with rest of Christian Europe. Any such weapon as she might for for the injury of Britain or France in Africa might be turr against herself to-day in Africa or later in Western Asia.

France in North Africa is in the main carrying out the purpo and subserving the interests of civilised Europe, just as Germa or Austro-Germany is doing and may be doing the same in otl regions at present undeveloped and barely civilised. France m have made, and may still be making, mistakes in her polic commercial, fiscal, or administrative. These are much more easi pointed out and remedied by explanations than by spokes plac between the wheels. Personally, I take as keen an interest the gains to science and civilisation which are accruing, and a likely to accrue, from German colonial developments and ent prise in foreign countries as I do in those which are under t flag of my own country or that of France; but I do not feel th German ambitions will in the long run be benefited by increasi the difficulties which France already finds in her path in t restoration of North Africa to civilisation. I imagine that students of science and world-citizens would like to see Fran given a very free hand in the North of Africa, so that she mig not only repair the ravages of the Arab and the Turk, but fig Nature herself, and by means of railways, artesian wells, and t establishment of law and order, restore large portions of t Sahara Desert to the habitable condition in which they were no very remote period in the ancient history of Man.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA IN THE MAKING

THE average English reader of serious literature, who combines with a smattering of Shakespeare some recollections of the writings of a few of the other dramatists of his period, would no doubt be much perplexed were he to be told that our chief and most reliable informant on the subject of the drama, the playwrights and the history of the Stage in England at that time was an illiterate person of a business turn of mind who devoted himself in the course of a somewhat diversified commercial career to the occupations of a dyer, a pawnbroker, a starch-manufacturer, a timber-merchant, a dealer in real estate and a stage-manager, during the last years of Elizabeth's reign, and for sixteen years of the following century. And yet, as a matter of fact, such was the man that Philip Henslowe was, and such the nature and importance of the ill-written but invaluable manuscript that has reached us from his hands.

Within its time-worn and occasionally mutilated pages which have been lying for some three hundred years in Dulwich College, there is to be found a contemporaneous and accurate account of the manner in which a vast number of the great dramas of England's Augustan age were composed, the curious conditions attending their composition, the strange collaboration which in many cases led to their production, and the actual dates on which a great number of them were staged for the first time before the theatre-going public of the day; together with a crowd of other scraps of information connected with theatrical life and living outside and inside the tiring-room in that wonderful age, when our dawning literature had sprung, as the young lark springs from the mountain grass, into an adolescence of perfect music, which three centuries of education and advancing knowledge have not enabled us to surpass.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the newspaper-reading public of our time possess a fuller acquaintance with the manners and customs of the Egyptians of Pharaoh's day than they do with the records to be found in this extraordinary volume, which is lying within our easy reach, and has long been known as *Henslowe's Diary*. Many learned students of Shakespeare's period

have of course known it, in a way, since the publication of Malone's Shakespeare in 1790; but the Dublin editor in drawing attention to it for the first time had but scanty opportunity of doing justice to the manuscript in his *Additions*, in which he explains, by way of apology for not going more deeply into the subject, that the original was obligingly transmitted to him from Dulwich College only just as his work was issuing from the press. Malone, indeed, did not attempt to give anything more than extracts from the so-called *Diary*—but, extracts though they were, they lit up the literary surroundings of Shakespeare's time with the penetrating effulgence of a search-light, the like of which had not up till then been thrown upon the dark corners of Elizabethan methods of dramatic composition; and to scholars of the drama when still in its infancy, the result was a revelation of very vast importance. The mistake made by Malone was his publication of only such portions as appeared to him worthy of preservation; for the nature of the manuscript was such that it obviously should have been presented in its entirety in the first instance, when the world of Shakespearian students would have had an opportunity of analysing the whole and deriving therefrom the full benefit of a knowledge which had been too long kept from them. It is but fair to say, however, that Malone's notes appended to the selections he has given us are full of enlightenment and give many and strong indications of that broad acquaintance with the drama of Tudor times which has long been associated with his name. Other extracts were brought to light after a further lapse of time when Boswell's Variorum edition of 1821 appeared; but it is only quite recently that this interesting manuscript has been printed *in extenso*, with an admirable introduction, copious and learned notes, and every other indication of thoroughgoing research and careful editing.[1]

The volume which contains this surpassingly fascinating manuscript was at first apparently used by one John Henslowe, from the year 1576 to 1581, for the purpose of recording accounts relating to the felling and sale of timber and suchlike on the Ashdown Forest Estate. Having served its purpose in this way, the book seems to have been laid aside, its existence being perhaps forgotten, for a period of about ten years. Philip Henslowe would seem to have come across it in 1592; and he, thrifty man of business that he was, from that date on made use of it as a note-book for the jotting down from day to day of private memoranda and business transactions connected with the stage. These entries, with occasional breaks, run on to the year 1609.

[1] *Henslowe's Diary*, Edited by Walter W. Greg. Part I. Text, Lond. 1904: Part II. Commentary, 1908: and uniform with the foregoing, *Henslowe Papers*, Lond. 1907. 3 vols. 4to.

Henslowe's son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, who, though perhaps the ablest comedian of his time retired from the stage somewhere about 1604—possibly for the purpose of taking a more active partnership with his father-in-law in the business of theatre proprietor and stage manager—founded some ten years later the College of God's Gift at Dulwich. Henslowe dying in 1616, his papers, including the Manuscript Diary, came into the hands of Alleyn, and through Alleyn became the property of Dulwich College. Malone in 1780, then working at his well-known edition of Shakespeare, got to know somehow of the existence and locality of the manuscript; but it was ten years before the College authorities, just before 1790, injudiciously perhaps, handed the volume over to the care of the Dublin editor, in whose hands it remained for many years. Malone's account of the manuscript has already been alluded to, and, unsatisfactory as may have been his half-performed task, he is undoubtedly entitled to all the credit of having through his discovery been the pioneer into a then untravelled country in the regions of English drama.

Unfortunately for the reputation of British Shakespearian editors, the generous laxity of the authorities of Dulwich College was afterwards extended to John P. Collier, who in 1843-45 edited for the Shakespeare Society Alleyn's Papers, including a modernised transcript of the Diary of Henslowe. He, too, was allowed to take the volume away and retain it in his absolute possession. From this time on, an atmosphere of unpleasantness comes about the scene. There is no doubt that when it was first discovered, the manuscript was already disfigured by mutilations, some of which unquestionably dated from Henslowe's own day. Leaves were missing, and portions of pages had been removed that contained autograph signatures of Henslowe's dramatic contemporaries. Collier, writing in 1845, went so far as to suggest that some of the mutilations which he had noticed had been made within fifty years of his own time. The inference was obvious. Malone was in his opinion the mutilator, or possibly Boswell, who as Malone's executor had the volume for some time in his hands. Malone, in his extracts, certainly had given some quotations from the manuscript which are not now to be found in it, and which, if Collier be accurate, were not there when Collier had the volume in his possession.

> By whom or when the mutilations in the Diary were made (says Mr. Greg) there is no conclusive evidence to show, and it is impossible to acquit Malone and Boswell jointly of gross carelessness in the matter if of nothing worse. On the other hand, two of the missing fragments have found their way to the British Museum, and one of these, an autograph entry by Alleyn, is contained in a manuscript scrap-book put together by Collier.

Amongst other excellent features of Mr. Greg's work, all the

forged entries are introduced in his text distinguished by special type.

Before considering the contents of the manuscript in greater detail, it may be well to give some account of its curious author. In the year 1585 Philip Henslowe became the owner of a property on the Bankside in Southwark, close beside the spot on which the Rose Theatre was shortly afterwards erected under his own supervision and out of materials purchased by himself. He had married the wealthy widow of a man named Woodward (of whom we know practically nothing), whose daughter Joan Woodward in 1592 became the wife of Edward Alleyn, afterwards the famous actor and manager. Alleyn, who had some ten years previously been a member of the theatrical company patronised by the Earl of Worcester, and later on one of the Lord Admiral's men, acted afterwards with Lord Strange's men (Shakespeare's Company) at the newly-built Rose—where in all probability he first became acquainted with the Henslowe family. Philip Henslowe had already risen to some notoriety when his step-daughter married Alleyn, as we find him in 1592 a Groom of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth. He was afterwards, in 1603, Gentleman Sewer of the Chamber to James I.

From the time he took on the management of the Rose, his connection with many of the leading actors and playwrights of the day becomes interestingly frequent, and the Diary teems with curious records of the many transactions that passed between them. In 1599 we find Alleyn in possession of the lease of the Fortune estate, in which his father-in-law became co-tenant with him two years later; and before long the two were the principal proprietors of the Swan, the Rose, the Hope, the playhouse at Newington Butts, the Fortune, and a bear-garden or two as well. It is not to be wondered at that in 1612 Henslowe was a man of such importance in Southwark as to be elected one of the six governors of the Free Grammar School in the parish of St. Saviour, although there is something almost comic in the appointment of so utterly illiterate a man as he was to an office connected in any way with education.

He died in the same year that Shakespeare died, 1616, and was buried in St. Saviour's Church; but the funeral sermon, for the payment of which he had left 40*s*. in his will, was not delivered for about two years after his death, owing to legal proceedings instituted by his nephew John Henslowe, who had been passed over for some misconduct by the wealthy testator in favour of a grand nephew.[1]

The contents of the Diary may be divided, as Mr. Greg suggests, into six groups, the first three of which, having to do

[1] *Genealogist*, N.S. IV. 149.

with matters of a domestic character, pawnbroking transactions and starch-making, may be passed over without further notice. The last three groups are altogether connected with the drama, and comprise receipts from performances at theatres, expenditure made for stage equipments of various kinds, and memoranda of a miscellaneous nature in reference to Henslowe's dealings with a considerable number of the playwrights of the time, his loans of money to actors, notes in reference to the engagements of players, payments to the Master of the Revels, the settling of difficulties with civic authorities, and legal proceedings connected with the management of the companies.

It may be well, perhaps, before dealing in any detail with the contents of the manuscript to say a few brief words on the subject of the dramatic companies and their patrons at the time. The references to many of these companies are frequent in the Diary, and some knowledge of their origin, names and curiously artificial conditions is essential to a proper understanding of Henslowe's allusions. Speaking broadly it may be said that actors even at a much earlier date than the opening stage-notes recorded by Henslowe were no better than rogues and vagabonds.[3] Luckily, however, for those who followed the actor's profession (or 'quality' as it was commonly called) the Court, not to mention others of rank, had occasion every now and then to rely on their aid for purposes of entertainment. In this way, in all probability, it came about that choristers and groups of tumblers and acrobats were in early days enrolled under the name of the 'Servants' of some noble lord; and later on enjoyed even a more permanent protection as stage players under the title of Lord So-and-So's Company, or the Lord Chamberlain's or Lord Admiral's men. The relation between the aristocratic patron and his so-called 'servants' was in practice however merely nominal.

At the time when Henslowe's Diary commences, his first entries in reference to plays relate to the performances of Lord Strange's men at the opening of the Rose in February 1592. This particular company, the most famous of them all, owing to Shakespeare's connexion with it, was known by the successive titles of the Queen's (1574), Lord Leicester's (1585), Lord Strange's (1589), Lord Derby's (1594), the Lord Chamberlain's (1594) and the King's (1603). There were many other companies at the time, but the only one amongst them that offered any serious opposition to the Strange-Chamberlain combination was that chiefly employed by Henslowe, the Lord Admiral's, which

[3] The statute of 1572 enacted that travelling players must be the retainers of some 'Baron of the realm, or . . . other honorable personage of greater degree,' or 'have licence of two justices of the peace at the least.' See *English Dramatic Companies*, 1558-1642, by John T. Murray. 2 vols. Lond. 1910.

after the accession of James I was known as the Prince's men, Henry Prince of Wales having then become their patron.[4] It is a matter of unending regret that the doings of the company to which Shakespeare remained attached during his career as a dramatist occupy but a few pages in Henslowe's extraordinary manuscript. So far as time goes, the entries relating to that company are covered by a space of less than six months, and it was unfortunately too at a period when Henslowe's interest in the Rose Theatre was merely that of a landlord entitled, perhaps by way of rent, to a percentage of the door-money taken at each performance given in the house. For all his varied information he does not ever tell us what exact proportion of the takings were his. When later in the Diary he details the payments made to the many playwrights who were working for his company, the Chamberlain's men had passed out of his reach, and had become through Shakespeare's pre-eminence his most formidable rivals in the production of successful plays. Some such records as those kept by Henslowe were, we know, also kept by one member at least of Shakespeare's company, and are referred to by Heminge in his will dated the 9th of October 1630: 'And for the better performance thereof (*i.e.* the payment of his debts and discharge of his legacies), my will, mind, and desire is, that my said parts in the said playhouses (the Globe and Black-fryers) should be employed in playing, the better to raise profit thereby as formerly the same have been, and have yielded good yearly profit, as by my books will in that behalf appear.' It is now, however, too late to hope that these books will ever be found.

One of the first entries by Henslowe connected with the stage which we meet is typical of the general run of the whole manuscript, and well illustrates the writer's illiterate state, to say nothing of the more or less hieroglyphic character of what he has set down[5]:

> Jn the name of god Amen 1591 (2)
> beginge the 19 of febreary my
> lord strange's mene a ffoloweth

> R, at fryer bacune the 19 of febrary Satterdaye xvijs iijd
>
> . . . .
>
> ne . . . R, at harey the vj the 3 of marche 1591 iij [11] xvjs 8d
>
> . . . .
>
> R, at the comodey of doneoracio the 13 marche 1591 xxviiijs

[4] For a full and exhaustive history of all the acting groups both in London and the provinces, see *English Dramatic Companies*, by J. T. Murray. 1910.

[5] The perplexing singularity of Henslowe's spelling will be seen more clearly in the following additional examples: Serberosse = Cerberus, Ierosses head = Iris' head, Dowlfen = Dauphin, Ponescdones Pillet = Pontius Pilate, Greasyan = Grecian, cllath = cloth, eayeares = heirs, grynwige = Greenwich, safer = sapphire, scietison & sytysen = citizen, sente talbens = St. Albans, youse = use.

Unravelling the twisted orthography in which these entries are involved, we find that Lord Strange's men (the Company that Shakespeare attached himself to) were playing, on the dates specified,* at the Rose, then Henslowe's theatre, which had just been opened, and that amongst many other plays they acted *Friar Bacon* (which we know to be by Robert Greene), *Henry the Sixth* (the first form of Shakespeare's play), and *Don Horatio* (or the *Comedy of Jeronymo*, by Kyd). The entries tell us further that from the performances of these dramas Henslowe's own receipts on the dates mentioned were respectively 17*s.* 3*d.*, 3*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*, and 29*s.*; and, over and above all this, that *Henry VI*, as played on the 3rd of March, was a first performance—such being the important significance of the letters 'ne' set opposite to this particular item.

These same letters are constantly recurring through the whole manuscript; and, whether standing for 'new enterlude' or merely for 'new,' are agreed on all hands to signify a *première* presentation. They form for this reason the most valuable syllable in the book.

Such daily entries as those quoted run, with occasional breaks, from the 19th of February 1592 down to the 5th of November 1597. But before going on to 1597, it is worth while to look more closely into the entries comprised in the period which runs from the 19th of February to the 22nd of June of 1592, this being the period of momentous interest during which Shakespeare's Company was playing at the Rose.

Twenty-three plays in all were given by Lord Strange's men in these four months. Their names are set out in Henslowe's ill-spelled scrawl, and the sums he personally pocketed from their performance, but no syllable is there, at this period, to tell us any of the authors' names. For all his silence, however, we know pretty well who the writers of the great majority of the plays he mentions were, for *Jeronymo*, or *The Spanish Tragedy*, is a play by Kyd; *Orlando* and *Friar Bacon* are by Greene; *The Looking Glass* is a joint production by Greene and Lodge; *The Jew of Malta* is by Marlowe; and *The Battle of Alcazar* (by Henslowe called *Muly Molocco*, though the identification is uncertain) is by Peele. The foregoing were all old plays; that is, plays that had already been performed elsewhere. Of new plays, Lord Strange's men gave, as already stated, *Henry VI*, which is identified with what we now know as *The First Part of Henry VI*,

* Henslowe's year-dates follow the custom of his time, when the new year was taken to begin 25th March. Dates falling between 1st January and 25th March are consequently described by him as a year earlier than we should now describe them, as in the case quoted, where 19th February 1591 really represents 1592.

through Nash's reference to it in *Piers Pennilesse*. This play when first represented was the draw of the season—being acted no less than sixteen times, as we know from the Diary—while Nash tells us that it was seen by 10,000 spectators. 'I have no doubt,' Fleay writes in his *Life of Shakespeare*, 'that it was by Marlowe, with the aid of Peele, Lodge, and Greene . . . and that the episode of Talbot's death was by Shakespeare'; and with this opinion our best Shakespearians are in complete agreement.

Another most interesting feature of the all-important entries which cover the short period during which Henslowe was in business relations with Shakespeare's Company is that in this period, and in this period alone, out of the many years over which the dramatic notes of the Diary extend, do we find any mention of a certain number of plays which, rightly or wrongly, have been, theoretically at least, identified for many years now as original dramas either written by the young Shakespeare, or as adopted by and rewritten by him at a later date in the form in which we now possess them. Inasmuch as the Chamberlain's and the Admiral's men were in joint occupation of one or other of Henslowe's theatres during this time, and as the form in which Henslowe's accounts appear at this period does not distinguish between the plays given by one Company and those given by the other, we must look for circumstantial evidence to fill the gap which has been left vacant by the Diarist; and here both Mr. Fleay's and Mr. Greg's powers of observation have been of very material service in drawing marked attention to the fact that the plays, *Henry VI*, *Titus*, *Hamlet*, and *The Taming of a Shrew*, which are only mentioned during the short six months during which Shakespeare's Company was employed by Henslowe, must necessarily have been plays that belonged to the Strange-Chamberlain combination alone. Being such, it of course is very obvious that they were plays to which Shakespeare had access, and that too with every opportunity and encouragement given by his own Company to improve upon or rewrite them in the fashion shown by the Diary itself in other cases to have been the usual custom of the day.

An amazing amount of information is really to be gathered from the few entries I have mentioned when taken in connexion with the stage history of the time. They teem, amongst other things, with confirmation of all that we have long believed of the beginnings and development of Shakespeare's greatness as a dramatist, although we cannot but regret that his name never once occurs in reference to any of them, or indeed throughout the whole Diary. The actor-playwright from Stratford was undoubtedly in Lord Strange's Company at this date (1592-94). It was the only Company with which there is any reason to believe

he was ever connected, and he remained with it until the day of his final retirement from the theatre. It is indeed more than likely that he joined this very Company, in some capacity or other, when its members were on tour at Stratford in 1587, as we know they were, under their then name of Leicester's Company. From that time forward Shakespeare was the prentice hand, learning his trade *at the feet, as it were*, of the best of masters, Robert Wilson, Geo. Peele, and later Marlowe, Greene, Lodge, and many others. That his progress as a poet and dramatist was wonderfully rapid, we have the well-known testimony of Meres in 1598: 'Mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare,' are his words; and in addition to mentioning by name *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and 'his sugared sonnets among his private friends,' he sets out, with unstinted commendation, the names of twelve of Shakespeare's plays.

But earlier by six years, and no less impressive, as a piece of evidence, we have Greene's jealous and despairing cry from his death-bed, urging his fellow-playwrights to keep aloof from the actor that has turned dramatist, 'puppets that speak from our mouths . . . . antics garnished in our colours.' Having exhausted himself in such generalities, he comes to point with deliberation the finger of his scorn at the one man whose work had then caught the ear of the playgoer; and knowing well, as all then must have known, the humble and unschooled origin of the dawning genius of the stage, he seeks to belittle his rising power with a cutting reference to his having been 'an absolute Johannes Factotum' in his earlier efforts behind the scenes, and scoffs at him as a 'rude groom' when put beside the cultured poets of the University.

Recall the picture of things as they were then: Greene young and brilliant, fresh from the University, had stepped into a leading place amongst the poets and playwrights of the day. After a meteoric success that led to his being recognised as the favourite Court dramatist of the hour [7]—yet a success that turned his steps into vilely intemperate ways—he sees a someone, who was not even a scholar, who had not travelled in Italy, who studied the subjects of his plays in English versions, 'feeding on naught but the crumbs that fell from the translator's trencher,' a mere actor, reaping in his actor's pay for parts performed, yet ready and able besides to take a hand, with the bigger genius of one born that way, in adding lines, scenes, or even acts, to plays that needed

[7] The list of Court performances shows 'that up to 1591 the Queen's men were the most important of all; in other words, that Greene was the chief Court stage poet and held the position formerly occupied by Lyly.'
'His chief rival was Marlowe of the Admiral's Company. But after 1591 Lord Strange's Company takes the lead and keeps it, which means that Shakespeare was the principal Court stage writer till 1611.' (Fleay, 11.320.)

renovation to keep their popularity alive. The University wits, his comrades George Peele, Thomas Lodge, Thomas Nash, all but Greene, take their eclipse like men; but he, starving debauchee that he was, double-dealing seller of one play to two buyers (as we have record to prove), with what remnant of a snarling sarcasm that had survived a misspent life, rails at 'the upstart crow,' who had become 'the only Shakescene in a country,' and urges his fellow-playwrights to follow his ungenerous lead. And all for what? For just what the Diary tells us in the entries I have quoted—that Greene's own play *Friar Bacon* had in 1592, though played at the then newly opened Rose, and with all the attractive advertisement of such an opening, brought in as the private share of profit falling to the shrewd proprietor Henslowe the sum of seventeen shillings and threepence, while the new play *Henry VI*, in which Shakespeare most certainly had a hand, at its first performance brought in 3*l* 16*s*. 8*d*. to the same proprietor, and became the play of the season, being given by Lord Strange's men on no less than sixteen occasions in the periods comprised between the 19th of February and the 22nd of June 1592, and the 29th of December 1592 and the 31st of January 1593; as against seven performances of *Friar Bacon* in the same time. In the case of *Henry VI*, Henslowe's takings amounted in all to over 33*l*.; while in the case of Greene's play, they came to something under 8*l*.—money then being some five or six times as valuable as it is to-day.

Many pages of such entries, showing Henslowe's share of takings, run on to the year 1597, when an interesting change occurs in his position in relation to the Company, occasioned no doubt by Lord Pembroke's men having united their forces with the Admiral's men at the Rose in October in that year. Prior to this date Henslowe apparently received by agreement, as his own private profits, all the sums set out in the Diary as his receipts, these emoluments being in all probability a substitute for rent. After this date he seems to have become an agent for the company of players who occupied his theatre, and in addition to this altered method of management, he seems to have become a lender of money to the company of which he was agent, as well as to the individual players and authors, or, as Mr. Greg puts it, 'the theatrical *entrepreneur* or *impresario*, charged with financing the companies.'

One of the brilliant instances of Mr. Greg's searching analysis of Henslowe's accounts is shown in connexion with the altered form of entry adopted by Henslowe about this period. Without going into details, inconvenient in the space at my disposal, it may be now taken as an undeniable fact that the joint occupation of the Newington Theatre at this time by the Strange-Chamberlain

Company and the Admiral's men came to an end after ten play in co-operation, on the 13th of June 1594, instead of continuin as has been widely believed, up to the year 1597.[8] With this all important fact established, we know now that Henslowe's dealings with the company with which Shakespeare was associated, wer confined at the outside to a period of under six months in all—that is to say, (1) from the 19th of February to the 22nd of June 1592, (2) from the 29th of December 1592 to the 31st of January 1593, and (3) from the 3rd to the 13th of June 1594; and inasmuch as the manuscript entries during that period do not in any case mention the name of the author of any of the plays recorded, one need no longer wonder, as some have wondered, how Shakespeare's name does not find any mention in the pages of Henslowe's Diary.

The exact nature of Henslowe's financial relations with individual playwrights has been long a matter of uncertainty and surmise. Until the appearance of Mr. Greg's edition of the Diary, it was almost universally assumed that Henslowe speculated in plays, buying them in advance from the authors, and hiring them out to the companies for his own private profit. The erroneousness of this belief is however convincingly proved by Mr. Greg, who shows that in almost all the transactions of this character which are mentioned in the manuscript, Henslowe was acting merely on behalf of the company, and was not himself interested, except indirectly, in the profits which accrued. It should at the same time be remembered, as the editor points out, that there is one class of plays in reference to which the generally accepted theory is probably well founded—for there were some old pieces which had already held the boards for many years at the time when the record of the Diary begins. We know that Edward Alleyn and Martin Slaughter must have been the owners of a small number of plays performed by the Admiral's men from 1594 onwards, for we find them selling the books in question to the company at a later date. In this way Henslowe, too, may have hired out for his own profit a few pieces similarly acquired, but 'of this we have no record, and the plays in question, if they did, indeed, belong to Henslowe were probably acquired not from the authors themselves but from other companies.'[9]

Included in the many curious and always interesting entries made by Philip Henslowe, there are some in relation to payments to the Master of the Revels for licences, the exact meaning of which has not been properly explained before the appearance of Mr. Greg's illuminating chapter on Dramatic Finance in connexion with the Diary—a chapter which is in itself a mine of carefully analysed information on the financial side of the

[8] See Greg, ii. [9] Greg, ii. 119.

history of the stage in those days. The Master of the Revels was at that time an all-important official. The office was held through the whole period covered by the manuscript by Edmund Tilney; and to him, as many entries show, payments were being constantly made for either the licence of the house while acting was in progress, or for the licence of individual plays—the former being a matter for which Henslowe as proprietor was personally responsible, the latter an item of expense which concerned the company alone. Mr. Fleay has expressed a strong opinion that licences for plays were licences to print such plays independently of any interference by the Stationers' Company. This view is however shown by Mr. Greg, in a very convincing way, to have been altogether unfounded, but I cannot go into his reasoning here. According to the earliest payments recorded in the Diary, the playhouse licence amounted to 5*s*. a week, but it rises later on to 6*s*. 8*d*. Bigger demands were made and exacted in the reign of Charles I, when the Master of the Revels claimed two 'benefits' in every year, as well as a 'share' which he reckoned to be worth 100*l*. These payments were after all but part of the return made by theatre proprietors and actors for the patronage which secured their status; and when that patronage became, as it did after the death of Elizabeth, the appanage of the Crown, the higher importance of the patron had possibly to be considered.

Another extremely interesting section of the picture of stage life in Elizabethan and Jacobean times as rudely but accurately drawn by Henslowe is that which is concerned with the remuneration received by dramatists for their works. Owing to the form in which the entries are made in the Diary up to the year 1597, we are left entirely in the dark on this subject. After that date, however, the evidence afforded by its pages is both instructive and conclusive; and if we had no other information from Henslowe's illiterate jottings than what they tell us in reference to the payment of playwrights in his time, we would have an open mine of knowledge such as the collected literature of Shakespeare's day has not furnished us with.

Looking through the many scattered entries under this heading, we see the scale of remuneration gradually rising during the period which they cover—but this, as Mr. Greg reminds us, was only part of the general rise in prices at the time, due to the steady depreciation of money consequent upon the continued influx of the precious metals from the New World. The earliest play in connexion with which we find complete payment-records is *Mother Redcap*, for which Drayton and Munday, in December 1597 and January 1598, got 6*l*. in full. This would seem to have been the standard price at the time, although we occasionally meet with payments of smaller sums. Chapman in 1599 gets a

higher price, 8*l*. 10*s*., for *The World Runs on Wheels*—and yet nothing is known of the piece to-day, and no fragmentary line of it is extant. It is possible, however, that Chapman, at that period of his career commanded larger fees than some of the other dramatists who were employed by Henslowe. In the same year we find a record of a payment of 8*l*. to Dekker and Jonson jointly for *Page of Plymouth*, though smaller sums were paid to Day and Houghton for their work done in collaboration. For the well-known play of *Sir John Oldcastle*, which was in two parts, we see that 7*l*. was paid to the joint authors for Part I in October 1599, together with 3*l*. in earnest of Part II, and also a sum of ten shillings 'as a gefte' on the first performance of Part I, which was manifestly a success. The remaining 4*l*. due on the completion of the Second Part was paid towards the end of the same year. Here again, these are entries that have a special interest in connexion with Shakespeare, and throw considerable light on his position in the world of drama at the time. The authors to whom these payments are recorded by Henslowe as having been made were Munday, Drayton, Wilson and Hathway, and the payments are stated to have been on behalf of the Admiral's men. Later on in the Diary we find, in August and September 1602, that sums of forty shillings and ten shillings were paid on behalf of Worcester's men to Dekker for additions to this same play of *Sir John Oldcastle*. Both Parts I and II were entered in the Stationers' Register in August 1600, with which date Part I was twice printed, and, on one of these occasions, as written by Shakespeare. The daringly fraudulent nature of the attribution to Shakespeare becomes very obvious on reading such evidence of authorship as Henslowe has preserved for us; but the very fraud itself is of inestimable value to all interested in Shakespeare's life and work, containing as it does an underlying tribute of an unmistakeable kind to the commanding nature of his position amongst the attractive playwrights of the hour.

It is difficult at the present day to understand how this system of collaboration in the writing of serious drama can have worked out so successfully as it seems to have done. The main object was obviously speed in production. New plays were constantly required in those days; for it should be borne in mind that none was ever then put on on two successive days. The nearest thing to a long run for some new presentation was achieved when a play was strong enough to draw a full house some sixteen times in a whole year, as in the case of *Henry VI*, already mentioned. It is of course true that many of these joint productions, more especially those produced for Henslowe's theatres, have disappeared utterly from the literature of the drama as known to-day: they were served up hurriedly, answered their purpose, and, rarely

being printed, had little chance of survival except in the manuscript of the authors or in the actors' written parts. It is computed by those best able to enumerate the dramatic productions between the years 1576 (when the first theatre was opened) and 1642, when the houses were all closed, that there were 2500 plays, excluding masques, actually put on the stage. Of these we have to-day the names of a very large number, but of the plays themselves we have less than 500, a small proportion of the whole. Not one original manuscript of even a single play of this vast number has survived the three centuries that have elapsed since they were written; and so far as I am aware, we have but one instance of the preservation of an actor's acting part out of the countless number of such manuscripts as must necessarily have been in existence. This unique document is to be found amongst Edward Alleyn's papers in Dulwich College, and consists of a portion of his own part as Orlando in Greene's *Orlando Furioso.*

I have mentioned cases where four dramatists worked together on the production of a single play; but, more strange still, there are many other instances where the Diary records payments to no less than five well-known authors who consented to pool their brains for the purpose of constructing one play. Amongst those who did so is the playwright who comes nearest perhaps to Shakespeare himself, John Webster, the brilliant poet and still more brilliant writer of plays, and whose life for all that is wrapt in an almost impenetrable obscurity. The Diary shows him to have been connected professionally with both the Admiral's Company and Worcester's, with both of which Henslowe had a good deal to do in a business way. For the first he wrote in collaboration with Dekker, Drayton, Middleton, and Munday *Cæsar's Fall*, in reference to which a payment to these five conjointly, by the Company, is recorded under date 22nd of May, 1602, of 22*l.* 7*s.* A subsequent payment of 3*l.* was made to the same five seven days later 'in full payment for their play "too shapes";' which is identified by Mr. Greg with *Cæsar's Fall*, but for reasons which can hardly be called convincing. Again, we find Webster, in the same year, writing *Lady Jane* in conjunction with Chettle, Dekker, Heywood, and Smith; and *Christmas comes but once a year* with Chettle, Dekker, and Heywood, the latter being a play of which nothing else is at present known.

Lest it be thought that the system of payment adopted by Henslowe was one uniformly prevalent at other theatres at the time, it is but fair to quote Mr. Fleay's well-considered observations on the subject, which have, as a matter of fact, been endorsed by the editor of *Henslowe's Diary*, who himself cites *in extenso* the passage following:

One prevailing error has been the assumption that Henslowe's was a typical management, and that other companies were conducted in the same manner. This was not so. Henslowe was an illiterate moneyed man, by trade a dyer, in practice a pawnbroker, who regarded art as a subject for exploitation, and was alike ignorant of stage management and dramatic literature. Having had the shrewdness to build a theatre on the Bankside exactly when it was wanted, and the good fortune to obtain in Alleyn a son-in-law who supplied his want of technical knowledge, he managed, by a policy well known to the tallymen and moneylenders of the present time, to keep his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need by one simple method, viz., by lending them money and never allowing their debts to be fully paid off. In this conduct he was largely aided by the great competition among the dramatic poets of this period. The success of Marlowe, Greene, and their associates had attracted nearly all the poets, at a time when poets were as plentiful as blackberries, to writing for the theatres. Many of these were men of real genius, and all were poor. The only rival company to Henslowe's was for some six years the Lord Chamberlain's, but the policy of this company was the exact opposite to that of their rivals. Managed by the housekeepers or principal sharers, whose interest was that of the whole company, and not by an independent employer whose object was to fill his own pocket, they sought to produce plays of lasting interest, which would bear revival and be a perennial source of income. They employed few poets, and paid them well. I have not been able to trace more than three poets at one time in their employment during Elizabeth's reign—Henslowe usually occupied twelve—nor more than four new plays produced by them in any one year (say one in two months). Hardly ever do we find a play passing out of the possession of these men, and if we do it is invariably by some surreptitious procedure; while the plays produced for Henslowe were continually rewritten, renamed, and resold to other companies.[10]

While on this subject, one may appropriately quote the views of another Shakespearian scholar, the late Mr. John A. Symonds, the brilliant author of *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*, a work that gives us in a masterly and comprehensive way an unrivalled picture of all that the title describes :

A large proportion of Elizabethan plays were the joint production of several authors, who must have had their own system of dividing profits. In some cases the playwrights collaborated to save time in 'firking up' a comedy or history. Other instances, where several names are printed on a title-page, point to the remodelling of popular plays by new hands. Or a poet would add prologue and epilogue to a piece which needed some fresh attraction. For this sort of service Henslowe generally paid 5*s*. Still we have every reason to believe that the practice of genuine collaboration in the concoction of the drama was common. It does not so much argue good fellowship among the dramatists, though that undoubtedly existed, as their thoroughly business-like conception of their craft. A play had to be produced for a certain price, and they applied the principle of divided labour to its composition, careless of posterity, seeking money profit more than fame. When play-writing became fashionable, poets from the universities with tedious tragedies, persons of quality with stupid comic pieces

[10] Fleay, *Stage*, 117, and Greg, ii. 112.

to dispose of, had to pay the managers to get their rubbish acted. It may here be mentioned that in the flourishing period of the drama, playwrights very commonly were also actors and managers of theatres. Marlowe and Heywood, Shakespeare and Jonson, to mention only the more prominent, served their apprenticeship as players to the stage. Cyril Tourneur took a company across the seas to act in Flanders. Davenant in 1639 obtained letters patent for erecting what would have been the largest theatre in London.

Though the instances I have quoted of collaboration in the writing of plays are only a handful out of those mentioned in the Diary, they are sufficient to show very clearly how common the practice was.

It is here we find much valuable light thrown on the working of the mind and pen of such a playwright as Shakespeare was. No less than twenty-seven writers of drama are named by Henslowe as working in collaboration on various occasions, and amongst them many of the most notable dramatists of those great days. In all likelihood, the whole of those writers were directly or indirectly acquainted with Shakespeare and his methods of working, more especially at the time he was engaged on his earlier efforts; but, be that as it may, we have emphatic personal testimony from no less than four of them as to his commanding position as a playwright, his industry in his art, and the winning nature of his personality. This evidence is all the more conclusive because it comes from the mouths of his opponents, men who were without exception mainly employed in writing for Henslowe's theatres, which all through the period included in the Diary, excepting six months only, were the deadly rivals of the playhouses for which Shakespeare always wrote. The four I allude to were Ben Jonson, Robert Greene, Webster, and Chettle.[11] I have already referred at length to Greene's unwilling testimony to Shakespeare's greatness; and Ben Jonson's statements are too well known to be repeated here. Webster's evidence deserves to be more widely known:

> Detraction is the sworn friend to ignorance; for mine own part, I have ever truly cherisht my good opinion of other mens worthy labours, especially of that full and haightened style of maister Chapman, the labor'd and understanding works of maister Johnson, the no less worthy composures of the both worthily excellent maister Beamont and maister Fletcher; and lastly (without wrong last to be named), the right happy and copious industry of m. Shake-speare, m. Decker, and m. Heywood. wishing what I write may be read by their light: protesting that, in the strength of mine own judgement, I know them so worthy, that though I rest silent in my own work, yet to most of theirs I dare (without flattery) fix that of Martial—*non norunt Haec monumenta mori.*[12]

[11] So far as Chettle's evidence is concerned, Mr. Fleay is in disagreement with the vast majority of our best Shakespearians.

[12] *White Devil*, 1st ed. 1612, 'To the Reader.'

The facts disclosed by Henslowe in connection with this all-round custom of collaboration at the time are of invaluable importance in clearing up some difficulties which have been raised in reference to Shakespeare's progress and education. The late Professor Churton Collins has endeavoured to persuade us that Shakespeare was an accurate and accomplished classic, with a familiar and first-hand acquaintance with Greek and Latin, and he brushes aside, with the aid of some faithful translations from these languages which are found in the Plays, the strongly expressed opinion of Ben Jonson as to the 'small Latin and less Greek' possessed by the Stratford Poet. There are no doubt some very striking parallels to be found between Shakespeare's language and certain quotations from the classics; but in the face of Ben Jonson's statement and with the knowledge we now have of how plays were written then, an infinitely readier solution presents itself to account for what, in the absence of this knowledge, might well be taken as proof of an intimacy with the original writings of the great poets of an earlier age. It is much easier to believe that a poet of Shakespeare's genius and ready apprehension could pick up in an accurate form a few striking snatches of the classics from some of the many scholars with whom he was necessarily brought into connexion during his dramatic career, than to imagine that his friend, contemporary, and most generous critic, Ben Jonson, was utterly mistaken as to the limitations of his classical knowledge.

The big outstanding fact conclusively demonstrated by the evidence with which Henslowe's Diary provides us on the collaboration system is, that practically all the playwrights of the time knew, or had opportunities of knowing, what every other writer of plays was doing in those times. The proofs are overwhelming that this system was the custom of the age, and there is no reason to suggest that Shakespeare, more especially in his younger days, was any exception. The evidence of Greene and Nash, not to refer to others, distinctly proves that he was no exception, though it is more than likely that the giant genius of the period, when he had once found his feet, was in the main satisfied to work alone.

Just one other irresistible inference may be drawn from the foregoing facts which would seem to have a bearing of no small importance on the curious theory maintained by those who still believe that Shakespeare's plays were written by some other person, whether Francis Bacon or another. No one who studies Henslowe's Diary, and regards it as an authentic record of contemporaneous events, can logically suggest, in the face of this widespread system of co-operation in the production of plays, that any unknown author could have lived for a month—to say nothing of such a period as twenty years—undiscovered, even though he

had succeeded in bribing someone connected with the stage to lend him his name. Filled as the Diary is with detailed information on almost every subject connected with the dramatic history of its time, its chief value to students of Elizabethan literature will always be measured by the weighty, though involuntary evidence it provides in confirmation of all that tradition has told us of Shakespeare's life and writings, his humble beginning, his rare and astounding success, and of all that his own contemporaries have written in his praise. Henslowe has in short given us to see the inner working of the hive, the business association and helpful intimacy that existed between all the playwrights of his time; and looking at the picture he has left us, one need no longer stand at gaze, and marvel how such a one as Shakespeare was could absorb and utilise the knowledge—whether acquired at College, Court or Temple—of his more learned associates, and weave about the crumbs so gathered a setting of immortality.

EDWARD SULLIVAN.

A FORTNIGHT WITH THACKERAY IN 1852

'SIDE-LIGHTS on the life of every great man are interesting.' So writes Mr. Winston Churchill in *The Crisis*. On this plea I venture to make public a short reminiscence of the great W. M. Thackeray. A little light from the past, bearing on the genial, companionable side of his character, may be of interest to all who honour and revere his memory.

To me it will be a labour of love if I can in any degree remove the impression of those who, while admiring his genius, have yet regarded him from afar as a cold, hard cynic, a censor of men and morals, using, with the skill of a practised operator, the knife of his finely tempered irony on the body of poor humanity.

It was my very good fortune to be a fellow-passenger with Mr. Thackeray in his voyage to the United States in 1852. The good old Cunard liner *Canada*, sailing from Liverpool on that 30th of October, bore a strong contingent from the ranks of literature. First, the great 'Titmarsh' himself, bound for the cities of the West, to give our American cousins the privilege of hearing those lectures on the English Humourists which had gained him such fame in his own country.

There, too, came his gifted fellow-humourist, James Russell Lowell, returning from a European tour, preceded by the happy experience of three months in a Nile dahabieh.

Next, and also known to fame, 'our Oxford Don' (as Crowe's letter styles him), fellow and tutor of Balliol College, and poet of no mean rank, the only man, except Longfellow, who has made English hexameters readable—Arthur Hugh Clough; and with Mr. Thackeray, as secretary, was Eyre Crowe,[1] afterwards artist-correspondent to the *Illustrated London News*.

[1] Mr. Crowe had a curious experience in his subsequent tour with Mr. Thackeray when, in New Orleans, he attended a slave sale. He was arranging his portfolio for sketching in a group of coloured girls exposed for auction, when he was accosted by a rough-looking Southerner: 'Say! stranger, I reckon you'd best pack up those paints. If you don't I shall knife you.' 'Well,' replied Crowe, 'if you are so sensitive about it I will pack them up now, but I give you fair notice that I shall afterwards make a sketch of this group, of which I have noted every particular, and certainly publish it in England.' On this plucky but somewhat risky rejoinder he was allowed to make off with a whole skin, but his friends think that he had a narrow escape.

Among these greater lights, a lesser luminary representative of Cambridge—my brother, fresh from the Holy Land, now bound for America on his last year of office as 'travelling Bachelor' of that University.

The first occasion when I was honoured by an interview with the master himself I well remember, and can recall almost every word that passed. Seated one fine morning on the saloon-deck, I suddenly became aware of the imposing stature of 'the giant' towering over me. Round his ample shoulders was a manifold arrangement of thick plaid, and above that kindly face, with the 'always-always' glasses, which shone out beneath a rather comical little cloth cap with flaps protecting ear and cheek. Down he sat beside me on the bench, with the words:

'So Crowe tells me you paid your money to me at Oxford!'

Probably I made some lame acknowledgment of the pleasure and profit derived from my attendance on that series of 'Lectures on the English Humourists' to which he alluded, with a hope that he had been favourably impressed by his visit.

With charming tact and kindliness he put me at my ease from the first moment, and then proceeded to chat away as with an old acquaintance.

'Oh, yes, I enjoyed my visit,' he said. 'The undergraduates were exceedingly hospitable—a most pleasant, gentlemanly set of young fellows. I was a frequent guest at their wine-parties, and so on. I am a Cambridge man myself, though I did not take my degree. I also saw a good deal of Cambridge undergraduate life afterwards. When I was writing *Pendennis* I went to stay at the old place to revive my recollections of college life, and mixed constantly with the young fellows. Well, they were most hospitable, very kind and hospitable. And now I have met with the same reception at Oxford, and, having thus come to know the young men of each University, I will tell you the sort of comparison I should make. At Cambridge, while entertaining me most generously at their breakfasts, wine-parties, &c., they would either try to make the talk clever and up to a literary standard, or be shy, and afraid of me, so as not to talk at all, so that there was something stiff and dull about the whole affair.

'But the other day, at Oxford, they just made me feel as one of themselves—talked away on their usual topics, rowing, college-grinds,[2] and gossip of the schools, with "chaff" and jokes at one another, as if I had not been in the room. I enjoyed it all thoroughly—never met a more pleasant set of young men.'

I have set down the remarks of this great authority on men and manners as nearly as possible in his own words, but will ask to be allowed one comment on the preference which he so generously extended to Oxford.

[2] 'College-grinds,' the occasional private steeplechases by men of our college.

Balliol College—which had, I think, almost solely the honour of entertaining the distinguished guest—had just then not only its usual complement of clever scholars and commoners, but a special element of the *élite* socially—men of high birth and position, of more *savoir-faire* and knowledge of the world than would be found in the usual run of undergraduates at either University. It would not be right to mention names, but they would include many well known, since then, in the House of Lords, the learned professions, and the ranks of men of letters. Probably at any other college—except, perhaps, Christ Church—Mr. Thackeray would have met with the same experience as on his Cambridge visit.

One quiet night, when the phosphorescent lights of the sea around and the 'Northern Lights' above tempted us out of the saloon, the talk ran on English public speakers.

'Whom do you consider our finest orator?' we asked.

'John Bright, undoubtedly,' was his reply. 'I look upon him as far the first, both in command of language and in power of delivery; and next to him I should place either the Bishop of Oxford (S. Wilberforce) or the Earl of Derby.

'I am no speaker,' he continued. 'If I have to make a speech I get up, and—the gas goes out! I *cannot* understand how men can talk without effort, make a long, fluent speech, and at the end have said—nothing!

'Irishmen can do this. We know the proverb—an Englishman can talk, if he has anything to say; an Irishman, whether he has anything to say or not. I think, if you have nothing to say, say nothing!'

This modest estimate of his own oratory was justified later on. At the 'captain's champagne dinner,' just before reaching Boston, there was the usual speech-making. Mr. Thackeray was, of course, the toast of the evening. In returning thanks he made a good speech, and well received, but it was not *brilliant*, or what one would have expected from a man of such exceptional talent. The 'honours' of the occasion were undoubtedly with his charming fellow-humourist. Mr. Lowell kept us all amused with the light and playful touch of his eloquence. It might well have been said of him, as he himself afterwards said of his accomplished wife on receiving my brother and myself in her drawing-room at Harvard, with its artistic surrounding, 'Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.'

The speech ended with a specimen of that irrepressible punning with which his writings abound. Of course, the main topic of the banquet had been 'John Bull's' friendship with 'Uncle Sam,' and the opportunity for cordial intercourse on these steamers between American and British passengers. A previous speaker had proposed a sentiment, 'Amity and harmony between the two nations,' as suggested by the little flags, Union Jack and Stars and

Stripes, surmounting some coloured structures of the steward's culinary art.

'That sentiment,' said Mr. Lowell, 'I cordially endorse; but' waving his hand towards the quivering red and yellow dainties, 'I fear we see in these an emblem not so much of amity as of *jelly-sy*!'

The audacious pun dispersed us, and amid a chorus of laughter and applause the tables were abandoned. 'Solvuntur risu tabulæ.' A poor joke, you may say. So it may seem when set down in black and white and considered in cold blood; but it is the *occasion*, 'the man and the hour,' which gives these little sallies of wit their flavour. We knew from his subsequent career how characteristic of the author of the inimitable *Biglow Papers* was this graceful art of after-dinner oratory. Few men have attained such fame and popularity as Mr. Lowell, when, as ambassador to the Court of St. James from Washington, he so brilliantly represented that nation of good talkers.

Quite a 'happy family' was ours on the good old *Canada* for that fortnight. To the privilege of companionship with such men of 'light and leading,' and other travelled and well-informed people, was added the charm of ladies' society. A young lady there was, best type of the American girl of that period, very pretty and graceful, lively, amiable as she was pretty, simply a divinity for male homage. All worshipped at that shrine—the old fellows above all; indeed, we young men had no chance in competition with such devotion as that of the great master himself, and of a no less willing captive—the author of the immortal *Tober na Vuolich*. The appearance of Miss R. on deck was a signal for that dear, dreamy old poet to start up, let the day be never so squally, for the honour of a deck-promenade. I can see him now, in all the wonders of his rough-weather attire (crowned by that 'slouch hat,' with which E. Crowe's letter associates him), hurrying, with unsteady steps, at the side of that trim little figure tripping along the hurricane deck with quick, firm tread.

Evening was the time for the master's 'innings.' For many hours in the saloon he paid his homage, drawing for her amusement those grotesque faces and figures, after his fashion, out of the hearts, spades, &c., of a pack of cards. A rich collection, indeed, she must have borne away—a 'κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί' for Bostonian posterity from the hand itself of the great English caricaturist.

One more reminiscence of our hero, in a scene which is as vividly before me as if it happened yesterday—one of the most amusing I ever witnessed.

On the day of our landing, complimentary calls, hospitalities, &c., were not wanting on the part of the literary world of the 'American Athens' to welcome the distinguished visitor. At one of the chief theatres a box had been placed at his disposal, and the editor of a leading journal did the honours of the evening.

Mr. Thackeray most kindly invited my brother and myself to share the festivities, which concluded with a supper at one of the fashionable oyster saloons—a small party, only the four above mentioned, and, I think, Crowe. Our journalist host was anxious to do his utmost in the way of entertainment, and combine, with the delicacies of the table, the feast of reason and flow of soul. He had also, evidently, an eye to securing 'copy' for the next issue of his journal, and to *draw* from the great 'Pendennis' some characteristic flashes of wit and wisdom which should be served up *réchauffé* as a dainty dish to set before the Boston public. As we gathered round the great man's chair for after-supper chat, the little man 'kept up the ball,' laid himself out to be facetious, fired off his best stories, cracked his raciest jokes, making quite a pathetic appeal for response in kind. Alas for his hopes! 'Pendennis' was not to be drawn! He sat, towering above us, his head, as usual, slightly thrown back, and chin raised, looking down with benevolent smile at what was going on, and received the volley of facetious discharge in absolute silence. As a last effort our vivacious host, taking up the list of those marvellous 'drink names' dear to American salooners—the 'cock-tails,' 'eye-openers,' &c.—with jocose interpretation of them, invited his guest to 'sample' them.

Quite unmoved by the offer of the seductive stimulants, the patient listener, like Brer Rabbit, 'kep' on sayin' nuffin.' At last rearing himself up in his chair, he broke his long silence[a] with a sort of humorously majestic utterance: 'I have a thirst for *beer*, which nothing but *beer* can satisfy; so, waiter, get me a glass of beer!'

The climax was reached; no more hope of 'copy' remained. Mournfully accepting the result of his campaign, the poor little man desisted from further attack on that impregnable citadel, to the evident relief of the weary veteran who had so patiently stood the siege, and our symposium broke up. 'And so to bed' in our respective quarters, after farewells with what Mr. Lowell had that morning called 'a very hand-shaky feeling,' sincere regret, at least on our side, at the close of a privileged acquaintance with so great and good a man.

It may be asked, Have we any reference made by Thackeray himself as to his impressions of the incidents of that little voyage? Yes; there is, in the 'biographical notice' introductory to the edition of *Esmond* edited by Lady Ritchie, a letter from her father dated from Boston just after landing. He refers mainly to discomforts endured, without any redeeming circumstances or pleasurable incident. His memory seems to dwell on the rough seas and head winds, with their usual effects on unfortunate landsmen. 'Nobody really likes the sea,' he writes (p. xxxvii).

[a] He had remained for at least half an hour without making a remark.

They go through with it with a brave heart, but the captain and like the fireside and home a thousand times better.'

He refers to those vast Atlantic rollers. 'The waves are mmense—about four of them go to the horizon; but I am isappointed in the grandeur of the prospect.'

But waves, though, indeed, Mr. Thackeray uses the term, is ardly one to convey an idea of these enormous 'rollers.'

Montes volvuntur aquarum

s the fine thought which has come to us from a Latin poet descrip- ive of a storm even in the Adriatic—

Mountains of rolling seas.

But in what respect is the comparison? Do the vast waves hat surround the ship take shape of mountain forms, and peaks, nd crags? Well, so they may appear on either side the vessel's rack, but it is the *onward* view towards the horizon in *front* which hows them as long *mountain ridges*. Mr. Thackeray's one nasterly touch of description gives the sense of their vastness and ower—'about four of them go to the horizon.' Like long, level nountain ridges, with a great water-valley between each, they roll nward successively to meet our course.

They are worth an exact description.

To gauge the height of these *monstra natantia*, I can give fact rom observation.[4] On a day when it was, as sailors say, 'blowing alf a gale,' I have seen, from the stern-deck near the wheel, the op of our foremast showing below the summit of the oncoming idge. We were rushing down the slope of the last roller to meet he next. There seemed nothing for it but to cleave a path hrough the great blue liquid mass crowned with its angry, tossing rest; then, with buoyant spring, as of a tried old hunter rising to is leap, the ship lifted her bows against and up the opposing mass; moment more and we were on the top; another minute of roar, nd rush, and hissing spray, and plash of water all about the deck, nd we were over—wet, but safe, and plunging on to meet the ext comer. My diary notes: 'Old Beeswing[5] could not have aken her fences better.'

Turning again to Mr. Thackeray's letter, we read how he can- ot forget 'that horrid little cabin where we are[6] tumbling, and olling, and bumping about in the roaring black midnight. You

[4] We can form a better idea of their enormous height from eyesight than from ll such estimated measurement as that their height is reckoned as about 40 feet rom trough of sea to summit of roller.

[5] Beeswing—a well-known steeplechaser which I had bought from George imonds' Oxford stables.

[6] This passage shows that the letter, though finished at Boston, had been in art written on board ship.

may be sure I am often thinking of you.' And then, with a touch of his quaint humour: 'I was trying, as I lay awake last night, to see if I could understand the difference between latitude and longitude.'

Plainly, he does not seem to have enjoyed himself, and the contrast between his letter and the record of the voyage which I have tried to give seems curious, but is quite intelligible. One account is from the diary of a young man seeing everything under the rose-tint of novelty, the other the brief remarks of a travel-sated man whose mind is set on weightier matters than the incidents of a short voyage. To *him*, naturally, the companionship of commonplace, ordinary mortals would afford nothing of interest, while to *us* the privilege of contact with such an eminent personage was a veritable epoch. (Still, I must confess some surprise at his making no mention of Mr. J. R. Lowell, A. H. Clough, or the charming Miss R.) But if he was depressed by rough weather and bored by his surroundings, he certainly gave no sign of such feelings. I never heard a word of grumble or abuse of the sea from his lips, and, as I shall presently show, he gave constant expression of satisfaction at all around him; and it is remarkable evidence of his attractive personality that all the time he should make us think that he was pleased to be one of us. For one at least of his fellow-passengers, who had ever bowed in reverence before the genius of the author, to have known the man, so wise, so kind, gentle, considerate, has left a memory of admiration, respect, and, indeed, affection which can never be effaced.

The opportunity of forming this estimate has enabled me to combat the views of such critics as, while admiring his genius, yet completely misunderstand his true character. 'Oh, Thackeray!' they say; 'certainly a consummate master of literary skill, but what a cynical, misanthropic person. What a harsh, ill-natured view he takes of his fellow-creatures! His heroes and heroines, though fascinating, are almost always bad, and those who are good —his "Amelias," and "Dobbins," and so on—are merely "goody." What a morose and soured temper that must be which can see nothing good, or true, or pure in social life, but only its shams, and counterfeits, and contemptible weakness! At the best, what a cold heart that stands thus aloof from human sympathies in stern, pitiless censorship!'

I answer, dear friend, you are making a great mistake. Good nature was one of his strong characteristics. I never heard from him an ill-natured remark, or word, or sign expressing contempt for anyone. On the contrary, he was really effusive to an extent which, in a smaller man, might be called amiable *weakness* in his optimistic eulogies. His frequent comment was: 'What an excellent captain we have got! What a fine set of officers and sailors!

'hat good fellows, what nice gentlemanly fellow-passengers! 7hat a pleasant time we have spent together!' &c.

The Mr. Thackeray whom I had the honour to meet in that ›rtnight was, if anything, an amiable, warm-hearted man, and a ɔurteous, genial companion.

As an author, a master of satire, he ever was 'not sparing the ɔd,' a moralist stern and severe, hater of humbug, snubber of ıobbishness, but in no morose temper, with no cruel intent. He 'as ever, I firmly believe, as sensitive to *feel* the meanness and ıisery of human frailties as he was keen-eyed to detect them. erfect master of style, he showed what power language can have ı exposing hypocrisy and vice, with the skill of polished sarcasm nd life-like delineation of character; but—there was no *hate* in all.

He did not turn and rend his fellow-men like Swift, nor scorn ıem with the sneering levity of Voltaire, nor stab them in cold-looded malice like Pope.

The follies and faults of others *saddened*, never enraged him. 'et Thackeray was not a melancholy, not a 'weeping,' if a mourn-ıg philosopher. A burden of inward grief, indeed, he bore. 'here was, as has been described of Abraham Lincoln, in his face, sweet, pathetic smile of 'ineffable sadness,' telling of deep in-'ard sorrow, which great-hearted men bear in silence. This was ue, as is well known, to severe domestic affliction, but, in part, ɔo, I shall always believe, to that extreme sensitiveness, which ɜlt as a hurt, as pain to himself, those human inconsistencies 'hich wounded him even while he castigated them.

It may seem presumptuous (in a mere outsider) to deliver an ɔinion on so great a man, based on such slight acquaintance; but, e it remembered, a short companionship *en voyage* gives better pportunity of judging character than ten times that space in ordi-ary life. Anyway, 'speak of a man as you find him,' and I ıaintain that no estimate of Thackeray is correct which does not ssociate, with a gigantic power of intellect, the tender heart and indly spirit of a good and lovable man. No better title was ever iven (both as regards physical and moral stature) than that of he well-known sobriquet—'THE GENTLE GIANT.'

H. J. CHEALES.

THE RAILWAYS OF INDIA

THEIR POLICY AND FINANCE

In the autumn of 1854 that ancient trade route the River Ganges first saw the birth of a rival—the East Indian Railway, which in the years that have followed has gathered to itself a large share in the traffic of some ninety millions of people. That happened in the days of the great Marquis Dalhousie, who, among the many benefits with which he endowed India, recognised that if her safety and prosperity were to be assured suitable and speedy means of communication must be provided and maintained.

But progress in railway building is at the outset necessarily slow; both personnel and matériel have to be imported from afar, roads and rivers do not bring these quickly, and the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 so delayed construction that eight years later only one or two hundred miles had been built and opened. Since that day progress has been sure but not rapid, nor commensurate with the huge extent of territory to be developed, the enormous populations to be served, and with the requirements of an age in which facility of communication and economy of time have become first essentials of commerce.

However, the total mileage reached by January 1910 was nearly 31,500 miles—a respectable total on paper, but when apportioned to a population of 315,000,000 and to an area of 1,770,000 square miles it is obviously inadequate to their requirements. Much of it, too, follows certain routes—to the extent already of competition; some provinces and districts are much favoured, while others are but scantily furnished or left to stagnate without any railway accommodation whatever. This is not as it should be, especially where Government are chief owners and providers; but even Governments, though benevolent of purpose, are often constrained to follow lines of least resistance—viz. those which pay best.

And now let us examine the policy with its attendant finance which has so far ruled the railways of India. It is hardly necessary to look back to the days of their infancy or even of their youth; conditions then were different and credit was shaken by

he Mutiny. Nevertheless, those days, with their 5 per cent. ate of interest, have at times been quoted in administration eports as excuses for mistakes of later date, and advocates of hat hybrid the Metre Gauge have frequently culled satisfaction rom the contemplation of its total cost compared with that of he Standard Gauge, unmindful of the facts that first construction ever the most costly, and that speed and capacity are lominant considerations in questions of transport. But our chief oncern is with the immediate past, the present and the future, nd in the lessons which the two former offer for guidance in the ears to come.

Some fifteen years ago, when money in London was to be had t about 2 per cent., the broad issue was raised whether the railvay systems of India were to be owned and developed by Governnent or through what is called private enterprise. The quesion was in reality one of State policy, but it was confused with hat of terms, and opinions—official and public—were so divergent s to what composed fair terms that the great opportunity of cheap noney was lost, and that useful ally the Public was so disouraged that he carried his ministrations and money to quarters where they were more appreciated. That was a great misfortune or India, for it not only checked enterprise of all kinds and the uilding of branch and feeder lines, so necessary to her welfare, ut by narrowing the sources of financial supply it has caused loubt, delay, and difficulty ever since. It is, in fact, another xample (to quote Mr. Chirol) of political or, at least, of econonical miscalculation.

After this decision on the main question—ownership and ontrol by Government—came next that of supply. If Governnent alone were to provide the funds, and that soon became vident, how were these to be provided? By frequent loans, by charge on the annual budget of India, or by both? The first ad for objections the uncertainty of issues and the apparent eaping up of debt. The second was soon confronted by the icissitudes of India—war, famine, or scarcity, and consequent ad trade, with the result that the yearly dole from the State udget was inconstant and insufficient for the growing needs of he railways. Nor did the combination of these two sources, vhich was that employed, produce sufficient funds, and so the ailways continued to languish. Advice was then sought, and he late Mr. Thomas Robertson, a railway expert of repute, was ent out during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon to examine and eport on the situation and to suggest such measures, financial nd administrative, as would meet the needs of the occasion and afeguard the future. His report was exhaustive and in part aluable, but, like many of its kind, it was only followed in certain

particulars, of which the establishment of the Railway Board was perhaps the chief, and the predominant difficulty, that of finance, remained unsolved.

Soon, however, another endeavour was made towards its solution; a Commission of rank was appointed in 1908 by the Secretary of State, and once more, with the assistance of evidence, threshed out the question at the India Office. Their conclusions and recommendations in some degree echoed Mr. Thomas Robertson's report; they strengthened the Railway Board, recorded some pious opinions on the subject of private enterprise, and, in a generous desire to solve the financial riddle, proposed that the large sum of 12,500,000*l.* should in each year be allocated to the railway budget, and that the companies should also raise funds. Alas! It has again to be noted that men propose and events dispose, for in no single year since has that amount been nearly approached, and the efforts of the various companies to raise loans, under the ægis of the guarantee, have not been wholly successful. Therefore the question remains a question still.

It has, indeed, become more pressing, for, as the railways perforce add to their mileage, their equipment and repairs, the wants of an awakening public, the demands of trade, the requirements of safety alike call for enlarged expenditure and further facilities, while increased traffic obliges the doubling of main roads and additional accommodation. On the other hand, the Financial Minister is beset by rival departments of Government: Irrigation, Education, Sanitation, Agriculture are becoming more and more urgent for money; and beyond these again the cry for economy is making its voice heard, regardless that the necessities of India are many and urgent and must be met, and that her populations are very lightly taxed. To add to the Minister's difficulties, bad trade in 1908-9 largely reduced the earnings of the railways besides other sources of revenue, and so it befell that a deficit ensued, new taxation became necessary, and the railway budget was largely reduced.

To the ordinary man, not gifted with official rank and acumen, the obvious remedy would appear to lie in the co-operation of the public with Government, and it would seem to him wise for the latter to devise means and offer terms which would ensure such co-operation without depriving the State of its valuable properties. Possessed with this view, the present writer ventured in April 1910 to draw the attention of the Secretary of State to certain features of the then recent Budget of India as these affected the railways, and suggested the strong probability that even in prosperous years the growing demands of other departments and the annual reduction and ultimate loss of the opium revenue would prevent Government from fully supplying their requirements.

This fear has since been realised, for in the current year, though trade and traffics are bountiful, the railway budget is, so it is stated, to be still further curtailed. Their outlook, then, is not propitious, and if famine or war again intervene in the future it may be disturbing.[1]

Other warnings, too, have been frequent and urgent, yet remain disregarded. On every occasion in recent years on which a Viceroy has been addressed by a Chamber of Commerce the subject of the railways has been introduced and complaint made of the want of progress, the want of capital, and the want of feeder lines. Again, during the past few months the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has protested earnestly and strongly at the continued curtailment of remunerative capital expenditure, pointing out how harmful this is to the trade and to the best interests of India. But so far the only concession to public wants and opinions has been the tardy withdrawal of that inept Resolution of April 1896, and the substitution, after its fourteen years of failure, of more reasonable terms to public and private enterprise.

Yet another and more lamentable consequence of political and economical miscalculation has to be noticed—the lowering of the credit of India, observable in the fact that the last State loans have been *underwritten*, a precaution never before necessary! Moreover, their rate of interest has been raised and their figure of issue lowered. And, with all these precautions, neither the loan of January 1910 nor the bulk of the guaranteed railway issues during the past three years were fully taken by the public. Is it not time, then, to reconsider ways and means, to take heed for the prestige of the State guarantee and to cease from its too prodigal use? For, if we may judge from the results of the foregoing examples and of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway loan of June last, the guarantee is both losing its virtue and failing in its purpose. This 3½ per cent. loan for 2,500,000*l.* was issued at 92, and, if a commission was also allowed, this price meant a direct loss to the Company of some 250,000*l.*; or, if regarded from the side of interest, the Company had to pay nearly 4 per cent.

[1] Since the above was written in February last the Revised Estimates of the 1910-11 Budget of India have been published and show a surplus of 5,083,800*l.* over the Estimate of March 1910. Of this great and unexpected surplus two chief items call for notice here, viz. that from the opium revenue, amounting to an increase of 2,960,300*l.*, and that from the railways, which show an increase of 1,175,500*l.* Of the former it may be said that its surplus is mainly due to a gamble in opium and cannot be relied on as a source of revenue, so that the large decrease of 3,380,500*l.* is allowed for in the Budget of 1911-12. Regarding the latter it is noteworthy that, notwithstanding their substantial increase in receipts, the capital allocation to the railways for 1911-12 is reduced to 500,000*l.*, or 3,000,000*l.* less than the sum recommended by the Special India Office Committee of 1908, and of this allocation only 760,000*l.* is apportioned to new lines. Could a more complete confirmation of the fear above expressed be found?

for their money. Why not have permitted the G.I.P. directors to choose their own time and issue a straightforward 4 per cent. loan, *without* the guarantee, at or near par? Repeatedly have the companies asked for this permission, and have asked in vain.

Now, having briefly reviewed the policy of the past, with its misfortunes, deficiencies, and consequences, let us turn the page and see whether alternatives and remedies cannot be found and utilised. In his memorandum of April 1910 above referred to the writer submitted suggestions which he may be pardoned for repeating here in order that other minds may consider them and assist to the solution of this question. The propositions he put forward were in the main as follows:

1. That Government should turn to India herself as her ally and coadjutor in the financing of her railways. This with the view that credit restored there is restored here; that the more her people, from prince to peasant, are concerned in the affairs and fortunes of their country the more stable will these be and the more certain to prosper. We speak not of seditious jangle, but to the doers of good, not to the talkers of evil. We are all, of course, aware of the old formula, 'There is no money to be obtained in India.' With that we have small patience, for the wish was father to the thought, and no real, sincere, or sustained effort was ever made by the Public Works Department to induce the merchants or bankers of India to take a moving part in the development of her railways. Should anyone doubt this, let him study the conditions of the Resolution of April 1896, which has only just been abrogated. It is an index of official belief, and in its intention it is fitted to be classed with another and better-known index. For the future let Mr. Tata's great and beneficent projects, well on the road to completion and built of Indian enterprise and capital, give the final coup to any such beliefs and excuses. Moreover, Port Trust loans have been floated in India when such had failed in London. It may be, however, that some immediate incentive, some tangible safeguard, as shown by Mr. Biddulph, may be desirable in some parts still; but if this be so, any form of guarantee should be local, *not* Imperial.

2. As a means to the policy suggested in No. 1, it was proposed that the Railway Board should have powers, within due limits, to issue capital, debenture or otherwise, for the development of the State lines—in their branches, equipment and working capital—but that such capital shall *not* be guaranteed by the State and shall have no place in the Budget of India; that, on the contrary, its security shall be the new branches, if necessary, and the great and sufficient revenues of each system; that like powers be granted to each of the great guaranteed companies, but with adequate safeguards against misuse. These undertakings,

each of which controls from 1800 to 4000 miles of railway, are well established and endowed, and their directors can be trusted to act wisely for Government, for their shareholders and for India. In addition it was suggested that, in order to encourage and develop local and private enterprise for feeder lines, the Railway Board should be empowered to issue short-dated debentures on security of each such separate undertaking as sanctioned by the Board and to the extent of half its cost. This, an incentive to local effort where sufficient funds are not available, would be a safe proceeding if the share capital be first fully subscribed, construction commenced, and the branch worked by a main-line management or with the approval of the Board. *Pari passu* with the above it would seem desirable to limit the direct yearly contribution of the State to the railway budget to an amount, settled for periods of five or seven years, well within the resources of her revenues and beyond the reach of famine or war, so that the railways should not again be at the sport of the Budget, give cause or excuse for new taxation, or indirectly depreciate the guarantee and credit of India.

3. The view was also submitted that it would be to the advantage of India and of her railways, and to the information of the Secretary of State, if the Railway Board be given a *locus* at the India Office. For this purpose the Board would be permanent and might be composed of five members, three in India and two at Whitehall—interchangeable by one going out and one coming home every two years, so that their period of service would be at least six years in India and four at home. Such an arrangement could be made without additional cost if the home members be or follow two existing officials, and if salaries be revised in India and reduced when at home to two-thirds of the Indian stipend. Thus a considered and constant policy and budget would be assured which would be in touch with the Council if the Public Works member acted as Chairman of the Board at home.

There are already signs that some strengthening of the administrations in India is becoming necessary, either by auxiliary committees of Indian business-men, or if that is likely to cause friction with the Company Boards at home, then it would be desirable that these latter should locate themselves in India, where their duties and responsibilities really lie. Their systems, which are already outgrowing the supervision and scope of an agent, could benefit much in development and other respects by the care and control of resident directors, as is the case at home; frequent delays and other disabilities would be avoided and the executives—officers, staffs, and employés, a vast army in number, would be encouraged and naturally feel the advantage of their

presence. Nor would such change interfere with financial control; quite the contrary, for the directors would see on the spot that money was well spent, which has not always been the case and cannot be assured by cold-weather visits; and, as they have no power in themselves to raise loans at home, their capital issues can as well be made now through Whitehall. And when they have such powers, as may earnestly be hoped for, they can equally well send a colleague home when issues are to be made in London as well as in India.

It is quite understood, however, that this last suggestion may not meet with official approval—if, indeed, any outside suggestions ever do—for the habit of locating Boards of directors in London has almost attained the rank of a British institution, and in the case of Indian railways the recognised progress from the Olympian heights of Simla to the palatial chambers of Whitehall, and thence, justified with the K.C.S.I., the expected move to that *otium cum dignitate*, the chair of a guaranteed company, is hallowed by the usage of half a century and still offers attractions to many. Nevertheless, there are evident objections to the custom, real cause for its discontinuance and for saving the cost of the home administrations.

It may be convenient here to note some other consequences of the policy so long pursued. Generally speaking, there has been, compared with other countries, a lack of initiative and absence of enterprise throughout, so that prosperity has been checked, not assisted by a wise and ample provision of communications. Not only has new construction been commonly postponed or neglected, but when it has been commenced it has frequently been delayed and hampered by the want of necessary funds, which may have been stopped at the source or diverted to other purposes. Nothing could be more wasteful or discouraging to all concerned. Another deplorable and short-sighted tendency, to be traced to the same cause, is that of building important new main-lines of a single road to the detriment and confusion of traffic. Two recent instances will suffice—the Grand Chord of the E.I.R. between Gya and Moghul Serai, and the Agra-Delhi Chord worked by the G.I.P. Railway. In the first case we have a large section, 126 miles, of the chief trunk railroad of India, leading from the capital and the coalfields to the great towns of the United Provinces and of the Punjab, as well as to the Central Provinces and to Bombay, introduced as a single road; and in the second case a new direct route of equal length between two of the chief towns of India, used by three main-line companies and leading also north and south, again constructed in single road. If we can imagine the Trent Valley section of the London and North-Western Railway or the Cheshire lines built in single road we can grasp the extent

of the folly. Is it wise, is it fair, to continue a policy which leads to these results? But perhaps a short anecdote of the past may assist us to understand the type of mind which is at the root of it all. Many years ago the writer asked a certain high and decorated official why on earth Government ever permitted the Bengal and N.W. Railway to cross the Gogra into the Doab between it and the Ganges, and so bleed the rather anæmic Oudh and Rohilcund State Railway? His answer was lucid and as follows: 'It is quite true, as you say, that the country there is fully cultivated, well populated and prosperous; but the fact is that the one balances the other, so that people do not wish to travel and there are few or no imports or exports to move!' Well, the Bengal and N.W. Railway, being a wide-awake company and happily possessed of a very capable agent, promptly threw a costly bridge over the Gogra, proceeded and continued to exploit that prosperous Doab and pick up the many unconsidered items of traffic which, being a metre-gauge line built and owned wholly by private enterprise, they carry away from the State line and the Government-owned E.I. Railway to their own main system beyond the Gogra and Ganges. Possibly some official of the O. and R. Railway could tell us what this example of policy has cost the State.[3] The public who do not know India will not now be surprised to learn that the major portion of the main trunk road of the E.I. Railway is still a single line, and this after 50 years of trafficking, or the opportunity of trafficking, among populations nearly equalling those of the whole United States of America. It is almost incredible, but so it is, and, with the nearly similar examples of the G.I.P. and the N.W. State Railways and others, all going to show the results of State railway policy on the trade and prosperity of India. And the mischief of it still stands, for the Resolution of April 1896 remained on the books to quash all enterprise until last year, and no adequate means is even now taken to grasp or deal with the situation. To vote certain funds which are likely to be and are wanted for other purposes of State will not suffice; the obvious remedy is to join hands with the public and to ensure full and lasting financial sustenance.

Moreover, other departments of Government would benefit much were the railways rendered more self-sufficing. Education, sanitation, agriculture, so often and unfairly termed unremunerative, as if remuneration consists only in the passing of money, have unbounded scope before them had they the means

[3] Yet it was seriously proposed, some four years ago, to repeat the same blunder for the same Company, but in Eastern Bengal, and so bleed that State railway, besides bringing the confusion of gauges to the Calcutta Docks. Again, the survey for another metre-gauge line which will compete with a trunk road has just been sanctioned.

to rise to their full duties. By a release of part of the large sums annually, but necessarily under the present system, devoted to the railways a more ample provision could be made for the wants of these other departments, to the undoubted advantage of India. And let it not be forgotten that there is yet another plea to be advanced. The railways, free from financial shackles, can extend and multiply to the profit of all. There is not a branch of Government they cannot help, not an industry they cannot benefit, not an individual within their reach to whose wants they cannot minister. They are alike sources of revenue and payers of taxes, and they can also assist in the exchange of labour. To regard them merely as carriers is to sterilise effort and to deny the experience of all countries.

SOME OF THE PERSONNEL.

In discussing a subject of this nature it would be ungrateful to omit all mention of those who are the Executive and servants alike of Government, of the companies in London, and of the public in India. Removed though they are from our vision, almost from our ken, they yet fulfil important and arduous duties of much advantage to the Empire; and so far as the Europeans are concerned they perform their daily duties under stress of an exhausting climate and often at the risk of health. Appointments to their official ranks, at one time perhaps contemned, are now sought after by those of our redundant youth who have failed to pass the mill which the Civil Service Commissioners grind so closely. Thus the traffic officers of the railways are supplied by a perennial flow of eager, alert, and, on the whole, capable young men, who are quickly introduced to such work and responsibilities as are not often called for in those so young. The engineers, civil and mechanical, have necessarily learnt their work and gained experience elsewhere, and are therefore older and better paid; but the young traffic officer, after being attached for a year or more to an English railway, is sent out—not, like a young subaltern, to be under the eye of his regimental superior, or like a clerk as junior in an ordered office, but often straightway to the railway district, where, should his Superintendent fall ill or other sudden mishap occur, he may find himself one day in charge of 300 or 400 miles of railway and of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of employés. That, with a staff largely native, teaches responsibility with a vengeance, and it is much to the credit of these youths that they pass the ordeal so well. On some railways, notably the E.I. Railway, there is a sufficiency of officers, but on others—where contracts with Government have not been written on generous lines and which cannot therefore afford or are not permitted to engage so many—it sometimes befalls that owing to

leave or sickness an actual deficiency occurs, and then the work i searching indeed. To work seven days a week, and long day is the common lot of officials in many departments of Indian ser vice, and so the saying runs: 'As we are not paid for it ther are no complaints'; but on the railways, when traffic increase by leaps and bounds on a single road, or the rains descend and th floods come—causing washaways, land-slips, and bridge breakin galore—then indeed the stress comes in earnest, and the enginee and traffic officer may be on duty twenty, twenty-four, and eve thirty hours and more at a stretch, and this in a climate whic can provide 110° in the shade. Sometimes the strain reache the breaking-point, as report said was the case during the las great Delhi Durbar, but usually the officers pull through, if wit some loss of health and strength.

Though the exigencies of work and climate cannot and mu not be evaded, a paternal Government will wish to provide th due precautions are there to meet them; and in this particula the rate of pay of the young officer, unless it has been raised durin the past few years, invites attention. The E.I. Railway, memory serves, commence their assistants with 250 rupees month, and that is fair; but some companies were wont to giv as little as 160 or 180 rupees a month, and that is n sufficient to assure a life of health and reasonable comfort in th climate of India. It is therefore false economy. Another poin is that when on furlough, and sometimes even when on sick leave these officers do not receive full pay, as do other services; bu surely seven years of such work as is theirs deserves this.

Though the traffic or transport department of a railway is no becoming generally recognised as paramount in importance, it strange that more attention is not given to its commercial side i India, for after all a railway, like an army, goes on its belly. O some of the railways, indeed perhaps on many, there is no com plete and separate district organisation in that direction. The have undoubtedly their Goods Manager, as we call him, and h staff at head-quarters, but if he alone is allowed to suffice th must lead to overmuch centralisation in a land of vast distance and huge populations. Judging by its size and growing im portance, the district, subject of course to general control and t its place in the system, is likely to become the chief unit in India railway management, and its Superintendent, properly supporte and equipped with assistants—not only on the transport and com mercial sides but also in the engineering and locomotive depar ments, though these again would be also responsible to their ow chiefs in technical matters—should be supreme and responsibl for the complete efficiency and prosperity of his own district Then the General Manager, or Agent, as he now is—and th

implies more than a manager—the chief transport and commercial managers, and the chiefs of the other great departments, can attend to the head work of organisation, improvement, development and control—enough surely for each chief, but if they try to drive all their own teams as well, that will of a surety end in disaster, for it emasculates district or divisional responsibility. It has been said, I know not with what authority, that the E.I. Railway have divided their traffic department into transport and commercial, and find that the results do not justify the cost. But surely if the railways are to prosper in the days to come and fulfil their part in the future of India, they must seek traffic and ensue it, not wait until it comes their way. And the district, in fact, should be to a great railway what a battleship is to a fleet, or a division to an army, complete in itself—an integral part of the whole.

And now let us take heed for the staff of the railways and the great employed, that host of half-a-million in multitude which ministers *de die in diem* to railway works and wants. It would be impossible within the limits of this article to do justice to this side of the subject, and rash indeed to attempt it without long and patient study on the spot. But a sentence or two will not be out of place, and the first is due to our own countrymen who usually personate the leading members of the staff—station masters, inspectors, foremen, engine-drivers, firemen, guards, &c. In many instances these have settled in India, after service perhaps in the army, and regard the country as their home. Speaking broadly, it may be said that they are well to do; they have good wages, are usually well housed and cared for; they have their pensions, sick funds, schools, doctors, and the ordinary attachments of civilised life; they have also their Unions, and it goes without saying that overtime and long hours are paid for in their case. Some of them, so the writer is informed, have been able to invest their savings in the purchase of building land up in the Hill Stations, and do remarkably well with their purchases. That is a happy and excellent sign: may it continue and prosper.

Having spoken thus briefly of our white staff, may we not also include the Eurasians, who outnumber them, among the well to do and the well deserving? And what more fitting words than 'the well deserving,' that old-time appreciation, can be applied to the Indian staff who, in more humble circumstances, mainly accomplish the immense clerical work of the great railway services? To attempt to criticise, to discriminate, to offer opinions on their work and condition, and on that of the still more numerous body of railway servants, is quite beyond the power and scope of the writer, but he may perhaps be excused in drawing attention to

two serious and lamentable blots on the railway pages of India. The first, the prevalence of thieving—not merely petty pilfering, but downright thieving—is common to an extent fortunately unknown here. So common is it that most goods, even those not perishable, are carried in closed wagons, and these are frequently sealed; yet the nuisance continues, seems almost unpreventable in spite of police and watchmen, and is in fact a real and onerous tax on the railway administrations, which naturally have to compensate the owners of the goods. Can it be mitigated, there is the rub, by devising any means by which it shall be *the interest* of the staff and employés at the various railway stations to stop it? Each station for such purpose would be the natural and most convenient unit as forming a small community in itself, and if it be possible to give all its employés a monthly share in the profits of that station—from all traffic and after all wages, working expenses, and all waste and loss had been deducted—then perhaps the evil might be checked; but it appears to the writer, after some consideration, that the number of servants to be dealt with is too large, and the share of the profits which could be spared is too small, to allow of this being tried. However, those officially concerned may see a way out of it, and if they can they will not only greatly benefit Government and their shareholders, but also add their mite in promoting content through the land.

The other reproach is almost more serious, because of its possible injury to persons as well as damage to property. I speak of the prevalence of preventable accidents—due in many cases to gross carelessness or disobedience of standing orders. Here again it is not only the catastrophes with their appalling consequences, of which we know something in England, which count, but the frequency of smaller accidents which may also take their toll in human suffering as well as damage to rolling-stock. Carelessness in the East is based not alone on selfishness but in a measure also on fatalism, and that makes it all the harder to cope with; but cannot something be done to bring to the heedless a sense of responsibility? That again is a question for the experienced in single-line working, and one I fear of most difficult solution. But for the credit of the railway services let us hope that some remedy may be found.

Some Geographical and other Considerations.

Anyone opening the railway map of India will be confronted with what is done and what is undone. Is the former creditable, is the latter excusable? In parts, he will see a diversity of railways, interlacing and competing, of rival gauges and serving only local interests; and in other parts he will see space—unsatisfied, uncommunicated space. Broadly speaking, probably the one has

been more or less the cause of the other. Had the metre gauge never been born, or had it been kept within due limits, the energy and capital expended on it might have gone far to supply the vacant spaces on the map. And any further proposed extension of this gauge, especially in Rajputana—where conversion may be necessary, and except in certain parts already mainly devoted to it, not being trunk routes—should with a view to the future be very carefully scrutinised, lest present confusion become worse confounded. As it is, the metre has been allowed to compete with and prey upon the senior, the legitimate gauge, that of speed and capacity—surnamed the Standard. The Metre is then the Ishmael of India, and he has thriven and has many children. Now let us think of him and his progeny as he inhabits the lands; and in due order let us first look East. There we find a son—the B. and N.W. Railway, fruitful and multiplying and of great promise, for he has made that land to prosper and to abound. Of his incursion over the Gogra we have already spoken. But to think of his future, that should extend mainly to the East and North-East, for he is and should remain a trans-Gangetic system. In the East a near relationship with the upper or metre-gauge section of the Eastern Bengal may be possible to him, and even with the Assam-Bengal Railway. But would that be wise, for the world has not yet done with the Tartar, and India may one day have an eastern border to defend as well as a north-western? If that be so, the trunk standard road of the Eastern Bengal State Railway may stretch across the Sara bridge right up to the eastern border. Perhaps the outcome will be that the Eastern Bengal north of the Ganges, and the Assam-Bengal will form one[3] metre-gauge system with an outlet both by river and at Chittagong—a port which should have a future; or would Hagar's son be licensed to wed both the fruitful and the barren and form one great metre-gauge family from Bhutan to Chittagong and from Lucknow to the Burmese border, where he would have opportunity for further courtship? In either case, what of the standard-gauge portion of the Eastern Bengal State Railway: who is to work that? Why not its near neighbour the E.I. Railway, which could do so both cheaper and better than a separate management? They are only divided by the Hugli, which has long been bridged, and the E.I. Railway has already certain running powers on the State Railway. It need only be a working agreement, interfering

[3] To saddle the Assam-Bengal Railway, a system of less than 800 miles, having working expenses of over 90 per cent. and net earnings about 0.30 per cent., with the cost of a separate administration in London is another strange example of policy. Surely the wise course is to join it to the neighbouring metre-gauge State line and permit a strong company to develop both *and* the port of Chittagong with its hinterland. Moreover, some judicious shuffling of the cards might strengthen the hands of Government in other directions.

in no way with Government profits or with the interests of Calcutta merchants or of the tea and jute trades, who have the Chamber of Commerce to safeguard their affairs. And that concerns another large question—in what direction is the E.I. Railway to expand? The map shows that it is hemmed in on all sides by capable and jealous rivals, and that there is elbow room only in part of Chota-Nagpur and through Bagelkhand, which offers no more than a short cut to Jubbulpore and beyond. The E.I. Railway to be sure coveteth Naboth's vineyard—the O. and R. State Railway; but of that presently, for another may be preferred before it.

And now let us turn our eyes northward to that great State railway system—the North-Western of India—stretching limbs and tentacles in all directions, measured already by 5000 miles of stature and still vigorous and growing. We must think of its head. 'Oh, head, head!' sighed Czar Peter, fondling that of his minister, uncertain the while whether he could afford to cut it off or not. Can one head efficiently direct such a corpus? Seeing too that the traffic of the giant diverges, one stream going west to the Indus Valley, another south to Bombay, *via* the G.I.P. and B.B. and C.I. Railways, and the remainder south-east to the Ganges Valley and the Oudh and Rohilcund Railway, its somewhat feeble brother which requires support and sustenance. Why not then divide the giant—as from Lahore, its North-West, Western, and South-West lines, which will assuredly be largely added to, remaining as the North-Western State Railway, and those running south-east to the Ganges Valley forming with the O. and R. a substantial and prosperous North-Eastern State Railway? The State owns both, so there are no conflicting interests. Then would follow another question—the approach to Calcutta. The O. and R. is already looking to Daltonganj for coal and beyond. That opens an old controversy—who is to command the route? The E.I. Railway, as said their able old Chairman, or is it to be shared with the B.N. Railway? And is it easier to decide now than formerly, for the E.I. Railway have undoubtedly claims on Government and should not be despitefully used; but so have the B.N. Railway, for have they not explored and humanised 'the trackless wilderness of Chattisgarh' and other similar wilds? Yet there still remain honours for them in the huge space of Orissa and its beyond; power and pelf too will come to them from new coal fields in Chota Nagpur and from Mr. Tata's steel works. So perhaps the doubling of the Grand Chord section of the E.I. Railway will best solve the question, until events and traffics demand an additional route.

To the South and East of the N.W. State Railway lies the vast extent of Rajputana. Who is to possess that—the standard or the metre gauge? The latter is already there, but Foresight

must have the chief word, for there are other considerations coming importance, and the occasion should not be lost. Th approach from Europe must come from the West or North-Wes and must be met by the standard gauge—there is no questic as to that. The Russian gauge, if the connexion comes th way, is said to be 5 feet 3 inches. How and where is the differen of three inches between it and the Indian gauge to be adjuste on the borders of India or the confines of Persia? That is wort considering, for there are ports of India which may become por of Asia if there be no break of gauge.[4]

Anyone standing at Jodhpur and looking abroad over Rajp tana has three objectives before him: Samasata for Peshawar ar Afghanistan, Sukhur for Quetta and Beluchistan, and Kotri f Karachi and the Gulf. The last is served by a section of tl metre-gauge railways of the Jodhpur and Bikanir States—a sectic which with its continuations to Delhi can be converted to tl standard gauge, thus giving Karachi one connexion she want and it will also be served by the Bombay-Sind connexion, aga of standard width and now aligned north of Cutch; so there a really but two objectives—Sukhur and Samasata, and both demai direct roads to Hindustan, for are they not her gates to We and North? To the latter a path already leads half way, tl metre gauge from Merta to Palana, and this would of necessi be converted, for its objective and supports are both of standa rank. For Sukhur an evident junction is Jodhpur, but wheth it be there or elsewhere the connexions will require conversic for Agra, for the United Provinces, and for the E.I. Railway Bengal and Calcutta, and making for Kotah and the Benga Nagpur Railway. Thus can all the provinces of India open the doors by broad roads to the West.

Yet another route of importance remains[5]—the new Nort and South road to Ceylon, where the world commerce from We

[4] If this question should arise, would wheels with extra broad tires and t flange in the middle of the tires, so as to take the outside of the Russian rails ai the inside of the Indian, be practicable and meet the difficulty?

[5] The completion of this line, or rather of the main section of it, now buildi between Itarsi and Nagpur in the Central Provinces, should have an importa bearing on the working expenses of the parent company, the G.I.P. Railway, that it will open to them near the very centre of their system the Chindwa Coalfield which, at an altitude of some 2000 feet, is said to contain lar deposits of excellent coal near the surface, and therefore easily mined ai transported. If the G.I.P. working expenses for the years 1905-9 inclusi and indeed for long previously, be compared with those of the E.I. Railway, difference of some 14 per cent. in favour of the latter is shown (54.27 and 40. per cent. of gross earnings respectively), and further this difference will found to be almost wholly in locomotive expenses (25.37 and 12.20 per cer respectively), which again are caused by the difference in price per ton of cc used (10.05 and 4.526 rupees, including freight, respectively). It may expected therefore that the opening of this coalfield to the G.I.P. Railw

to East and to Australia is tapped. Ceylon has the standard gauge, yet the route in India is again broken by the metre, and the link is actually being built of that gauge! This route then requires a short chord from Guna to Bhopal in the Central Provinces, the link from Chanda to Warangal already aligned in the Nizam's State, and some conversions south of Madras to and across the Pamban Pass. These constructed, and the link from the East Coast and Calcutta at Bezwada to Guntakal—where the G.I.P. terminus ought to be instead of in the air at Raichur—restored to the standard gauge (in no other country would such an important link have been changed to the metre) and the great strategic trunk roads of India, commercial and military, will be complete. But it may lie in the future for India to have her own port at Rameshvaram and not despatch this ocean trade through Colombo.

A MILITARY ASPECT.

A question that must often have been asked in various form may be put thus. In what manner can the railways in peace time best help the military in preparation for war? By simply perfecting their own systems and their daily duties, or by learning some more definite means of assistance? All the great systems have their volunteer corps, in which their officers are encouraged—on some lines expected—to hold commissions. This they do gladly and with the men devote some portion of their rather scanty leave to their fortnight in camp. They have become, many of them, officers as well as men, very good shots, but their knowledge of drill and of other military duties is of necessity small, for as is truly said they have not the time to learn. Therefore their value as fighting units is best known to the Generals who yearly inspect them and who, of course, report to headquarters. To refer back to my second question, Can they usefully be trained to protect their own railways at important points—stations, locomotive yards, water and coal supply, bridge heads, and the roads and telegraphs from being cut; or would they not be fully and better occupied in organising and running the traffic for conveyance of the troops and supplies should a serious call be made on their services? Perhaps some officer of rank may be disposed to answer that question?

But there is, the writer ventures to think, a specific direction

may reduce the working expenses of their whole system by quite 10 per cent., or 233,420*l.* a year, and had this been done fifteen years ago during the cheap money period of 1896-7 some three and a-half millions sterling might since have been saved in expenses, enough to pay for this section of the line twice over. Another instance of want of foresight, but for which the directors are in no way to blame. Now, if no part of the coalfield has been reserved for the G.I.P. Company, it is to be feared that they will not obtain full advantage, for the colliery owners may charge higher prices.

in which they may be of real and perhaps present help, and tha is by providing and organising both in personnel and matériel complete and adequate Railway Corps for use in and outside Indi in time of war. Has that yet been done and to a sufficient extent Some years ago, before the advent of Lord Kitchener to India, i had not, though it had been required and desired by the Arm for many previous years. Therefore, towards the end of Lor Elgin's viceroyalty there was included in a scheme, to establis a strong auxiliary company for the construction of feeder and othe lines by private and local enterprise in alliance with Governmen the provision, maintenance and training of a Railway Corps, com plete in personnel and matériel for service in time of war. It officers and men, to be commanded by an R.E. colonel, were t be used for the purposes of the company in railway constructio and working during peace time, and the complete matériel—i roadway and equipment of 2 ft. 6 in. gauge for an agreed mileag —was to be provided and kept in perfect order so that it and a should be ready and at the service of the Army on the outbreak c war. The scheme, though it met with some favour, was not ac cepted. It was thought too comprehensive, and our bureaucrats d not readily grasp situations, but prefer to proceed piecemeal— petty and costly process. That was a pity, for the proposed mili tary service corps might have been very useful soon after—durin the Boer War, and the company could, money then being cheap have built various feeders and other railways in India which woul long since have paid their way, but which have not all even ye been constructed. It was said later that the Military Departmer would themselves organise such a corps, provide the matériel, an send officers and men among the railways to learn their worl Has that been done to an adequate extent, or is there still roo for the railways to help?

Conclusion.

Here, then, are some aspects of the railways of India—an im perfect story of a still imperfect task. In their policy we have see the convenience of the present frequently hazarding the require ments of the future, and those three senses—insight, foresight broadsight—indispensable to a statesman, and so essential to thos in high office, too often conspicuously absent. Thus, finance is sti indeterminate, and both the alignments and gauge of some of th railways show a lack of perception and of true objective. Policy indeed, has had many artisans but no architect, and the railway have suffered from too many High Priests, who, like all hier archies, lay or clerical, have inclined to the worship of tables, an have been prejudiced by suspicion of outside assistance and b the strange conceit that wisdom begins and ends with those i

office. Thus it has been at Simla and Whitehall in spite of the efforts of Viceroys and Secretaries of State. Ten years ago and onwards a great Viceroy, *causâ Indiae* and to the ruin of health, daily combated the *vis inertiae* of organised system; quite recently a great Secretary of State has shown equal devotion and true diagnosis. May the effort and genius of each prevail, the one crowning the other, and a fit devolution of work and responsibility ensue, to the relief of their successors.

But however unfortunate and inadequate has been the policy pursued (and a wise policy would at once have permeated the land and inspired its people, for railways mean far more than communications for India) over the administrations has ever shone a glorious light—the light of honesty: honesty of conception, honesty of purpose, honesty of endeavour, honesty of work—in heat and flood, in sickness and fatigue, in health and success, in mistake and disaster. Thus both the spirit and the famous minute of the great Dalhousie, in spite of errors pointed out, have been constant and have endured. Yet even this will not suffice unless the finances, with the help of the public, be placed on a sound and lasting foundation; and until this be done, no talk, no resolutions, no confabulation of high and decorated officials sitting in council or committee can avail more in the future than they have in the past.

MURRAY ROBERTSON.

Postscript.—The appearance of the above article having been delayed, these additional observations may now be permitted.

During the past month of March another issue of India Stock has been made, this time without special ear-mark and with improved results. But the conditions have remained the same in all essentials: the loan was again underwritten, the interest is at 3½ per cent., and the issue price is still in the nineties (96). Well does the writer remember the boast, 'Oh, we shall always get all the money we want at three per cent!' That was said as an assured conviction: it should have been told of a valued position on all accounts to be cherished and maintained. And why has it not been maintained? Is there sufficient reason beyond variations in the money markets? Let us look at the debit side of India. Beyond her expenditure on railways and irrigation—profitable investments rather than debts—her liabilities, as shown in the last Budget debate, amount to under 30,000,000*l.* for a population of over 315,000,000; that is, about 1*s.* 10*d.* per head. And the interest on each capital 1*s.* 10*d.* is more than provided by the surplus receipts of the railways alone, while the whole capital charge could any day be completely redeemed by the goodwill of the railways if realised. Therefore in the matter of debt

India has a *tabula rasa*, and this *cannot* be too widely known. What other country with equal responsibilities and potentialities can say the same, or offer a logical basis for comparison?

But what will the Council write in the future on this clean slate? Much may depend on their decision. Will they retrace their steps by circumspect paths to the glorious simplicity of the Three per Cents, or will they continue to advertise 'the step down' by frequent railway loans at untoward times, to the detriment of the guarantee and of credit, and to the exultation of those domestic foes who in their crimes vainly act as if by blowing out candles they can quash the light of day?

Among the expectations of the near future the approach of a railway connexion with Europe can claim an important place. By which route will it come?—for we must put our money on the right horse this time. About the two present rival schemes—the Baghdad Railway to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the proposed extension of the Russian railways through North-West Persia, Ispahan, and Yezd down to Baluchistan and the Indus valley—a few words of consideration may not be amiss.

Of the former, the doubt may be expressed whether of the trade brought to Basra or Koweit much would ever reach India by rail, even if the way be carried along the old trade-route on the north shore of the Gulf. It would appear more probable that such trade would seek the service of the sea, that Bushire, Koweit, or some other Gulf port would intercept it, and that little besides mails and passengers would arrive in India by land, and these could travel as well by a fast line of steamers to Karachi. If such forecast seem justified, would it not be wise to leave this trade to its natural outlet, the Gulf sea, on which we could secure a goodly proportion, and turn our attention to the other route, which offers certain advantages, though perhaps at a greater initial cost? By it, Persia, the trans-Caspian provinces of Russia, and ultimately some of her Caspian provinces, could be partly tapped and some of their export trade brought to Karachi, even though Bushire and Mohammerah claim their shares. Thus we could largely partake in the trade of both routes, and the latter would in the future be capable of great development and with less fear of rivalry, for the small ports of Lingah, Bunder Abbas, and Gwadur, though suitable for coasting traffic, are all said to be under the disadvantage of the shallow waters which wash that coast.

Another potential advantage of the inland route lies in the fact that it would form a main trunk-road from which branches could extend throughout Persia, thus forming the parent of a public works system for that country when she has a Government able to create and maintain it. This last view, long cherished by the writer, was submitted as a project to be carried out with and for

Persia and in conjunction with Russia many years ago. Lord Salisbury honoured it with his notice and, had it then or since been feasible, the condition of Persia might be very different to-day; it would besides open a wide field for useful immigrants from India, now that some other fields are closed to them. Possibly it may yet come to pass, and should that happen Persia might do worse than copy the Indian system of irrigation, forestry, roads and railways, but avoiding some mistakes in the last. Then there is great Russia herself—like India, a country with many troubles behind and a great future before her. Can there be no interchange of commodities between two such vast populations and diverse climates? One can almost foresee a double and well-used railroad between them.

If this route be determined on, then for India will arise the question where it is to debouch—at Karachi or at Sukhur? Many voices will be raised for the former, but that port would hardly serve India as a whole, for it would constitute Karachi, which can have another approach, the sole west gate of India. Sukhur, if that alignment is possible, is better placed as a *point d'appui*; it is already doubly connected by rail with Karachi and also with the North, and by its bridge over the Indus it could be easily linked with the main railway systems, to the salvation of Baluchistan and Rajputana, at Jodhpur, as already suggested, or at some other point. But here considerations of space enjoin a finish, and further elucidation may be left for discussion.

M. R.

WHEN THE RANI LIFTS HER VEIL IN LONDON

I

Their flashing jewels of fabulous value, their olive complexions and piquant, Oriental countenances, their gold-embroidered gay-hued *saris*, or their equally picturesque costumes consisting of velvet trousers, bodices and silken sheets wrapped about their heads and shoulders, or the shroud-like *burq'as* which completely hide their forms, have attracted the attention of the average English man and woman to the notable ladies from Hindostan now sojourning in Great Britain. Few, however, have realised that the fact that some of the rulers of the Native States brought their families along with them to witness the Coronation of King George the Fifth, and that even the Begum of Bhopal ventured out of her seclusion to come to the capital of the Empire to which she acknowledges allegiance, is of significant import, inasmuch as it visualises to the Briton the working of a social revolution which is transforming India; introducing into the country a changed family life in which the husband and wife stand on the same level and in which the sexes are no longer segregated, but act and re-act on each other's character, becoming strengthened and refined in the process. So far, its deep psychological meaning has been lost upon the gaping multitude, just as the interesting personalities of the Maharanis, Ranis and Begums have remained unrevealed even to many of those who personally have come in contact with them, as they necessarily have been to those who have lacked such advantages.

This is not the place to dilate upon the movement which has resulted in the Indian ladies, whose mothers and grandmothers gloried in the rigidity of their separation from the sterner sex, stepping out of the privacy of their apartments to attend State and social functions in a cosmopolitan centre like London. Suffice it to emphasise the fact that as the years pass by, the Maharajas, Rajas and Thakores are developing more and more of a passion for taking their wives along with them when they fare forth upon their world tours. More and more they show their anxiety to give their daughters the benefit of training abroad, or, if this cannot be

managed, they at least employ Western or Westernized teachers to carry European culture to the girls. This tendency is so widespread that to-day no royal residence in India is so enveloped by the darkness of ignorance and superstition, but that at least a single ray of emancipation, be it ever so feeble and fitful, is shining in, pointing out the better way to the polygamous husband and his unfortunate victims. Moreover, there are some regal zenanas in Hindostan where the light of liberty has shone brilliantly for years, illumining the minds of the occupants. These are the palaces from which have come the Maharanis who are in London on this occasion, and who are frequently undertaking foreign tours.

The feminine members of Indian royalty now present in England, therefore, are not notable merely for their precious jewels, rich gowns and striking features, but also because they represent the vanguard of the new type of womanhood just springing up in India. Judged by Occidental as well as Oriental standards, these women have the highest culture and character. Considering the fact that the blighting experience of sex-segregation has been removed but a short time, and, even now, not absolutely except in isolated instances, they are an acquisition to their homeland—and, one may venture to suggest, to the British Empire. The story of their growth, of their struggle against ingrained habits and bred-in-the-bone diffidence, of the years of patient, plodding study and observation, and the acclimatisation to a new mental and moral atmosphere, makes a narrative of intense human interest.

II

The career of her Highness Chimnabai II, C.I., the charming consort of the enlightened Maharaja of Baroda, who is spending the summer in this country, can be taken as illustrating the course of evolution through which all the Indian queens have passed. Like most of the other Ranis who to-day are making a name for themselves on account of their advancement, she came to her husband uneducated, and, like the rest of them, she truly is what a loving, capable man has made her—a credit to the Gaekwad, the fashioner of her character.

When still a young girl, Chimnabai II—or Gajarabai, to use her maiden name, which, in accordance with the Indian custom, was changed at the time of her marriage—was taken from her home in Dewas, a small native State in the Central Indian Agency, to the capital of his Highness Sayaji Rao III, who had lost his wife, Chimnabai I, and was looking for a suitable person to take her place. She found another girl already on the spot, sent to Baroda for the same purpose—to be offered to the Maharaja as his bride.

everal causes had conspired to narrow the Gaekwad's choice wn to these two princesses. One of them was the restriction nposed by hoary tradition making it necessary for him to marry ithin his caste, and, indeed, within the Maratha reigning famis. Another was that while the ruler of Baroda was unwilling go out hunting for an eligible bride, the parents of aristocratic irls were equally reluctant to send them to his capital to be looked ver like an article of barter and exchange before being purchased, ven when there was the possibility of their winning the affections the rich Maharaja of the second largest Hindu State in the Pennsula. In this circumstance, Sayaji Rao was lucky to have even wo girls present themselves before him. Both the princesses ere innocent of book learning, and in the matter of comeliness of oks, native intelligence, good lineage and the culture that goes ith it, they were the peer of each other, so that it was difficult decide which of them would make the better Maharani. Full nany a day did the Maharaja waver, now thinking of pronouncing n favour of the present Chimnabai, and again on the point of exressing preference for her rival. So divided was the mind of the uler that one of his advisers naïvely reminded him that he might ecide the matter by wedding both of the candidates, instead of hoosing but one of them—a privilege enjoyed by his immediate nd remote predecessors and his contemporary brother-princes. owever, Sayaji Rao disdained this suggestion, and at last decided o accept the hand of Gajarabai. It is related on good authority hat the real reason why the Gaekwad favoured her was because he was 'spirited,' whereas the other was a quiet, good-natured, home-body'—a phenomenon well worth wondering at, for the riental is supposed to desire meekness and not fire in his prospecve wife.

In other lands education precedes matrimony, but in modern ndia the training of girls ofttimes begins after the marriage has een solemnised. Soon after she was wedded, Chimnabai was laced under an instructor. Being gifted with good judgment, he at once grasped her husband's point of view, and instead of eing rebellious, she co-operated with him. As she grew older and er mental horizon became broadened by the lessons she learned, he realised more than ever the wisdom of the discipline she was ndergoing. Learning inspires a love of book-lore, and reading hetted the Maharani's desire still further to progress in the purit of knowledge. Travel in India and later abroad further idened her perspective. Thus throughout her married life, in e course of which she has become the mother of three sons and e daughter, all of whom are healthy and happy and preparing emselves for useful careers, and has proved a helpful companion the Maharaja, Chimnabai has been steadily cultivating her

mind, before which new vistas of intellectual perfection have constantly opened, giving her fresh interests to work and pray for, and rounding out her life, making it fuller, richer, happier.

This mental growth is developing in her Highness thoughts and ideals which promise just as much good for others as her evolution has brought to herself, her husband, her children and her immediate relatives. The more she learns, the more she realises the low position in which her humbler sisters dwell. The harder this consciousness smites her soul, the more ardently does she yearn to help them to rise up out of the mire of ignorance in which they are wallowing. She already has reached a stage where her desires are beginning to mature into plans of practical utility, where her aspirations are goading her on to fruitful action.

Speaking in general terms, the Maharani's campaign to uplift the women of Hindustan is as simple as it is sane. She thinks that the time for mere talking has long gone by, and she abominates Indians who talk reform in congresses and conferences and practise reaction at home. According to her, a system of education must be evolved which shall combine the Oriental and Occidental culture, and this must be grafted on the stalk of practical training. Her idea is that females should have the same cultural training afforded males—but their instruction must go farther than this. It should include courses that will cultivate the woman-instinct in them instead of permitting it to be crushed out of them, which is the chief fault of the present system. Schooling such as she advocates is not to be had anywhere in India for love or money. Indeed, the academies there make a practice of forcing the curriculum planned for boys—itself imperfect and calculated to make mere clerks of the students—upon girls who desire education. Therefore, the Maharani of Baroda would have all social reformers combine to found a great women's university, which shall carry out her ideals. But judging from the mood of her countrymen that she may have to wait years before they attempt to materialise her dreams, she herself is going ahead alone with the work. Not long ago she organised, in her husband's capital, a charity bazaar, the first time a Maharani ever had done anything of the kind, with the object of raising funds for her educational scheme. As she then observed pseudo-*purdah* in her own State, although with the inexplicable illogic of woman the world over she went about without veiling her face when outside Baroda, her Highness sat behind a screened counter selling her wares—a procedure which made aristocratic India pause and wonder. But Chimnabai simply went about the work in a business-like manner and carried her plans to a successful issue. The venture resulted in a substantial sum to form the nucleus of the endowment for the institution she hopes to start,

which she added generously from her private purse, as did also ie Gaekwad. She is steadily working to increase the amount ealised in this manner, and in course of time expects to secure ioney enough to put her plan into operation. Meanwhile she is udying the constitution and study-courses of the schools, col-es and universities for women abroad, meeting educationalists, id discussing with them her ideas and ideals of feminine training. hus she is preparing herself for the great work that is crying out be done in India, where whole-hearted, honest, intelligent ourers are so pitifully few.

An ambitious woman, keenly concerned about the welfare of hers, the Maharani of Baroda is as different as she can be from ie traditional ladies of the Indian palaces, who lead languorous ves of fatuous felicities, their world limited to one man who has othing but carnal interest in them. A great and pleasant con-rast this certainly is : and mainly due to the impact of the East on ie West.

III

A peep into the career of her Highness Nandkuverba, C.I., the ani of Gondal—a native State situated in the heart of Kathiawar -who, too, is in London attracted by the Coronation festivities, iscloses the same process of evolution and the same agency which orked for the emancipation of Chimnabai II—the unflagging orts of an intelligent and loving husband to bring his wife up to is mental level. Her wedded life began with romance. The hakore Saheb, unable to journey to the home of the bride, sent sword to represent himself, and the young girl was wedded to is weapon with all due solemnity. Meantime the Chief was iarried to a sword in his own capital. Soon after Nandkuverba ent to live in her husband's palace he toured extensively broad, and immediately upon his return home began to emould his wife's mind. Probably the Thakore of Gondal nd the other rulers discovered that after they themselves ad drank deep at the fountain of Western learning and culture ieir unlettered, unsophisticated wives seemed insipid to them, id in sheer self-interest, since they must live with their consorts l their lives, they undertook to enlighten them. Be this as it ay, the fact remains that once the seed of modernism had routed in their minds, they felt constrained to help their female latives come up alongside them. Like the Maharani of Baroda, andkuverba went to the palace of her lord and master entirely ieducated; there she was persuaded to lift her veil and step out om the seclusion which she had held as sacred as her chastity; id there she learned to love her sister-woman and think and work r her welfare.

But the Thakore Saheb of Gondal and the Maharaja of Baroda are artists with divergent methods of wielding the brush, and the pieces of canvas on which they have painted are different in texture, so the handiwork of the two men shows distinct dissimilarity. While the Maharani of Baroda has developed into the newest of 'new' women, eager to obtain for her sex its God-given rights, and refusing to rest until she has raised all womanhood to the social level of man, the Rani of Gondal is a home-maker *par excellence,* desirous of devoting her whole time and energy to the moral and material welfare of her husband and children, confining her efforts to a really small world, but powerfully influencing each individual composing it—and, as is natural with such a disposition, keeping up her interest in the great universe beyond her ordinary sphere of activity through charity wisely dispensed. The two ladies are very much like two painters, one choosing a huge canvas, portraying gigantic figures, making the outlines bold and strong so they stand out clearly and can be seen from a distance: the other preferring to paint miniatures, patiently bringing out each detail absolutely true to life, producing pictures which must be held near the eye if their beauty and workmanship are to be appreciated—both of them provided with an equally good opportunity to do exquisite work—both equally indispensable to art and to this world.

The sun burns fiercely in Gondal most months of the year, preventing the people of the higher classes from stirring out much during the day: but when the scorching orb has disappeared and the evening breeze has set in, cooling the body blasted by the hot wind, a capacious coach is driven up to the portal of the palace, the Thakore, the Rani and the other members of the family settle themselves comfortably in it, and the ruler asks his consort to direct the coachman where to drive. At a sharp word of command from the chief officer, the bodyguard falls in behind, the hoof-beats of their horses sounding like the approach of a small army as the cavalcade sweeps out of the gates and down the road leading to the country districts. More than likely a stop is made at a Hindu temple when, from all directions, the wailing of conch shells warns the faithful that the time has come for them to worship their gods. The carriage is pulled up sharply when the shrine is reached. The bodyguard lines up along the road and respectfully salutes the Thakore Saheb and his family as they alight to pay their devotions to Shiva. In a body the royal party enters the sacred edifice, and, bowing before the image of the deity, offer prayers. Then they depart, leaving some silver coins on the threshold, standing for a moment while one of the footmen wipes the dust from their bare feet with a white cloth and helps them put on their slippers. Once more they enter the carriage. Once

more the bodyguard wheels into its place behind, and off they go, over hill and dale, sometimes travelling twenty or thirty miles before returning home for dinner, which usually is served about nine o'clock, but which not infrequently is kept waiting until ten, the lure of the cool, fresh, out-door air proving more fascinating than the promise of a meal. The family gathers about a round table in the large dining-room, and after dinner adjourns to the lawn or the drawing-room, where coffee is served. If the day has been especially trying, and the moon is shining brightly, more than likely everybody goes out for another long drive, perhaps not returning until the small hours of the morning. Or they may choose to remain at home, talking and reading until long after the hands of the clock have marked the midnight hour. The cordiality prevailing amongst the members of the household, and their loyalty and consideration for one another, are truly remarkable, and at once drive deep into a guest's heart the impression that this Raja's home is really happy.

To make this lovely family life still more charming, the Rani is willing to devote her prime energies to it—to subordinate her own individuality and desires to the good of all. She goes to infinite trouble to make the palace cosy, giving it the little touches of refinement which only a woman of culture can impart. She does not disdain any domestic detail, no matter how small it may be, but supervises her household with care and cleverness which few commoners are capable of giving to their domestic affairs. She is always at the beck and call of her husband—a constant and friendly companion to her daughters and sons—ever studying to make their meals more enjoyable and their lives happier. Devotion such as this is extremely rare, even in India, where women are famed for their faithfulness to family duties. The best feature of it all is that her love is intelligent—it does not spoil those upon whom it is lavished.

A mother-heart such as Nandkuverba possesses cannot but go out to her husband's subjects and cause her to endeavour to solace them in their sorrow. For this reason she is looked upon as an angel of mercy by the people of the State. In times of famine and disease she invariably works indefatigably to alleviate distress. Her chief effort has been, however, to assist the helpless ones who have no one to whom they can appeal for aid. She founded the Bhagvat Sinhji Orphanage, named after the Thakore Saheb, and supports it out of her private purse. This institution cares for all the orphans in the State until they are eight years of age, when they are removed to the Bai Saheb Ba Asylum, maintained by the State for the care of the indigent and afflicted. Positions are secured or provided for the orphans as they grow to manhood, and the girls are married after they are sufficiently matured. The

Rani gives a mother's thought and attention to all the poor peop who thus depend upon the public purse for their living, and se to it that all their wants are properly supplied.

Nandkuverba, with all her household duties and charitab activities, finds time for some literary work. She was the fir Indian queen to write a readable diary of her travels abroa Besides this, she presides at conferences and public meetings, an delivers stirring lectures in her mother-tongue—*Gujarat* Recently she delivered a speech at the *Gujarati Sahitya Parish* held at Rajkote, which was highly praised by the Indian Press, also was an address she delivered at Ahmedabad two or three yea ago. Her Highness seeks to inspire her sisters, through h lectures and writings, as she does through her example, to emanc pate themselves.

IV

The husbands of Chimnabai II and Nandkuverba proved tl magnet that drew them out of *purdah* to be their comrades; b no such experience has been vouchsafed her Highness Naw Sultan Jehan Begum, the ruler of Bhopal. Her story is alt gether different from that of the Maharani of Baroda, or the Ra of Gondal. While the latter are the handiwork of their spouse the character of Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum was largely fashion by a woman—her grandmother, Nawab Sikandar Begum.

Nawab Sikandar Begum would especially have appealed the imagination of the British ex-pro-consuls who insist that tl only remedy for insurgent Asiatics is a strong, iron-hearted rule Afghan by descent, she was capable of changing places with tl late Amir Abdur Rahman Khan. Living as she did during tl days of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny, she had to take her positic seriously. The unruly soldiery, infected by the spirit of revol was not the type of manhood that could be expected to be rea to die to serve a woman governing from her boudoir, segregate from the sterner sex. The wise lady, grasping this fact, did n propose to permit slavishness to convention to ruin her stat as an administrator and jeopardise the lives and property of tl people committed by the Almighty to her care. She saw that would be necessary for her to brave public opinion and go out see for herself how affairs were progressing, and how her officia were behaving, and she rose to the occasion. This saved th situation for her—and to such an extent for Great Britain that he late Majesty Queen Victoria especially honoured her and extende her territory by a substantial grant of land captured from the var quished malcontents. By clever manœuvring she managed t become the real ruler of Bhopal, whereas at first she governe merely as Regent for her daughter, Nawab Shah Jehan Begum

Great in troublous times, she proved equally clever in periods of peace, giving her people a government such as few despotic rulers can boast of, taxing them justly, settling their disputes quickly and equitably, inspiring officials with the spirit of humanity which they sorely lacked, and making communication within the State easy and speedy.

Such was the woman who took in hand the training of the august lady who to-day is a unique figure in London. Dictator that she was, she took her granddaughter away from her own mother when she was a mere infant, and kept her constantly under her watchful eye as she grew up. No detail of the baby's life was too small to be neglected by Sikandar Begum. She worked out a regular routine for Sultan Jehan. When absent from the capital, she would send long letters to be read to her and preserved for her future perusal. When the child reached the proper age, her grandmother carefully chose teachers for her and planned the curriculum of studies which, according to her notion, would result in making her a wise ruler and a good woman. She drew up a time-table which had to be strictly adhered to, and followed the girl's education day by day, making such changes in her studies as were found to be necessary. She even laid down the law as to when and for how long the little one should be permitted to visit her mother. When her Highness made a pilgrimage to Mecca, she took every precaution that her beloved charge should be properly looked after and her schooling judiciously superintended during her absence. She chose the boy who was to become her husband and made provision for his being trained to make a good consort for the future Begum of Bhopal. Her care never relaxed for a moment until death snatched her away from worldly cares.

Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum was forced to undergo a severe training in later years. Her mother, soon after coming to the throne, married Sidik Hasan Khan, who, conceiving a great dislike to his stepdaughter, took advantage of every occasion to harass her and turn her mother's heart against her. She therefore had to live in unhappy circumstances until the death of her mother, for even after the passing away of her stepfather, Nawab Shah Jehan Begum refused to be reconciled to the heir-apparent, and she did not have a moment's peace until she herself was crowned the ruler of Bhopal.

Thus educated, her Highness has brought a trained mind to her work. Though her State has not been troubled by mutinies, though she inherited a kingdom well divided into administrative districts, all of them capably officered and connected by good roads, railways and telegraphs, and though her subjects are peaceful, quiet and untainted by sedition, yet it is not an easy matter to keep the machinery of a large Indian princi-

pality running smoothly. It would be reasonable to expect that a woman of her enlightenment would rise superior to senseless custom and altogether cast aside the veil. She is just at the border-line of middle age, and her present trip abroad, during which she has ventured a little way out of her strict seclusion, may be the means of further emancipating her. At any rate, it is an admitted fact that her Highness has done a great deal to carry the boon of education and medical aid to her female subjects.

V

It follows as a matter of course that many members of the second generation of Indian feminine royalty have enjoyed much better educational facilities than did the Begum of Bhopal—and their own mothers. Among these certainly are Princess Indira, the only daughter of the Maharaja of Baroda, and Princesses Bakuverba and Leilaba, the two daughters of the Thakore Saheb of Gondal, who are in London with their parents. These girls were carefully educated at their fathers' capitals. Moreover, they have accompanied their parents in their world-wanderings. The sum total of these advantages has been that to-day, as they stand at the threshold of womanhood, their view of affairs is broad, their affections and sympathies are deep and well trained, and life means far more to them than it did to their grandmothers, who considered marriage to be their sole vocation, and catering to the whims and caprices of Rajas, spoiled by the foolish flattery of courtiers and courtesans, the sole aim and end of their existence.

Princess Indira of Baroda has seen about nineteen summers, and in person and mentality unites the best traits of her parents. No artist could have produced a happier combination of the Maharaja's and Maharani's faces. She has the fairness and the cast of countenance of her mother, except that her nose is chiselled like that of her father—a strong, pronounced nose, such as all true Gaekwads have—and that the intense, flashing eyes of Sayaji Rao have been still more intensified and made more lustrous in his daughter. Her dark brown hair, prettily waved, peeps from beneath the *sari* which silhouettes her face, bringing out, cameo-like, the strength of her features. Her tall, willowy form displays activity and alertness. She has her mother's spirit—that spirit which made her the Maharani of Baroda—all her mother's ideals and ambitions, and her father's quick, incisive intellect; the same quiet temperament which goes with a nature the reverse of impulsive yet sympathetic and endowed with creative genius, and the same watchfulness which distinguishes the Gaekwad. Princess Indira speaks several languages, is a brilliant conversationalist, is fond of study and loves to work. She bears herself majestically, like one of the tall, graceful palms in the palace gardens. Everyone

who knows her feels regret that the Baroda throne is not to descend to her—for she seems born to rule, and undoubtedly would make a good successor to her father, who is famed for his enlightened policies.

Princess Bakuverba is a little older, shorter, slimmer, and more shy than Indira. Her smiling face was not designed to reveal the depths of its owner's soul. For what does not the eldest daughter of the Thakore of Gondal do? She motors and drives, she paints, photographs and models in clay—and does all of these things well; she is interested in horticulture, is a good correspondent and an equally good reader.

Bakuverba was educated in Edinburgh, and after returning to Gondal passed the First, Second and Third Grade examinations of the Sir J. J. School of Art at Bombay. She received the highest awards for sculpture and painting at the Exhibitions at Broach, Allahabad, and Nausari. A first-class certificate was bestowed upon her for her modelling at the Ladies' Art and Industrial Exhibition at Broach; and she was commended for her work at the Art Society's Exhibition at Bombay. She has also taken several prizes in photographic contests.

It is impossible to watch Bakuverba helping her father without wondering what he would do without her, or where he would find a secretary or *aide-de-camp* half so capable and conscientious as she is. She writes letters for him, reads newspapers and magazines in order to keep him informed as to what is happening in the world, counsels him in State matters, drives him about in motor-cars and superintends gardening. She is still unmarried, the thought of matrimony seemingly never entering her mind. It is said that she prefers to be her father's assistant rather than any man's wife.

Princess Leilaba was educated in Gondal, and has been further cultured by several visits to England, Scotland and France in company with her parents. She has passed the same art examinations as has her elder sister, and has taken several prizes and certificates for her oil painting and modelling.

Other interesting Maharanis, Ranis and Princesses have been attracted to England. But enough has been written to show that when they lift their veils in London they do credit to their country—and to the Empire which carried the torch of emancipation to them.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

COUNT DE GOBINEAU'S ETHNOLOGICAL THEORY

THE science of ethnology is one of the youngest of the sciences, a science that has not yet come to its own. Yet it is a science which imperatively demands study on the part of those nations of Europe that have acquired possessions outside the limits of their native continent, and especially of those mighty nationalities of British origin now in process of growth in North America, South Africa, and the Antipodes. Had Count de Gobineau published his theories on ethnology before the American Civil War, and had his conclusions been accepted by the statesmen of the victorious party, the error of policy, now generally admitted, and fertile in inconvenient consequences, whereby the newly emancipated negroes were granted full political equality with the whites, might have been avoided. Similarly, at the present day, clear thinking on the same subject is most essential to a proper solution of the native question of South Africa, or of any part of the world where a native question is in existence, for, without knowledge, Governments, responsible for the solution of such problems, tend to oscillate between blind oppression on the one hand and a sentimental weakness, equally blind, on the other. Whence it may happen that the welfare of the community in the future may be sacrificed to the false theories of the present.

There are two schools of thought in regard to what may be called practical ethnology, the one asserting the essential quality of the subdivisions of the human species, the other insisting on the essential inequality that exists, and must continue to exist, between them. The former theory, still very generally held, was once almost universally accepted. The latter is developed with vast knowledge and infinite art in the work it is proposed to discuss. Before proceeding further, however, to deal with the book, it may be of interest to attempt some slight sketch of the career of the writer.

Count de Gobineau belonged to a branch of the great Norman family of Gournay. He was born at Ville d'Avray in the year 1816, and was educated at Bienne in Switzerland, where he acquired a complete knowledge of the German language, and began, as though by instinct, his researches into the cause and

character of the racial differences separating mankind. His education completed, he spent some years between his home in Brittany, where he found scope for interesting ethnological studies, and Paris, where he attracted attention by his contributions to the *Journal des Débats*, and began to make a name for himself in artistic and literary circles. This was for him a period of financial difficulty, since the Revolution of 1830 had affected adversely the fortunes of his family, and his main source of income lay in the irregular contributions of a wealthy but penurious uncle. In 1848, however, through the influence of his own and his father's friends, he was rescued from this position of dependence and obtained a post as secretary to the French Embassy at Berne. The choice was a happy one, de Gobineau's material prospects were henceforward assured. His new profession suited him, and in it he was qualified to shine. Its not too exacting duties left him leisure for literary work, and in the natural course of his service he was led to travel in distant countries and had under his observation many greatly differing varieties of man. It was while at Berne that he began the great book of his life, *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines*, which he published when in Germany in 1854, and dedicated to King George the Fifth of Hanover. It was received as a literary portent, and even now, in reading it, one hesitates whether to wonder most at the daring and originality of the theories therein set forward, at the charm and distinction of the style and literary method, or at the marvellous learning and power of research exhibited by its author. De Gobineau would appear to have laid practically every important language and literature in the world more or less under contribution; while his references to English, German and classic literature betray the intimate touch of the scholar who in either case might have devoted a lifetime of study to that especial subject. This Essai is the first well-thought-out, and clearly reasoned, attempt to associate the science of ethnology with that of history, and to illustrate the latter by the former. Nor is it the least of its merits that, throughout four closely written volumes, dealing with an intricate and highly technical subject, there is not a dull page. By this publication de Gobineau's position in literature was henceforward assured, as it was in the diplomatic world by his professional ability. He was recognised as a *savant* among diplomatists, and as a diplomatist among *savants*. He was welcomed, with the same cordiality, by the most highly placed and the most intellectual people of every country he visited in the course of his career.

De Gobineau served as minister successively in Persia, at Athens, and at Rio de Janeiro. He visited for pleasure or for the purposes of diplomacy, Egypt, Armenia, Constantinople,

Newfoundland (in connexion with the fishery treaty), and traversed the whole of Russia. When at the Legation at Frankfort he had become intimate with Bismarck, and in Brazil he enjoyed the close friendship of the Emperor Dom Pedro, with whom he continually corresponded after leaving the country, and whom he accompanied in 1876 during the Emperor's travels in Eastern Europe. He published at intervals works dealing with cuneiform inscriptions, Persian history, the religions and philosophies of Central Asia; poems, *Aphroessa* and *Amadis*; and a sketch of the fortunes of his own family, called the *History of Ottar Jarl and his Descendants.*

During the disastrous Franco-Prussian War he was living at home on furlough, at the château of Trye in Central France, and after the defeat of his countrymen his great name and influence in Germany, his knowledge of the German language, and his diplomatic ability, enabled him to plead effectively with the victors, and soften to the vanquished the bitterness of their lot, not only in his own immediate district, but throughout the department where he lived. After the conclusion of peace he went as minister to Sweden, where he found himself in congenial society and surroundings, and was able to study at close quarters one of the purest Aryan populations of Europe; but his relations with the Republican Government of France were never cordial, and in 1877 he was arbitrarily retired from his appointment by the Duc Decazes. He then settled in Rome, and the few remaining years of his life were for the most part spent in Italy, solaced by the pursuit of art and literature and by many friendships. In 1882 he revisited Auvergne, where the populace, remembering his services during the terrible year, received him with unabated affection. But the chills of autumn were too much for his failing health, and, travelling southward, he died at Pisa on the 11th of October of the same year. His writings were, and still are, somewhat opposed to the prevailing trend of French scientific thought, but in Germany, on the other hand, his ideas were acclaimed with enthusiasm, and Gobineau societies have been formed by learned men beyond the Rhine, to commemorate his name and expound his doctrine. His work probably needs only to be known to arouse equal interest among the English-speaking races on both sides of the Atlantic, and it is with the object of directing attention to it that this brief sketch of the thesis of his *magnum opus* is here attempted.

The prime interest of M. de Gobineau's life, the object of all his researches, was to discover the underlying reasons that affect the permanence of the great civilisations created by mankind. That civilisations rise, flourish, and fall into decay is, of course, a commonplace both of scientists and of moralists. The civilisa-

tion of Assyria, for example, was to all intents and purposes as perfect and apparently as stable as our own, and much more outwardly magnificent. Yet it collapsed, and that so utterly, that but for the preservative qualities of the desert sands, and the accident that the Assyrians used clay tablets of an almost imperishable nature for the purposes of their records, we should almost be unaware that any such civilisation had even existed. And the further we extend our knowledge of archæology the more clearly we are compelled to recognise that the civilisation of Assyria was but one of many others, equally powerful and complete, that have fallen, leaving no record beyond their ruins and their graves. Considering the calm manner in which we always assume the permanence of our own particular civilisation, it is at least strange that we should display so little interest in the underlying causes that overwhelmed the civilisations by which ours was preceded. Yet civilisation is a very peculiar and complicated state of being, it is not clearly amenable to any law of nature, and the causes by which it is either produced or dissipated are equally obscure. We repeat the verses :

> 'Tis said the lion and the lizard keep
> The courts where Jamshyd gloried and drank deep.

But for a hundred who can tremble at the risk of the earth's collision with a comet, or can pity the plight of the waterless inhabitants of Mars, not one will ask themselves the questions : 'Why did this fate overwhelm the courts of Jamshyd? Is it in the least likely to befall our own?' Macaulay, it is true, glanced at the subject more than once, but he never pursued it, and historians in general have been content to attribute the decline of States to some such rather obvious causes as vice, luxury, softness, religious fanaticism, or its contrary ; or, if of a more materialistic turn of mind, to bad government, failure in war, or the advent of more powerful rival nations.

M. de Gobineau, pondering more deeply on the subject, came to the conclusion that, in the event of nations suffering decay, the evils referred to must, in any case, be considered as symptomatic, and not casual ; while even regarded as symptoms they were unreliable, since the same evils are often to be observed in full virulence among nations in the prime of their national vigour, or about to enter on their most glorious period.

No sensible person, of course, denies that vice, excessive luxury, or again bad government, and failure in war, have a detrimental effect. Yet de Gobineau could not but take note that the vice and excessive luxury of the Romans of the late Republic, and earlier Empire, did not prevent their enjoying three centuries of almost uninterrupted success and glory ; while, in his own time,

the two most powerful and successful European nations, viz.: Great Britain and Russia, were precisely those in which luxury and ostentation were most rampantly displayed.

As to fanaticism, Spain was not more but less fanatical, during the days of her decadence, than when she drove the Moors out of the Peninsula and conquered the Empire of the Two Worlds. Fanaticism has, however, been much less often, and less plausibly, alleged as a cause of the decay of States than the opposite evil; a general scepticism and loss of religious belief. Even this explanation did not content de Gobineau, who pointed out that the prevalence of agnosticism during periods of national decadence has, as a rule, been greatly exaggerated by writers seeking an obvious explanation of phenomena otherwise very difficult to account for. That, for example, in the case of the later Roman Empire, the extent and influence of such religious scepticism as existed were confined, generally speaking, to a small and limited number of cultivated philosophers, and were by no means universal even amongst the governing classes. As to the pagan masses of the people, there is as little evidence of their having abandoned their religious beliefs as there is of the absence of scepticism during Rome's greatest period. It was not a Roman of the decadence, but of the Republic, who, going into a naval action, ordered the sacred chickens to be thrown overboard, saying that if they would not eat they might drink. Moreover, to say nothing of the rise and prevalence of such Oriental superstitions as the worship of Mithra or of Isis, the growth and spread of the Christian Church must have more than compensated, as regarded the sum total of religiosity, for any falling away from the creeds and doctrines of Romulus and Servius Tullius. There can be little reasonable grounds for doubt that the average Roman of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. was a more and not a less religious man than his own ancestors of the early centuries of the city, or than the Goths and Germans of the North, who invaded and overthrew his Empire.

Turn now to more material causes of failure, such as bad government, or defeat in war. In regard to the former, de Gobineau was convinced by his study of history that the very worst government cannot of itself permanently degrade a nation: even when based on foreign conquest, such as the Norman conquest of England or the Tartar conquest of China; even when imposed from without, as by the Thirty Tyrants of Athens; or when crippled by lack of authority, as were the medieval governments of Italy. As to failure in war, no nation perhaps ever suffered in that respect so greatly as France herself during the hundred years' war with England. Three times she saw her national levies scattered in utter defeat. Twice her king was captured. Once a foreign king was imposed upon her. Her

richest provinces were attached to an alien crown. Her whole country was ravaged by robber bands of discharged soldiers. Yet she emerged from all that suffering stronger and more alive than ever, to achieve and retain for many centuries a primacy among the nations of Europe.

Another favourite theory is that which ascribes the decline and fall of nations to their failure to produce men of remarkable and individual greatness, or to the general decay of virtue, public and private. This doctrine is also discussed by de Gobineau, and in the light of his historical knowledge he dismisses it. To begin with, he believed that with long experience of civilisation manners and customs tend to soften, punishments to become more humane, and both law and government to be administered, generally speaking, with greater consideration for the rights of individuals. As against the theory of decadence resulting from failure to produce great and good men, he cites once more from the history of the later Roman Empire, instancing the lives of such noble pagans as the Antonines, and of the soldiers and statesmen trained by them, and again those of the saints and martyrs of the early Church, to prove that the decay of a State has little necessary connexion with either the capacity or the virtue of its most prominent citizens. Further he reminds us that 'it would not be difficult to collect instances of atrocious crimes from among the young and vigorous nations who were growing up to take the place of Rome. The murders committed by the Frankish Queens Brunehaut and Frédégonde, and indeed the history of the whole Merovingian house, or the outrages charged by Clovis against the Bavarians, are proofs which could be multiplied indefinitely to show that there is no necessary connexion between a young and vigorous national life and those virtues which some writers have absurdly imagined to be inherent in uncorrupted human nature, and to have withered away under the blighting influence of civilisation. Indeed periods of renaissance—that period in particular which we call *The Renaissance*—have usually been remarkable much less on account of the prevalence of people of exceptional virtue, than for startling and abnormal crimes committed by prominent individuals.

Since, then, neither bad government, nor defeat in war, nor luxury, immorality, fanaticism, or its contrary, can properly be regarded as explaining satisfactorily the causes of the decay and fall of nations, the secret must be sought in something deeper, less accidental, more inherent in the very blood and nature of the people concerned, and in the following passage de Gobineau sums up his conclusion as to the answer to the riddle.

I hold [he says] that the word degenerate, as applied to a nation, signifies, or ought to signify, that it has change in essence. That successive

crossings have gradually altered its ethnical value. In other words, that a degenerate nation retains the name, but not the blood, of the men who were the founders of its destinies, so that the man of a decadent period is a different product, from an ethnological point of view, than were his predecessors, the great men of an heroic age. I admit [he says] that he may possess some trace of his original ancestry, but the heterogeneous elements that predominate in his blood make him in fact, if not in name, a man of another nation.

He will finally die out, and his civilisation with him, when the primitive ethnical element of his being becomes so buffeted and enfeebled, so subdivided and drowned by the accession of alien peoples, as to be unable henceforward to exercise an adequate or indeed any considerable influence on the composition of the race. When this has happened, the process of degeneration may be considered as complete, and its consequences will be fully apparent.

It is obvious, however, that de Gobineau was bound to regard both sides, so to speak, of the shield. He could not confine his attention only to the causes of decay and degeneracy, he must also take into consideration the reverse conditions of progress, under which a community rises upwards out of barbarism and obscurity into power and civilisation. But to understand these latter phenomena involves some study of the conditions prevailing among the human race during the prehistoric period of its existence on the stage of this planet. De Gobineau defines two laws, the Law of Attraction and the Law of Repulsion, by which he explains the unequal progress upwards of the primitive peoples of mankind.

To take first the 'Law of Repulsion,' it is that which condemns the lower races of man to a life of individual or tribal isolation. Among such there is no other policy than that the strong should devour the weak, and that the weak should flee from the strong. This simple rule sums up all the statecraft of the negro races of Africa, and generally of black populations of the pure blood throughout the world. Tribes such as these can never take the first upward steps on the road towards a higher civilisation. Their progress is arrested in its development, and they can never rise above a certain level of very moderate achievement on the lines of tribal association. De Gobineau believed that the vast majority of the primitive peoples of the world belonged to this category.

Nor are even the higher races free altogether from this instinct of repulsion, common not only to man but to the whole animal kingdom. But with them it is subordinated to an imperative instinct of attraction, leading them to aim at absorbing within the orbit of their communities the tribes that are their neighbours, and not to be content simply to exterminate them or to drive them away. War, which is a perpetual factor of savage life, offers them the readiest means of effecting their object. When the first battle fury is over prisoners are not slaughtered but

saved, and become the slaves of the conquerors.[1] Then arises the possibility of an elementary civilisation based on division of labour and of classes, and many races of mankind—*e.g.* South Sea Islanders—remain permanently in this condition, their culture becoming arrested at this early stage. But a further and higher point may be attained when the conquering tribe takes over not merely the persons, but the territory of the vanquished. A primitive system of landed property, and the institutions that depend thereon, then becomes possible, and the tribe may be considered to have developed into a nation. As conquest takes place on a larger and larger scale the race extends its power and influence, and elaborates its institutions. The most potent and permanent form of civilisation may arise out of the conquest of a tolerably civilised nation by another more civilised still, as in the case of the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons of England by the Normans. The most striking and brilliant results follow when a nation possessing all the apparatus of civilisation, but sunk in the earlier stages of decadence, surrenders to a people of simpler manners, but higher ethnical and military value, as when Rome conquered Etruria, or Persia Babylon. But how did the decadence of the older nation set in? Simply, says de Gobineau, as a result of inter-marriage between the former lords of the country and the tribes they had originally conquered and absorbed. In such cases the conquerors may, at the beginning, hold themselves aloof, to a certain extent, from their subjects and slaves, but by degrees the two races, living on the same soil and necessary the one to the other, mingle their blood, and although these mixed unions may, in the first instance, produce many great and brilliant personalities, yet, in the end, the conquered people being, as a rule, both the more numerous to start with, and generally also the more prolific, the conquering stock becomes absorbed, and the nation as a whole tends to sink back into a condition of ethnological inferiority. Since the essential and permanent inequality of the races of mankind is a necessary part of his doctrine, de Gobineau proceeds to discuss with great acumen the various reasons, governmental, climatic, and so on, by which the advocates of the contrary theory have explained the obvious fact that the level of civilisation differs enormously as between the different races of mankind.

Why, he asks, since North America is at least as fertile and quite as conveniently situated and watered as Europe, did not civilisation arise among Sioux and Iroquois equal to that of the Greeks and Romans, Normans and Goths? How does it happen that, although climate and geographical conditions have never varied within historical periods, we find the seats of civilisation

[1] The Latin *servus* derives from *servo*, to preserve, save, deliver.

for ever changing; from Babylon bathed in ever brilliant sunshine, to London too often smothered in fog; from the burning sands of the Nile to the icy banks of the Neva; while wretched Fellahin wander over the graves of the great Empire-builders of ancient Egypt, and learned professors lecture on the sites of Finnish kitchen middens at Berlin? The sole reason consists in the change of the human element. It cannot be explained by any other circumstance, and its secret must be sought for in the science of ethnology.

This thesis he proceeds to illustrate by an investigation of the causes of the growth and decay of the various civilisations known to history. But to do this effectively implies, as we have said, some study of the conditions of life prevailing among primitive human beings, the material out of which the earliest civilisations were evolved. This necessitates a brief excursion into the natural history of the human species.

In the beginning, explains our author, following in this matter Cuvier, the genus homo was sharply divided into three sub-species, differing from each other both in appearance and in character, at least as markedly as do the generic subdivisions of the animal kingdom. These three sub-species may be classified, according to the colour of their skins, as the white, the black, and the yellow races. The enormous differences existing between them require that their evolutionary development should have taken place on different portions of the earth's surface. Hence they are distributed by Gobineau about the world as follows: Africa and Southern Asia were occupied by the Blacks or Negroes; America by the Yellow men, Mongolians, or Finns, who, at an extremely remote period, spread westwards by way of Behring Straits and the frozen tundras of Siberia into Europe, then just emerging from its latest glacial covering.

Central Asia, from the Caucasus to the mountains of Manchuria, and from the Himalayas, on the south, to the Polar regions of Siberia, on the north, was the home of the Caucasian, or white man. This district was better watered and of a milder climate than at present, and here the ancestors of the white races, while Finns and negroes were equally drowned in savagery, elaborated their primitive civilisation. Our earliest knowledge of them represents them to us as fighting from chariots, which implies a knowledge of mechanics advanced as far as the discovery of the wheel, and of the art of domesticating animals advanced as far as the breaking in of the horse. They possessed flocks and herds; consumed milk, butter, and cheese; understood the cultivation of cereals and fruits; the art of pottery; and the less obvious arts of spinning and weaving linen and wool, and of smelting and working metals. As apart from the material side

of civilisation they acknowledged a primitive, but not immoral or unbeautiful, form of religion, all the world removed from the hideous and cruel fetishism and Voodooism of the negro, or the callous materialism of the Lapp. They had established an unoppressive patriarchal form of government suitable to their necessities, and a rational system of family relationship. There is also reason to suppose that they cultivated a rude form of literature, not devoid of a certain primitive grandeur, in the songs and recitations of their tribal bands. How or when they acquired this budding civilisation it is impossible to say, but it is well to emphasise the fact that the very earliest tribes and nations of the white stock, emerging from their racial seclusion some ten or twelve thousand years before our era, were not only vastly more civilised than the hordes of brutish savages they encountered in the countries they conquered, they were even vastly more civilised than any negro or Esquimaux races living in the world to-day.[3]

The precise reasons why they left their homes in Asia we of course can never tell. It may have been due to the pressure on their Eastern borders of the advancing hordes of yellow men out of America, a part of whose tribes, as has been said, travelled westward into Europe, while the remainder pushed south along the shores of the China Sea, and amalgamated with the negroes they found in possession to form the nations of Malaya. It may have been, more probably, owing to war among themselves, or the pressure of their own populations upon subsistence. At all events, induced by some such reasons, numerous tribes and nations of the race abandoned their original habitat, and, pouring down from the uplands of Central Asia, by means of their superior strength and courage, and their monopoly of civilised arts, they easily

[3] Since ethnology is an advancing science, and Gobineau wrote fifty years ago, it is obvious that there must be many points of fact in regard to which scientific opinion has altered since his day. So far as possible I have thought it better to follow the statements of our author, and not distract the reader's attention by the discussion of points still hotly disputed. The division of the human race into three main stems is an arrangement that has stood the test of time, but Gobineau's distribution of the different races, strictly orthodox in his own day, has since been challenged, and an important school of present-day ethnologists place the original seat of the white man in North Africa, while some even place it in Europe. Consult the *Ethnology* of Professor A. H. Keane on the one hand and the *Origin of the Aryans*, by Dr. Isaac Taylor, on the other. Gobineau's theory by which the yellow man originated in America is, so far as I know, peculiar to himself. It is so convenient one might wish it could be proved true. Owing to archaeological discoveries of various kinds, particularly in connexion with the lake dwellers of Switzerland and Italy, our knowledge of primitive civilisation has considerably increased since Gobineau's time, but his main conclusions have not been materially affected, except in so far that it is now suggested that the undivided Aryans used polished stone, not metal, for their tools and weapons.—Dr. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*.

conquered both negroes and Finns,[3] and overran all Southern and Western Asia, all Europe, and the northern shores of Africa.

But since the divisions of the human family, though so unlike one another, differ from the sub-species of the animal world, in that they are capable of intermarriage, and of the production of fertile offspring, it followed that, as a result of the white man's conquests, miscegenation took place, and all the nations of to-day, with any pretensions to civilisation, are the product of crossings—Caucasians crossed with Finns, or with Negroes, or with both.[4] Nor was miscegenation effected once for all, but the crossings have been continually repeated, both as between the derived races among themselves, and as between those derived races and nations of purer stock. And despite such continual intercrossings it is nevertheless obvious that nothing like complete amalgamation of the blood has, so far, taken place, even in those parts of the world where the different races have been brought into closest contact. A typical Scandinavian, for example, differs immensely from a Lapp, or an Arab from a negro, though we know that these races have lived side by side for many thousands of years.

We need not concern ourselves much with the state of things happening when the three main stocks of the human family lived entirely segregated; cut off from one another, as we must necessarily suppose, by geographical boundaries, seas, deserts, and great ranges of mountains, that, in their then state of civilisation, they were unable to overpass. It is sufficient for us to attempt to deal with the period within which we are living now, the period, that is, which began when the inter-racial boundaries first ceased to be effective and miscegenation first became possible, for it comprises within its scope all human civilisations of which we have historical knowledge. All these civilisations, according to de Gobineau, were the result of the action and interaction on each other of the primitive racial types, when once brought into contact, and it is by studying the results of this contact that we may answer the Sphynx's riddle, Why do civilisations rise and fall, why do nations prosper and decay?

But the questions will not unnaturally be asked: Why is it that we know of no historical civilisation that can be attributed to the pure white stock in segregation? Why were not the

[3] For the etymology of 'Finn' consult Gobineau, *op. cit.* vol. ii. p. 97; or 'The Fairy Mythology of Europe,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, Feb. 1908, by the present writer. I use the term, as does the author I am discussing, as a synonym for *Homo Mongolicus*.

[4] Gobineau's theory of Eugenesis, in which term I include the production of enduring nationalities as the result of miscegenation between widely differing races, is supported by Professor Keane, M. de Quatrefages, and the majority of scientists. It is indeed hard to see how without the acceptance of some such doctrine the innumerable varieties of the human species can be accounted for.

civilisations that arose in India, in Assyria, or in Europe civilisations containing white men only? Why did not the white conquerors, driving out, or exterminating, the aborigines they encountered, establish empires in which the blood of the people they conquered should show no trace? The answer is partly that no nation has ever been found strong-minded enough altogether to resist the temptations of the flesh leading towards miscegenation. Another reason is that every elaborated civilisation requires the performance of a great deal of rough and dirty work. In a purely white community, of the primitive kind, there would be no one to perform this work. Even the slaves, captured in war, so long as they were of the pure Caucasian race, would be regarded less as slaves, in the modern sense, than as part of their master's family, nor would excessive or degrading labour be required from them. It was not until the whites had carried their conquests into countries inhabited by races towards whom they felt no conscience, because they barely recognised their humanity, that the elaborate and highly organised civilisations of Egypt and Assyria arose, based on slave labour and a profuse disregard of human life.[5]

Moreover the Finns and negroes, however inferior to the white man, possessed certain qualities which, though of little use to them in their unmixed tribal state, when transmuted in moderate proportion into the blood of the Caucasians had important consequences, and tended, in the one case, to solidify the civilisation of the mixed nation resulting from intermarriage, and to glorify it in the other. An admixture of Finnish blood might produce, as a valuable result, an infinite capacity for taking pains, and for ready submission to discipline. While the artistic temperament, if not absolutely derived from a slight negro cross, is at least greatly quickened and heightened among the nations that possess it. To understand this it is necessary to consider the primal characteristics of the three original stocks, thus set forth by de Gobineau.

The white race was possessed, he says, originally of so great a superiority, both physical and intellectual, over the other species of mankind as amounted to a practical monopoly of intellect, strength, and beauty.[6] In its love of order, in its love of liberty,

[5] Slavery would appear always to have taken on its worst form in countries where negroes were easily obtainable as slaves. As Gobineau has pointed out, among the primitive Aryan communities of Europe, the Hellenes of the time of Homer, and the Germans of the time of Tacitus, slaves were not badly treated, and their labours were directed and shared by their masters. But with the advance of civilisation, proceeding *pari passu* with the corruption of Aryan blood by miscegenation, the lot of the slave in civilised Europe would seem to have grown steadily worse and worse, until the introduction of Christianity led to an improved system of ethics.

[6] 'All the works of man worthy of record have, with few or doubtful exceptions, emanated from the large and much convoluted brain of the white *Homo Caucasicus*.'—Professor A. H. Keane, *op. cit.* p. 226.

in its hatred of despotism and cruelty, in its respect for human life, it excelled all other varieties of mankind; and in its cultivation of the sentiments of honour and chivalry it stood alone among them. In point of intellect the white man has an immense superiority over either the yellow or the black, balanced to some extent by an inferiority to either as regards the intensity of his physical sensations. With the most powerful bodily organisation of the three species, he is the least obsessed of any by sexual emotion, regarded from a sensual aspect. For these reasons de Gobineau concludes that the presence of the white man in greater or lesser numbers is indispensable before civilisation of any kind can exist, while the grandeur and glory of any particular civilisation will be in strict proportion to the ethnical value, as reckoned in accordance with the amount of Caucasian blood in their veins, of the races by whom it is created and maintained.

The white races have however certain defects of their qualities, of a nature that may be deduced from the half legendary accounts we possess concerning those ancient Aryan nations, whose blood, if not absolutely unmixed, had at least retained its primitive purity to a far greater extent than is the case with any modern community. Such were the primitive Vedic Aryans of India, the Hellenes of Greece, and in a lesser degree the Gaels of Ireland and of the Continent, the Germans of the Rhine, and the Goths of South Russia and Scandinavia. Concerning these we have a considerable body of literature consisting of Vedic and Homeric poems, sagas, *Nibelungen Lieder*, Celtic legends and romances, and so forth, which, supplemented by accounts derived from such civilised writers as Caesar and Tacitus, give us a pretty clear notion of their habits, character, manner of life, family relationships, methods of waging war, and political institutions. From such evidence we may gather that, combined with many brilliant personal qualities and a high and chivalrous sense of honour, dignity, courtesy, and courage, was a spirit of indiscipline that militated against the security of their States, and rendered the success of their armies, although magnificent on the battlefield, uncertain in a prolonged campaign. Further, these races were impatient of any form of hard, dull, and continuous labour, on which account, although Caucasians were the discoverers of the cereals and of metals, they ordinarily compelled conquered races to work their farms and mines, and neglected agriculture in favour of pastoral pursuits. Similarly they preferred war and raiding to manufacture and commerce. They were also, in the opinion of de Gobineau, lacking in that peculiar, often unbalanced, mental twist, associated with genius, which we call the artistic temperament.

Now in regard to the two inferior races. Furthest removed from the white man, and therefore lowest in the human scale, stands the Negro. His prognathous jaws, his retreating forehead, indicate his destiny, which ordains that, left to himself, he will never rise much above the level of the brute creation. Intellectual progress is not for him.[7] Nevertheless it would be a great error to regard him as an animal pure and simple. Certain of the senses are far more highly developed in the negro than in either the white or the yellow races. His passions are violent but capricious, his will-power intense but unstable, his appetites greedy but indiscriminating. He sets little value on human life, whether his own or another's, and meets suffering with a monstrous impassivity, the result of an undeveloped nervous system.

Differing from the negro in almost every respect, the Yellow Man, as representing the third great sub-species of the human genus, may be regarded as the very antithesis of the black type. His skull is round, his forehead high, bony, and prominent. His features, though not always pleasing to our notions, have none of the imprint of animality that characterises the negro. As compared with Caucasians or negroes the Mongolian peoples are somewhat deficient in muscular strength, though hardy and resistant as against fatigue and disease. Similarly their will-power is persistent rather than intense. Their passions are regulated. They refrain from the excesses of various sorts so common among negroes. They are epicures rather than gluttons. A tendency to obesity, though not universal, is very common among nations of their blood, and suggests a sedentary and somewhat apathetic disposition. Their inclination is towards mediocrity, and a ready comprehension of whatever is neither too elevated nor too profound. Love of the useful, respect for rule, a recognition of the advantages of liberty within limits, are their main characteristics. Their ambitions are confined to the wish to live as long, as easily, and as comfortably as possible. Obviously they are greatly superior to negroes. In fact they provide just the sort of middle and working classes that a philosopher would select for the purposes of a well-ordered Utopia. Nevertheless they have not that within them which would enable them to create a civilisation of their own initiative, and endow it with energy, strength, and beauty.[8]

[7] 'No full-blood Negro has ever been distinguished as a man of science, a poet, or an artist; and the fundamental equality claimed for him by ignorant philanthropists is belied by the whole history of the race throughout the historic period.'—Professor A. H. Keane, *Enc. Brit.*, Art. 'Negro.'

[8] If Gobineau seems unjust to the Mongolian variety, it should be remembered that he lived before the great awakening of the Japanese, and also that this race has a strain of Caucasian blood, as is the case with the Chinese, and

Having thus set forth the primary characteristics of the three divisions of the species, in a state of segregation, it became necessary for de Gobineau to elaborate his theory as to the consequences resulting from the conquests, crossings, and amalgamations that to his mind constituted the true basis of human history. Leaving out of account, as not of the highest importance, the results of crossings between black and yellow, we have to consider what happened when Caucasian amalgamated with negro, and when Caucasian amalgamated with Finn. The result in each case was very different, and the products are the civilised and semi-civilised white, brown, and yellow nations of the present day.

The negro is gifted with intense imaginative capacity and a vivid sense of the reality of immaterial things. In his wild original state, those qualities manifest themselves on no higher plane than that of fantastic and loathsome beliefs and practices, such as witch doctoring, devil worship, and cannibalism. Where, however, the negro blood is crossed with that of the white man, the more sober imagination of the latter becomes infused with a certain fiery intensity. His continuous energy and regulated power of will give way to a capacity for furious exertion and intensity of desire, relieved by intervals of indolence and indifference. Where he descends from one of the higher Caucasian races, and the negro admixture is not excessive, he may become an artist, a mystical theologian, a philosopher, or one of those magnificent despots of the East, the light of whose splendour traverses the ages and dazzles the imagination of mankind. The negro love of ostentation shows itself in a certain grandiosity of conception and execution, his cruelty in an indifference to human life regarded as an obstacle in the way of an intensely desired project, and the subjects of such rulers love to have it so. Under such conditions were built the Pyramids and Theban temples of Egypt, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the Taj Mahal, and the Alhambra. Men of this kind carved the Sphynx, and gave the world the great art of the Italian Renaissance. Among their ranks must be included such rulers as the early Pharaohs of Egypt, the Kings of Assyria, the Caliphs of Bagdad and Granada, Cæsar Borgia, and such degenerates as Cleopatra, Nero, and Heliogabalus.[9] But the white

was the case with the Huns of Attila; and the same is true of every Mongolian nation that has distinguished itself in history. Professor Keane thus describes the Ideal Mongol type: 'Sluggish, somewhat sullen, with little initiative, but great endurance; generally frugal, thrifty and industrious, but moral standard low; science slightly, art and letters moderately developed.'—*Op. cit.* p. 229.

[9] *It is generally agreed among scientists that there is a negro strain in the Mediterranean peoples both of Europe, Asia, and Africa.* Gobineau accounts for this as follows:—Miscegenation having taken place in Asia and Africa, when the Roman Empire extended its dominion over these Continents a certain homogeneity of type was produced, throughout the Mediterranean world, owing to

blood in their veins, so long as it is not altogether swamped by the inferior element, preserves them, as a rule, from the worst extravagances of the negro race. Their activities usually bear some relation to dignity, beauty, or utility. A Pharaoh might pour out human lives like water in order to gratify his personal or family pride by the erection of a pyramid; or to exhibit himself in an almost godlike light to his subjects as the builder of an aqueduct large enough to refresh the populations of great cities, and cause the wilderness to blossom as the rose. He would be incapable of the stupid and futile cruelty of a Chaca, the Zulu king, who, when his own mother died, commanded the murder of every mother in Zululand.[10]

Another peculiarity of the negro noted by competent observers is his intense love of a bargain and pleasure in haggling. The Semitic nations, which include the Phoenicians and Carthaginians of old time, and the Jews and Armenians of to-day, probably owe their commercial supremacy to a remote cross of negro blood derived from the smooth-haired blacks of Asia Minor.[11]

Turn now to the results of the crossing of white man with yellow. On the principles laid down for us we should naturally deduce that these would be the very opposite to the consequences resulting from the negro cross. The yellow man is essentially practical and materialistic. Left to himself indeed he had hardly imagination enough to conceive of, or skill to contrive, a state of comfort going much beyond a well-warmed cave and an ample supply of furs, marrow-bones, and reindeer-milk. Absorbed into a white community, however, the influence he exerts tends to develop in the highest degree the practical side of the white man's genius. Politically, the voluptuous splendours of a gorgeous court, the grandiose exhibitions of an unbridled despotism, are not to his mind. Thoroughly unidealistic in temperament, it would be incorrect to affirm that he makes an ideal even of political liberty. But he desires, and as a rule achieves, a government that shall be conducted in accordance with such well-understood and generally accepted principles as have stood the test of time and experience, and that makes no very extravagant demands upon his person or his purse, while it guarantees to him the utmost possible security of life and fortune. He values education, but solely on account of the practical benefits derivable from it. Essentially unmilitary, nevertheless, with his instinct for order and obedience, and his unimaginative stubborn courage, he provides his masters with

commercial intercourse, the movements of the legions, and more particularly to the importation into Italy, by victorious Roman generals, of enormous numbers of slaves out of the populous provinces of Syria, Egypt and Carthage. Thus by Syrian influence Rome became orientalised, and the Romans of the Lower Empire must be regarded as Caucasians with a derived negro cross.

[10] Yet the Zulus count as among the highest of the negro races.

[11] Akin to the Kolarians and Dravidians of India.

armies whose steady quality can with confidence be opposed to the brilliant and picturesque levies of the undisciplined East. Nations in which this temperament predominates are described by de Gobineau as masculine, in opposition to those whose characteristics derive from some admixture of negro blood, and which he describes as feminine. The distinction is fanciful rather than scientific, but it has the merit of having pleased the great Bismarck, it is frequently referred to by continental writers, and it affords a method of classification which is convenient if not precise. At the head of the feminine nations de Gobineau places the Hindoos; next after these the ancient Assyrians and Egyptians, the Romans of the Lower Empire, and the Latin races of present-day Europe. At the head of the masculine races he reckons the Chinese, following them the primitive inhabitants of the Italian peninsula, the Romans of the Republican period, and the Germanic tribes that in the course of time overthrew the later Roman Empire. He holds, however, that both the masculine and feminine qualities must be present in due proportion in order that a nation may achieve its highest value in civilisation, and he illustrates this by contrasting their different principles as follows:

The philosophy of the dark races of Asia lies in submission to the stronger, and in a cultivated indifference to material needs, so that a man may endure with equanimity the utmost spite of fortune. It is summed up in the teaching of Epictetus, and of those other pre-Baconian philosophers, whose methods and doctrines are so unsympathetically trounced by Macaulay in a passage every reader will remember. Or, again, the diverse ideals and activities of East and West are contrasted by a poet in the well-known verses:

> The brooding East with awe beheld
>   Her impious younger world;
> The Roman tempest swelled and swelled,
>   And at her head was hurled.
>
> The East bowed low beneath the blast,
>   In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
>   And plunged in thought again.

Man's life, lived aright according to Eastern sages, is a matter of the affections and of the intellect, and having passed through this world like a shadow, he should resign himself to death without regret.

Very different is the gospel of the Western world. Its high priests are its Professors of Political Economy, and their doctrine enjoins on their disciples to enjoy life's savour to the uttermost, and for as long as possible. Hatred of poverty is the first article

of their creed, the obligation of work their highest duty, energy their supreme virtue. The more enthusiastic impulses, whether of head or heart, are on principle discouraged. Rational satisfaction is their highest good. A nation guided only by the ideals of the East will sit inert while, day by day, its future, along with its fertile lands, is being slowly swallowed up by the shifting sands of the encroaching desert. Following the opposite principles exclusively, its merchants innumerable will plough the main, and its farmers the manor, but despising the impalpable pleasures of the intellect, it tends to place its paradise here below, and loses its soul in the degradation of a full-fed materialism.

We have now presented to us a clue, by which we may tread the obscure labyrinth of the processes attending the rise and decay of Empires, Civilisations, and States. We perceive, dimly indeed, but in more orderly fashion, than has been suggested by any other thinker, the purpose served by the division of the human species into races, and sub-species, essentially different, and essentially unequal to one another. Primitive man declines to work except on compulsion, compulsion presupposes superior force, and if all had been equal in merit, there could have been no compulsion applied. Therefore the white man was created, superior in strength and moral qualities to the other two varieties, to act as a ruling race throughout the world, and to be the founder of civilisations in every part of it to which his armies could penetrate. The yellow race, stolid, materialistic, hardworking, orderly, and dull, was destined to perform the everyday drudgery of civilisation, and supply an element of thrifty common-sense stability to the civilisations of which it formed a part. The black race, highly sensual, imaginative, superstitious, and slavishly subservient to its Priests and Kinglets, while least of any able to create and maintain a civilisation of its own, can, on account of its very weakness, be easily compelled to work, and, on its higher side, contributes an element of art and mysticism, and a capacity for self-sacrificing devotion to a King or an Ideal that de Gobineau considers as the feminine essence, necessary along with the masculine, though in subordination to it, to a nation's greatness. The rise and continuity of a civilisation is therefore conditional on the human ingredient of the nations composing it being graded in proper proportion. Its decay is the result of changes by which its ethnical equilibrium is injuriously affected.

Therefore the white race invading Asia Minor, India, and the Nile Valley, and dominating the negroes indigenous to those countries, produced the splendid artistic and luxurious civilisations of Babylon, Egypt, and Hindostan, and from among these peoples, and their offshoots, have arisen all the great religious cults that have influenced mankind. The collapse of Egypt and Assyria was

due to the excess of the negro element swamping the dominant Caucasian blood, as might happen in the Southern States of America if the scattered white population should abandon the colour barrier to intermarriage. In India, however, the higher race has, with tolerable success, protected itself and its civilisation by the institution of caste, founded originally on a colour basis. In China, where the yellow element predominates over the white, and the black is generally absent, the course of civilisation has been diametrically opposite to that of the countries referred to above. China has produced a philosophy but no religion, a series of stable governments but no great tyrants or conquerors. Its civilisation is tame, materialistic, and very durable. In Europe the invading white race found itself in a country and climate suitable to its health and increase, and inhabited, comparatively thinly, by the yellow tribes of the Finns. The blend of Aryan with Finn, Aryan predominating, produced powerfully constructive warrior nations, of the masculine type, such as the Romans of the Republic, British Empire-builders and colonists, and the Germans of history, and of the present day. But Rome, conquering the Semitic and Hamitic nations of Asia Minor and North Africa, in whose blood the negro strain predominated, absorbed their population not only into her Empire, but, by a process too complicated to be described here, into her European territories and her seat of government.[12] Hence Rome became luxurious, artistic, and the religious centre of the Western world, but, losing her more virile qualities, fell, politically, before the more forceful peoples of Northern Europe. During the Middle Ages the masculine principle prevailed among the dominant European nations. The Renaissance, with its influx of Greeks from Constantinople, marked a revival of femininism; and so throughout the centuries the balance has, in this continent, been held fairly true as between the two essential principles; hence the splendour of our European civilisation, its predominance, and its apparent security. But is our present security apparent only, or is it real? To this question de Gobineau replies to us only by gloomy surmises. He looked to the descendants of the conquering tribes of the Aryan blood to supply a governing class, having a real inherent superiority over the governed, and not merely one of condition. He thought that if, as a result of democratic equality, the old governing class, based on a racial superiority, became merged in the mass of the population, it could not be fortuitously reconstructed, and the nation, lacking guidance, would drift to destruction like a ship without a rudder. He also dreaded greatly the consequences of miscegenation, which he held might, in time, produce a sort of universal type, and so make an end of those broad racial distinc-

[12] See note 9.

tions which, acting one upon the other, were, in his opinion, the very sources of the energy by which civilisation is generated. But here science offers us a more consolatory view. Owing to the discoveries of Mendel, and his disciples, we may well believe that the primary races of mankind, like certain substances in chemistry, may possess the power of shedding off alien elements, and reverting to a state of purity. If this be so, the three main stocks of the human family, though ever mingling in temporary combinations, may yet maintain for ever their distinctive individuality, and the rise and fall of civilisations, consequent on their combination, may continue indefinitely, like the flow of the river in the poem,

> Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis; at ille
> Labitur et labetur *in omne volubilis aevum.*

ARTHUR S. HERBERT.

THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT

DURING the siege of Mafeking a boy came through rather a heavy fire with a letter. Colonel Baden-Powell said to him, 'You will get hit one of these days, riding round like that when the shells are flying.' The boy replied, 'I pedal so rapidly, Sir, they would never catch me.' He was the first of the Boy Scouts, and that boy's spirit is the spirit which actuates hundreds of thousands of similar boys throughout the world to-day. Nothing in the long history of boyhood has established so rapid and powerful an influence as this new order of youthful chivalry. Every day the numbers of the boyish army obtain fresh reinforcements, and the measure of its value finds continual illustration in the contrast between the boys who are still outside and those who are within the movement.

This contrast is too easily appreciable to need elaboration at this stage. A more vivid idea of how the leaven is actually working in our midst will be gathered from the episodes quoted later on, which illustrate in a remarkable degree the meaning of the movement for the community at large. It is erroneous to suppose, or even suggest, that its military aspect is the sole *raison d'être* of the Boy Scout organisation, or that the mere fostering of the military spirit is the force which makes more appeal to the youthful mind than anything else. In reality all boys are naturally chivalrous and romanceful and imbued with a longing to do great and noble deeds, but it needed a soldier with a trick of playful genius to kindle this latent desire into a driving impulse.

The movement really began three-and-a-half years ago when Sir Robert Baden-Powell gathered around him some twelve lads, transported them to Brownsea Island in Dorset, and there held his first Scouts' camp. At that time no distinct uniform was worn, the only distinguishing mark being a scroll badge bearing the now famous motto : 'Be Prepared.' These lads were taught the method of playing at Indians and Knights of King Arthur. They were instructed in woodcraft, told how birds may

be distinguished one from the other, and trained to fathom the great secrets which Nature reveals to those who study her. Shortly afterwards Sir Robert addressed meetings in the provinces and gave forth to the world his scheme, the whole object of which is, to use the Chief Scout's own words: 'To seize the boy's character in its red-hot stage of enthusiasm, and to weld it into the right shape, and to encourage and develop its individuality, so that the boy may become a good man and a valuable citizen for our country.'

Once the lead was given, the boys did the rest. To Mr. Colbron Pearse belongs the honour of raising the first troop at Hampstead. A second troop was started in Putney; and so rapidly did the movement commend itself to the rising generation all over the kingdom, that in April of that year the organisation found itself strong enough to start the publication of a journal of its own, *The Scout*. This weekly paper was not only to be the official organ of the movement, but it was hoped that its sale might yield a profit which would contribute towards the rent of the head quarters office. One thing the publication of *The Scout* certainly did: it gave an enormous stimulus to the movement. At the time the first number appeared there were probably some fifty 'troops' in existence throughout the country; before six months had elapsed the organisation rallied to its standard some 80,000 boys.

Perhaps it ought to be explained that the patrol is the unit of organisation in the Boy Scout scheme. It consists of some six or eight boys under a senior boy as patrol-leader. A troop comprises not fewer than three patrols, and each patrol-leader is given full responsibility for the behaviour of his patrol at all times. The patrol is the unit for work or play, and in camp each patrol is camped in a separate spot. The boys are put 'on their honour' to carry out orders. Responsibility and competitive rivalry are thus at once established, and a good standard of development is ensured throughout the troop.

All over the country numerous isolated patrols leapt into being with a rapidity which showed plainly that the whole boyhood of the country had been roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Before a year had passed a hundred thousand Boy Scouts had become students of 'manliness.' The idea caught on. It grew and spread, and troops of Boy Scouts can now be found from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Cape to Cairo, Russia, Japan, Holland, Chile, Smyrna, Servia, China, Finland, Morocco—everywhere.

It is not difficult to find the reason of this success. In the

first place, boys recognise in scouting a game that is far more fascinating than football or cricket, a game which can be played at all seasons, in town as well as in the country, indoors and outdoors; a game that builds up the system, and, while providing an intelligent form of recreation, develops the character and brings out the good that is in him. The scheme is so attractive, so full of romance and fascination that a boy throws his whole heart into the business: and so, unconsciously perhaps, he shapes his destiny.

It is through the Scouts that a boy is led on to the paths of success, and is enabled, instead of striving after the unattainable, to make the best use of the material at hand. Scoutcraft contains that element of romance, combined with a suggestion of possible danger, which boys love. It is 'helpful' because it is no half-hearted scheme. It does not deal with a boy on a Sunday only, as if he had a soul with a body of no importance, or with the blissful forgetfulness of the influence of the body on the soul.

It may be interesting at the present stage to analyse the scheme in all its bearings, and to show its simplicity and its extraordinary practicability. Hitherto the village lad and the town-bred boy were allowed, when out of school, to drift, perhaps, into evil surroundings and associations, to become loafers or 'wasters'—mostly unambitious and mostly useless to fight the world's battle just for the natural term of their lives. Their school tuition had probably done its best in its own particular sphere, but it is the after-school-hour problem that is beset with so many difficulties. And this is where the scheme steps in.

It helps boys on leaving school to escape the evils of 'blind-alley' occupations, i.e. van and newspaper, caddie or messenger work, such as give the boy a wage for the moment, but which leave him stranded without any trade or handicraft to pursue when he is a man, and so send him as a recruit to the great army of unemployed, or unemployable.

The loafing youngster presents himself at the, usually, unpretentious head quarters of a local troop of Scouts; no matter who or what he is, he is welcome; the bigger the hooligan the more welcome he is, and straightway his initiation begins. He is immediately told that there are certain things he must learn before he is allowed even to call himself a 'Tenderfoot'—the very first grade of a Scout. He must make the Scout's promise, become familiar with the Scout Law, understand the composition of the Union Jack and the right way to fly it. He is soon taught to expect nothing for nothing, for he is required to purchase his uniform and provide himself with the whole of his outfit at his own expense. The uniform is smart and workman-like. His hat

is of the cowboy style. Coatless, he wears a khaki-coloured shirt of thin serge. Around his neck is a coloured handkerchief, a lanyard and a whistle. Trousers give place to 'shorts' supported by a leather belt around the waist, on to which is hung a handy knife and pouch. His knees are bare. He wears stockings, turned down below the knees, held in place by garters of green braid. On his back is a haversack, and in his right hand he holds his Scout's staff, marked in feet and inches to enable him to judge height and distances, and for feeling the way more quietly at night.

The ceremony of enrolling a Scout is picturesque and interesting. At the meeting at which the lads are enrolled, each boy is called forward and makes promises 'on his honour'

To be loyal to God and the King.
To help others at all times.
To obey the Scout Law.

Saying these words he stands at the salute, with his raised hand to the forehead, palm to the front, thumb resting on the nail of the little finger—the three upraised fingers are to remind him of the three points of his promise. So he stands, proud and with a high heart beating beneath his shirt, wholesome, clean, typical of chivalry and knighthood. The secrets of the Scout Law are then unfolded to him. It is a creed of honour and chivalry, comparable to the code of the Knights of the Romantic Ages. Here it is:

1. 'A Scout's honour is to be trusted.' That is to say, if a Scout says, 'On my honour it is so,' it *is* so.
2. 'A Scout is loyal to the King, to his officers, his country and his employers.' This is the very essence of good citizenship.
3. 'A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.' In other words, he must be prepared at any time to save life or to help injured persons, and to do a 'good turn' to somebody every day.
4. 'A Scout is a friend to all, no matter to what social class he may belong.' A Scout is never a snob; he accepts the other man as he finds him, and makes the best of him.
5. 'A Scout is courteous.'
6. 'A Scout is a friend to animals.'
7. 'A Scout obeys orders.' Whether these orders are from his parents, patrol leader, Scoutmaster, or anyone placed in authority over him, he must obey orders instantly, and without question.
8. 'A Scout smiles and whistles under all circumstances.'
9. 'A Scout is thrifty.'
10. 'A Scout is pure in thought, word and deed.'

Above all he is impressed with the sacredness of his obligation to help others; to lose himself in the general good without sacrificing himself or failing in his duties to those immediately related to him. Of the manner in which the Scouts carry out

their vows, the files of newspapers, both here and abroad, afford many instances. The recorded cases of life-saving total many figures, and already no fewer than five bronze Crosses (the highest award), 110 silver Crosses, and 110 Badges of Merit for Gallantry have been awarded by the Chief Scout.

An incident that occurred recently is worth relating. A man —out of work—committed suicide in the River Nidd at Harrogate. Two Scouts, seeing the body in the river, at once swam out to it, but were unable to bring it to shore. Assistance was, however, immediately forthcoming, and the body was taken to the mortuary. At the subsequent inquest the Coroner warmly commended the lads on their pluck, and handed them five shillings. 'Please, sir, can the money be given to the widow?' asked the Scouts. On the Coroner assenting, the amount was immediately handed over. It is practically certain that a year ago, when they were not Scouts, the thought would never have occurred to them.

The movement seems to fill a gap in our educational system. It gives our lads an ideal to live for. It breeds in them an unselfish enthusiasm for courage, self-denial, self-control and all the manly virtues. They are free from what schoolboys call 'pi-jaw.'

In short, the Boy Scout has a chance of getting into his mind and heart a *morale* like the *morale* of our big public schools.

During his period of probation as a Tenderfoot he gets a thorough grounding in the elements of Scoutcraft. He is coached in elementary first-aid and bandaging, signalling by semaphore and the Morse code, map-reading, etc. Practically all the work is done out of doors, which is after the heart of every lad. He studies the art of tracking, and must be able to follow a track, not too obviously made, for half a mile in twenty-five minutes. The test is made by his officer, who clamps tracking irons to his shoes and lays a trail over grass, plough, stubble, or as ground allows. The town Tenderfoot is taken to where there are shops; for one minute he looks into four shop windows in turn, and then from memory must describe satisfactorily the contents of one of the windows. He learns, too, how a Scout should lay and light a fire. He is shown that before lighting a fire in the open he must cut away or burn back all bracken, heather or dry grass round about the place, to prevent a bush-fire, and he learns how to make a fire for cooking, of red-hot wood ashes, which give little smoke, and may be kept going all night. Along with all this useful knowledge the Tenderfoot practises and masters many another fine bit of work or play. Thus, he learns how to dance the Scouts' war dance, and to sing the Scouts' war songs. It is

interesting to watch their war dance; advancing, singing in time to the music, and stamping in unison, then retiring, then forming a wide circle, while one steps to the centre and dances solo—telling by action a story of tracking and killing a desperate foe, the others cheering him by dance and song.

The games and competitions introduced all appeal to the boy's natural love of sport. There is nothing dull or dry in Scoutcraft: indeed, it furnishes recreation of the best kind, for it exercises the mind as well as the body.

Again, take the Scout signs. A Scout is taught the art of making signs which another Scout can understand and read, and when he has done so to obliterate all traces of such sign. An arrow means 'Road to be followed,' a small square plus an arrow signifies 'Letter hidden three paces from here in direction of arrow;' a cross indicates 'This path not to be followed,' and 'I have gone home' is shown by a circle in the centre of which is placed a circular spot. At night, sticks with a wisp of grass round them, or stones, are laid on the road in similar form, so that they can be felt with the hand. To the signs is added a signature. Every patrol of Scouts has its own name, and its appropriate cry. Those of the Panther patrol 'Keeook,' the Bats 'Pitz-Pitz,' Ravens 'Kar-Kaw'; thus scouts of a patrol can communicate with each other when in hiding. Each patrol leader, i.e. a youth in charge of a party of some six or eight scouts, has a small white flag on the end of his familiar 'broom-handle,' with the head of his patrol animal or bird shown in red colour. The Scout, making, say, a sign on a road for others to read, draws also the head of the patrol animal.

And so the lad proceeds from Tenderfoot to Second Class Scout, always learning something new, mastering fresh details of his craft until he qualifies as a First Class Scout, which means that he can swim fifty yards, has at least one shilling in the bank, and is able to signal at the rate of sixteen letters per minute. As a test in self-reliance he is sent on a two-days' journey alone or with another Scout. On his return he must write an intelligible report of what he has seen. Then he must know how to render first-aid in common accidents. He must understand how to stay a runaway horse, and so on. He must prove that he can make a damper, cook a hunter's stew, skin and cook a rabbit, or pluck and cook a bird. He must be able to read a map and draw sketch maps, use an axe for felling timber, judge distance, area, size, numbers, height and weight within twenty-five per cent. of the actual dimensions or proportions.

He continues to qualify until he attains the proud distinction of King's Scout. This means that he has won badges of merit

in such branches of Scoutcraft as seamanship, ambulance work and signalling, and has passed a stern test in the general craft of the guide. Another important part of a Scout's curriculum is that he may qualify in almost any calling. Thus, a boy gains a badge because he has passed the test as a poultry-farmer, as an engineer, gardener, aviator, bee-farmer, blacksmith, dairyman, electrician, interpreter, photographer, plumber, fireman, woodman, naturalist, coastguard, horseman, leatherworker, printer, etc. Other badges of merit are awarded for proficiency in other branches of work. Accordingly, employers of labour seeking trustworthy boy service will look first among Scouts, knowing that they will find boys broken to discipline and of manly spirit. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the head quarters of the organisation are contemplating the formation of an Employment Bureau in conjunction with the Labour Exchanges, where Scouts may be assisted in securing skilled occupations when in need.

The training also includes, for those boys who live near the water, organised practice of seafaring. It is not intended necessarily to send them to sea as a profession, but to give them something of the handiness and pluck of the seaman, again through a medium which thoroughly appeals to them. 'Sea Scouts'—of whom Lord Charles Beresford is the head—are divided into two branches—Coastguard Scouts and Seamen Scouts, and their training follows on those lines.

It was in the second year of the existence of the movement that the work of organisation was taken in hand; the wave of enthusiasm was controlled, and at the time of the celebration of the second anniversary there were something like 130,000 Boy Scouts, and there is no reason why they should not reach two, or even three, millions within the next few years.

One of the great secrets of the success of the movement is that it indulges in the barest minimum of interference with outlying centres and groups. The watchword of headquarters is guidance rather than control. Beyond insisting that the local associations of this great peace army shall be self-supporting, it allows them to manage their business in their own fashion and by their own methods, so long, of course, as they carry out the general principles of Scoutcraft. It is obvious, however, that if patrols and troops were to spring up on every side, without some central guiding influence, the movement must speedily lose all sort of corporate entity and get out of hand.

In September 1909 the first big rally of the Scouts was held. Thirteen thousand youngsters from all parts of the kingdom assembled at the Crystal Palace to give a display of Scout practices, and to be inspected by their Chief. Perhaps the most

stirring scene was when King Edward's appreciative message was read as follows:

> 'The King is glad to know that the Boy Scouts are holding their first annual parade.
>
> 'Please assure the boys that the King takes a great interest in them, and that if he should call upon them later in life, the sense of patriotic responsibility and happy discipline which they are now acquiring as boys will enable them to do their duty as men, should any danger threaten the Empire.'

After this had been read thirteen thousand Scouts showed how they could cheer!

King Edward, alas! is dead. But King George has signified his approval of the scheme by becoming its Patron, and on the 4th of July His Majesty will inspect some 40,000 of them at Windsor, perhaps the red-letter day in the history of the movement.

And so on, from the highest in the land, all have shown a keen desire to become in some way attached to the movement. Lords-Lieutenant serve as Presidents of County Associations, retired and serving officers take up the local commissionerships, Lords and Commoners alike all evince a great desire to assist in the amelioration of the cigarette-sucking boy. In Germany autocratic noblemen delight in raising their own special troops, made up usually of the poorest lads they can discover, in Russia the Czar has approved of the idea, and has inspected the first troops, whilst the movement is hailed with enthusiasm in every quarter of the civilised world. With the raising of these foreign troops international courtesies have been exchanged.

A party of eight boys from this country enjoyed an extremely pleasant eighteen days' tour in Germany some short while ago. One idea underlying the tour was that on seeing the practical working of the organisation the Germans themselves might adopt it. This they have since done. Similarly, parties of German boys have visited this country as Scouts. Some British lads made a tour on their own account in France, and last year a party of Scouts from our side of the North Sea paid a visit to Denmark. Coincident with these pleasant international visits, the Scouts' Handbook has been translated into most European languages—into Italian, German, Russian, Swedish, and Danish. Its translation into French and Dutch is now in progress. In the light of exchanges of international courtesies of this sort, it might seem that the establishment of the Boy Scouts on an international basis was not beyond the reach of the movement which has already accomplished so much. Yet it would appear that there are technical difficulties in the way, one of which is that every scout

promises 'to be loyal to God and the King.' Foreign boys naturally could not be expected to subscribe to such a promise, and accordingly the Boy Scouts confine their official organisation to the United Kingdom and to the Overses Dominions of the Empire—to those lands, in fact, which owe allegiance to King George.

The general public have been quick to recognise the advantages of the Boy Scouts' training. There is room, however, for public aid in committee work, and in providing men who have the time and the ability to acquire and impart the varied knowledge comprised in a Scout's studies. A medical man will find a sphere of usefulness in relieving the Scoutmaster of the work of giving instruction in first aid; a member of a swimming club may superintend the acquisition of an accomplishment which is obligatory on all Scouts, and which should be followed up by tuition in the methods of the Life Saving Society for rescue and resuscitation. Without that knowledge the would-be rescuer's life is in peril, and his gallantry is in vain if he knows not how to fan the spark of vitality.

The General's idea originally was that the scheme should be worked by the Church Lads' and Boys' Brigades, the Y.M.C.A., and any person having the interests of lads at heart.

It was owing to the spread of the latter units that the General was impelled to form a central controlling body, in order to ensure uniformity while not hampering local growth and freedom. An excellent plan of promoting local control is the appointment of a commissioner for each County, with district commissioners serving under him for different areas and with Local Associations in each town and large village. By a recent development in the formation of Scoutmasters' training corps it is hoped that the problem of how to obtain good Scoutmasters is in a fair way towards solution. Scoutmasters, many of them workers in connexion with lads' institutes, find the scouting work of unique interest. They have more than their reward as they watch the developing intelligence of their charges, see evidence of the growth of chivalry in their hearts, and know that they have changed boys who were good for nothing into Scouts who are willing and ready to undertake anything.

Too much stress can scarcely be laid on the fact that the Scout movement is non-military, non-political, and interdenominational in character. Some individual troops are no doubt organised on military lines, and in virtue of the general policy of non-interference which the central office studiously cultivates towards local centres, so long as the ideals of the movement are observed, these troops are allowed to go their own way. But the movement in its essence is *strictly non-military.*

All its ideals are peace ideals, so much so that there are people who regard the growth of the movement in many lands as an influence tending towards international peace. That the movement is non-political scarcely requires to be explained. The very fact that men of all creeds have actively interested themselves in the movement proves beyond cavil that it is absolutely non-sectarian in its character. Theoretically, no doubt, the authorities at the head of the movement are all the better pleased with a Scout if he regularly attends the church in which he has been brought up; but it does not interfere in the least with a boy's religious upbringing.

The movement is not yet four years old. Already its effect is seen throughout English national life. Many have said, 'This movement is the greatest achievement of our age.' Indeed, it has wrought a revolution in British manners and ways of thought. No one who lives in a place where the Boy Scout has successfully come to stay can fail to be struck by one great improvement. General Baden-Powell clearly felt the force of the fine old Winchester motto when he drew up the excellent code of rules for the boys. Theirs is the modern English version of 'Manners makyth man,' and upon a disciplined courtesy great stress is laid. Many years ago Matthew Arnold deplored 'Want of reverence' as the worst sign of times he thought very decadent. But the optimist confronted with a trim and civil detachment of Boy Scouts may well incline to believe we are entering upon a new and more charming era, when politeness will be thought to be—as it is—an essential part of the equipment of a manly boy. The discovery of the boy has not only changed the nature of the boy for the better, but has so improved him that he now sets a national standard. So it is no wonder that Scouting is popular and has come to stay, and if 'nothing succeeds like success,' then Scouting has a great future, and will play a prominent part in fashioning the citizens of the days that are to come.

W. Cecil Price.

A PORTUGUESE JACOBIN

If it be true that every people enjoys, or suffers, the Government it deserves, it is equally true that from the words and works of a people's leaders one may draw certain general conclusions as to the condition and current tendencies of public opinion and morals in the State. The actual condition of affairs in Portugal presents object lessons and a wide field for speculation to students of history and political economics. In this furthest corner of western Europe are now being worked out to new conclusions many of the social problems which, in different forms, disturb the equilibrium or peace of lands more orderly and quietly governed: problems of capital and labour; of the rights of property and the rights of man; of economic pressure and economic sins; of Church and State; of Monarchists and *sans-culottes*; of party government and party strife. These and many other phases of the eternal struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' are aggravated in Portugal by peculiar conditions and traditions of misrule on the one hand, and national indiscipline on the other, and relieved only by the innate patience, industry and common sense of the peasantry, which is the backbone of the country.

Looked at in the light of all applicable experience, and particularly that of the French Revolution, it is difficult to believe that by paths of permanent peace the present rulers of this new Republic can find a happy issue out of all its economic and social afflictions. In so far as one may judge by the utterances of a shackled Press, the elections now proceeding are likely to result in a reaction against the violent socialism and irreligious tendencies of the party led by Senhor Affonso Costa, and to establish a policy of Constitutional Republicanism under the guidance of Senhor D'Almeida and the Moderates. But whatever the issue, the indiscipline which characterises the proletariat of Lisbon and Oporto will continue to be a source of party strife and social unrest until eradicated, either by some national disaster or by the slower processes of education and experience.

Thinking over these things, I walked at midnight along the Rua Aurea, making my way towards the office of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Senhor Bernadino Machado, who, in response to my request for an interview, had suggested this as a convenient hour. The Praça do Commercio was

deserted, save for a couple of somnambulistic policemen, and the shadow of King Joseph's Black Horse responded darkly to the glimpses of the moon. The midnight life of the city was gathered, deep in politics and *potins*, about the cafés of the Rocio; the crowd of lobbyists and loafers that, all day long, throng the approaches to the seats of Government, had gone their ways; in restful silence and silvery light lay the historic spot whence, in the olden golden days, da Gama, Albuquerque, and many another gallant man, set forth to win new worlds, the spot now consecrated to the memory of regicides and to the strenuous activities of the Republic's chosen leaders. Even now, at midnight, there was much business doing at the centre of Government; lights were shining in the windows of the Ministries of the Interior, of Justice and of Public Works, and carriages, with Jehus all asleep, waited patiently before their doors. Outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stood a motor-car, its lights thriftily extinguished and its chauffeur democratically curled up within. The great door was shut, but at my third knocking, Cerberus, rubbing sleepy eyes, emerged from his lair, and informed me that His Excellency was in, it was true, but would certainly not receive me. Cerberus, being human and tired, could hardly be expected to encourage the beginnings of an interview at this hour; it required some little persistence and argument to convince him that the Minister was expecting me. He went at last, however, leaving me to cool my heels on the pavement; but in ten minutes he returned, and with the best grace possible under circumstances so distressing, led me upstairs, to an apartment splendidly suggestive of the regal past. Here four or five secretaries were waiting for something to happen, with that air of languid detachment which marks the upper ranks of all bureaucracies. One, who also served, was peacefully sleeping in a corner; another was discussing with a local journalist a question of tickets for a patriotic banquet in the provinces; two more were wearily writing, of matters that evidently left them cold. A Private Secretary, politely devoting himself to my entertainment, proceeded to discuss, without enthusiasm, the most harmless topics of the day; amongst them, the unfortunate lot of the public servant. This life was killing him, he observed; never to bed before four A.M., and up again at eight. These Spartan habits of the Republic's leaders were all very well, no doubt, but a man with a family to support must think also of his health. Slowly we smoked innumerable cigarettes and watched the hands of the clock moving on to the hour of one; but no sign or sound of life came from behind the closed doors of the Ministerial sanctum. Leisurely men with papers came and went; the sleeping man in the corner awoke, buttoned his coat and departed; but still no

ago. Remembering the multitude of cares that may choke a statesman's memory, I finally suggested to the Private Secretary that perhaps His Excellency had forgotten my appointment, and that I also had kindly thoughts of bed. Would he be so good as to convey my compliments and regrets? My friend promptly made his way, unannounced, into the presence; two more secretaries, heavy laden with papers, emerged; and I was bidden enter. As I passed in, a unanimous and despairing yawn went up from that long-suffering waiting-room.

Senhor Bernadino Machado sat at a desk, suggestive, in its heaped disorder, of the furious activities of the Provisional Government, a figure entirely unlike one's idea of what a red revolutionary should be. His face suggests rather the enthusiastic idealist, a man of peaceful and benevolent instincts, a library politician, quite impossible to imagine on those barricades which are, nevertheless, the logical conclusion of his expressed beliefs. Looking at this mild little man, I remembered that, a few days before, the President of the Republic had described him to me as 'un brave homme, d'une paternité universelle,' a description which seemed completely appropriate. I remembered his simple bourgeois home, overflowing with an astonishing number of children, and it was in my mind to wonder by what fantastic trick of destiny this 'Papa Machado' (as they call him in Lisbon) had come to be an overthrower of Thrones and political bedfellow of that fiery iconoclast, Senhor Affonso Costa. A case of Jekyll and Hyde, no doubt; just as, in the days of the French Revolution, many a good decent citizen was led, by excess of idle dreams and futile theories, to the bloodguiltiness of the Terror—becoming almost involuntary apostles of that political wisdom which was to bring about the democratic millennium.

I have no scruple, and violate no confidence, in giving the following account of my interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, for he spoke unreservedly and with definite purposes of publicity. I give the gist of our conversation just as it was set down in my notes at the time, because it seems to me, of itself, to convey a very fair impression of the men and ideas that at present direct the destinies of Portugal. But the worthy man's torrential verbosity, his fierce impatience of argument or questioning, his unconscious vanity and naïve inconsequence, can only be dimly suggested by the written word.

'So you have just been in the North' [he began]. 'I have noticed (he touched the pile of newspapers on his desk) that you believe the people of these parts are still actuated by deep religious feelings. Now, *mon cher Monsieur*, listen to me. You foreigners see only the thin surface of things. *Moi qui vous parle*, I happen to own several little bits of property up there in the Douro e Minho, one of them quite close to Braga itself. I know these people *au fond*; believe me, they have no sincere religious convictions. They are a

noble people, honest, patient, industrious, brave—a splendid race. Every one of them would willingly die, to-day, as in the glorious past, for the honour of their country or the safety of their homes—but for religion, never!'

'In these days, Your Excellency, martyrdom is perhaps too severe a test of religious belief?'

'They do not care at all. Believe me, no foreigner can possibly form a just opinion of the real sentiments of the Portuguese people. We, their elected leaders, know the truth. I have often been astonished and pained at the extraordinary ignorance and reckless assurance of your journalists. Of course, we know that the European Press is venal, and the Monarchists are wealthy, but——'

At this interesting moment a secretary quietly entered without knocking, made his way to the Minister's desk, opened a drawer, *sans cérémonie*, took out some papers and made his way out again—an instructive exhibition of democratic manners in high places. I seized the chance to get in a word.

'Nevertheless, Your Excellency, I have spoken with many peasants of the Douro e Minho, and although I confess that I saw no signs of any possible popular movement in defence of either Crown or Church, I found an unmistakably sincere feeling of regret, not to say resentment, directed against the Government because of its policy on religious questions. Among those hardworking, intelligent peasants of the Douro, in particular, there were three subjects of general discussion and criticism: namely, the harsh treatment of the Little Sisters of the Poor, the punishment of Senhor Franco's judges, and the suppression of Monarchist newspapers. The punishment of the judges was universally denounced.'

His Excellency jumped from his chair.

'The Little Sisters of the Poor' [he cried]. 'Good women, no doubt, but you must know that the Republic has an unconquerable aversion to religious orders of every kind. And the good people of the North, who, above all, cherish the love of hearth and home, I assure you that whenever they see a Little Sister, they say to themselves instinctively, "she will entice away our daughters, she will break up the family." If these poor deluded *religieuses* leave their families and abandon their domestic duties, it is simply a result of feminine weakness and impulsiveness, a longing for spiritual emotion, *un désir de s'épandre*; but their proper place is at home.'

Then, with characteristic inconsequence, he drew a pathetic picture of his own sad case, compelled to forsake the delights and duties of peaceful domesticity because of his devotion to the Republic. It was obviously pertinent to suggest that the 'Little Sisters' might be equally justified in devotion to the cause of humanity, but His Excellency was not to be thus cornered. 'In working for the State and for its needs,' he exclaimed, 'I always remember that the greater includes the less. If all is well with the Republic, it is well with my family!'

I ventured an allusion to the teachings of Christianity on this point. It was as a spark to gunpowder.

'Christianity' [he declared] 'is like our peasants' proverbs. You can always find in it a text for every argument. But for us of the Republic, we have left all these superstitions far behind. We know of no religion except that of the *conscience morale* and of man's unrewarded duty to his fellow man.'

And then, while the shades of Rousseau and Voltaire hovered near us in space, he declaimed volubly of pure Reason, of the rights of man and the march of science. He seemed thoroughly sincere in his conviction that, by expelling the Little Sisters and by making religion a crime, the Republic would strengthen the instinct and love of family.

Then as to the punishment of the Judges. What did the peasantry understand of such a question? For that matter, what does any foreigner know about it? It was all very well for the Powers to stand around, mouthing and gaping at the unfortunate Republic, but did they really expect the Government to tolerate '*acts of rebellion*'? If the Ministers had done their strict duty, they would have sent these Judges to prison, but they had pushed leniency to the verge of foolishness. He had heard criticism enough and to spare on this subject, but how many critics had ever realised that the Judges had dared to defy the Republic, actually suggesting a reference of the Franco case to the House of Peers, for all the world as if they were still under the Monarchy? They had professed their inability to convict the accused; let them now bear the penalty of their incompetence.

I breathed the word 'amnesty.'

'No!' he shouted, 'never! There can be no possible amnesty for acts of rebellion!' *Chose jugée!*

There came a tremulous fluttering of the door-handle. The clock marked 1.30 A.M. Remembering the weary victims of our loquacity, I was for taking leave. But His Excellency paid no heed either to the door-handle or to me; he was now in the full tide of wrathful eloquence.

'Legality, justice! The Powers seem to think that they alone have a monopoly of these virtues, they who still lie wallowing in the superstition of Monarchism.'

I observed that the virtues of a Government might depend less on names and forms than on the *moral* of the men who direct its affairs, a remark which called forth a long dissertation on the art and business of government, with quotations, more or less exact, from Hegel and Comte. 'For us Portuguese,' he concluded, 'the Republic had become *une nécessité morale*.'

I asked the meaning, then, of the enthusiastic popular ovation spontaneously accorded to King Manoel during his tour through the north two years before.

The question was calmly ignored. Had I read that prophetic, that inspired work, *From Monarchy to Republic?* He himself loved to read it, in moments of leisure, and to remember from what beginnings and with what infinite labour he had evolved himself —and the Republic. Then, as to the Press. It was quite untrue, and most unfair, to say that the Press was not absolutely free. On the contrary, every one could say and write exactly what he liked in Portugal.

Hurriedly I interjected the name of Manoel Homem Christo. The Minister pushed back his chair and commenced pacing the room, emphasising every sentence with swift gestures.

'Ah, yes, the *Povo d'Aveiro*, always that *Povo d'Aveiro*.' Then, coming up quite close to me and shaking a minatory finger:

'But what do you know of Senhor Christo? Are you aware that he was a Republican and is now a renegade? That he is a notorious evil-liver and his paper simply infamous? The real trouble about this apostate is that we have been far too lenient with him, far too gentle. But rest assured that we shall never permit insults (*Nous ne permettrons jamais les injures*).'

'I am aware, Your Excellency, that Senhor Christo had the misfortune to differ seriously with the present Minister of Justice at a critical moment, and that he has recently criticised what he regards as the errors of the Provisional Government as fearlessly as he denounced the sins of the Monarchy; nevertheless——'

'*C'est un infâme!*' he cried.

Then, striding across the room, he took from his desk a copy of the *National Review* for December, and drew my attention to a heavily scored article entitled 'Lloyd Georgism in Practice.'

'Your English papers are just as bad' [he complained]. 'Have you read this article? Such things should not be permitted. It professes to be the work of an Englishman in Portugal—who is he? Your Government, which proclaims its friendship and sympathy for Portugal, should not allow such pernicious falsehoods to be published.'

He was righteously indignant, nor could I mollify him by a reminder that effete monarchies do not enjoy the same powers of summary jurisdiction over the Press as those exercised by a new Republic. As a philosopher and a savant, however, he could surely afford to ignore captious criticism of this kind, criticism to which all public men are necessarily exposed.

'Yes' [he admitted]. 'That is true. But if you throw enough mud, some of it is likely to stick. And your Great Powers, sunk in their monarchical superstitions and their traditions of racial superiority, seem to me quite incapable of doing justice to the Portuguese Republic. They watch us ever with hostile eyes, greedy for the reversion of our vast colonial possessions; they pounce on all our little mistakes, and prate loudly of justice, liberty and legality as if we knew nothing of such things. Take, for instance, that miserable business of the Museum of the Revolution.[1] What an uproar!

[1] An exhibition of the Regicides' arms and of explosive bombs, etc., used by the Revolutionaries.

And what was it all about? A purely private exhibition, organised for a worthy charity, in no manner connected with the Government——'

'But surely, Your Excellency, if the Minister of Foreign Affairs assists at the opening ceremony in his official capacity and makes a speech in which——'

He stopped me with a Napoleonic gesture and spoke with quivering emotion.

'Yes, I went. And why? Is there a man in Portugal who does not know that Bernadino Machado is devoted to children? And this was a charity in aid of the children, two hundred of the poor little things. And I, Papa Machado, as they call me, was I to keep silent on such an occasion? Besides, have we not removed from the Museum everything that was Government property——?'

The door opened softly and a weary face peeped in. It was now two o'clock.

'Your Excellency' [said I], 'good-night and good luck to the Republic! Every people gets the Government it deserves. Portugal has good material and good intentions—may Fortune send her good issue.'

'Come back in ten years' [he replied], 'and you shall see the glorious edifice of our Republic completed. And meanwhile, *de la patience, cher Monsieur, et surtout de la sympathie!*'

Walking homewards through the silent streets, I reflected that Robespierre was in his private life a cultured, honest and charitable man, and that if, at the end, he acquiesced in the bloodthirsty crimes of the Terror, it was because, with him also, nothing mattered in comparison with the vindication of his cherished theories of the art of government. I thought of the cheerful bourgeois domesticity of Danton, and of the many good simple souls that were lost in those days because of the Worship of Reason and the mouth-filling words of the Jacobins; and I was glad to remember that the Portuguese race are, *au fond*, a long-suffering and a peaceable people.

J. O. P. BLAND.

THE INSURANCE BILL, THE DOCTORS, AND NATIONAL POLICY

The chorus of enthusiasm and eulogy with which the introduction of the State Insurance Bill was greeted in the House of Commons, and in newspapers of every colour, is gratifying enough as showing the amount of goodwill which is abroad. As a sign of the sort of political thinking which is current, however, the uncritical reception of the proposal may well alarm us. The absurd over-statement of the effects of such a measure, the hopeless mental confusion as to the problem which it is supposed to attack, the general inability to distinguish between constructive or preventive legislation and palliative measures, such as this glorified system of out-relief, is very disturbing to those of us who are concerned with the welfare of England and of her people.

Nobody who is familiar with what sickness means in thousands of working-class homes but must desire the provision of some means to minimise the suffering and distress entailed. In so far as it does this, the State Insurance Bill is good and desirable. If no better scheme for reducing the evils of sickness can be discovered, then we should be thankful for the Government scheme in spite of its many drawbacks. As a great piece of State-organised 'charity' (for compulsory contributions are not thrift) corresponding in every way with the relief given to the destitute under the Poor Law, a strong case can undoubtedly be made out for it. But is it true that, at the cost of what the nation is going to spend on this project, no better scheme could be devised for attaining this end? We now know that fully three-fourths of all illness is preventable, and probably upwards of a half is preventable by purely legislative and administrative means. Surely it were far better to prevent disease than to give people ten shillings a week and unlimited bottles of medicine when they become ill. This Bill proposes to stereotype and give official recognition to the ancient collection of superstitions bound up with private medical practice. Measures which prevent sickness and disease not only reduce individual suffering and distress, but very materially add to the wealth of the nation. It is estimated that this country loses over sixteen million pounds a year through the scourge of tuberculosis alone, and yet tuberculosis could practically

be stamped out in less than twenty years. Again, every year over a hundred thousand children die from preventable causes. A sensible national health policy would save these lives. We know the way to save them, just as we know the way to stamp out consumption; but apparently no immediate popularity is to be gained, and no votes are to be obtained, by the statesman or party that tackles the problem. The bulk of the electorate is ignorant, and it is to this ignorance that politicians pander. But even as a palliative the present measure fails where it is most needed. Women happen to have no votes, so the present Bill is strikingly unfair to women. Children have no votes, therefore they are not considered at all. Those who are likely to benefit most by the Insurance Bill are the organised workers who least need State assistance, who can however make themselves felt at election times. The Bill offers a subsidy; it does little more. So far from adding to the national wealth, it will certainly lead to the creation of an enormous number of unproductive officials. That, indeed, is the one common result yielded by almost all modern legislation. It is not a question of socialism or of antisocialism, it is a question of constructive statesmanship *versus* palliative meddlesomeness. The spirit of the district visitor and the church worker permeates all our recent social legislation. Real constructive policy which would have for its object increased national efficiency, increased individual opportunity, and greater national wealth production, has no advocate among Cabinet Ministers of either party.

The State Insurance Bill is a typical product of the mind that sees in the rich and the poor two different species of human beings, the former divinely elected to keep a kindly eye on the latter. Doctors divide the world somewhat differently. But essentially the same spirit of patronage and property is involved. The race, according to them, is divided into doctors and patients. Everyone who is not a doctor is some doctor's patient and must not be taken away.

No more severe criticism of our system of private medical practice could be afforded than by the fact that no responsible medical body in its criticism of the Bill has made any attempt to offer suggestions from the point of view of the national welfare. The medical profession has been roused by Mr. Lloyd George's proposals as it has never been roused before, and has been united as it has never been united before. What has roused it? What has united it? Not the fear that the Bill will lead to a lessening of the efficiency of medical practice; not the possibility that by careful modification the Bill can be made a great instrument for removing the practice of medicine from its sordid commercial associations, placing the doctor in a position in which he can devote himself entirely to the practice of his art, and to the

real work of doctoring—that is, teaching—so far as he knows them, the true laws of healthy living; not that at last there seems some possibility that the doctor may be able to forget bad debts and devote to his patient not merely one half of his attention, but also that other half which hitherto he has been wont to concentrate on his patient's pocket. It is none of these things which has served to rally the doctors, but that which seems always to unite the representatives of vested interests—namely, the fear that their incomes are in danger. Doctors are, of course, but human, and it is only natural and right that they should insist on their just claims to reasonable material rewards being recognised. But their claim to just reward would be no less effective if they made it a little more obvious that they had not only their own interests, but also the interests of their country, at heart; if they made it a little more clear that they realised that a doctor's work is to promote health and to stamp out disease, and only incidentally to fill his pockets. After all, the professed objects of the Bill at any rate are such as should make a strong appeal to every doctor in the country, if the profession is to merit the character for exceptional philanthropy and nobility which it, a little smugly, assumes. For while it is quite true that on the commercial side the Bill, as originally propounded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, threatened to bear hardly on many hard-working doctors, it is no less true that, with modifications—such modifications as a public-spirited medical profession could effect—the Bill could not only be made to inflict little or no financial hardship on individual medical men, but could be made a powerful instrument for placing the medical profession on a more dignified basis, and, what is even more important, for enormously improving the national health. But to read the letters which doctors have sent to the newspapers, to read the articles and reports in the medical press, and to have attended the recent meetings of the British Medical Association, one would never guess that the medical profession cared two pins for the dignity of its craft or for the national health. To such a pitch has it been brought by the conditions of private practice. It is no answer to say that members of other professions show no more public spirit. Even if that were true, the work of the doctor, like that of the teacher, is far too intimately bound up with the general well-being for a state of affairs to be tolerated in which his interests and those of the community are, to any considerable extent, opposed.

The work of the thirty thousand private practitioners—who constitute the overwhelming majority of doctors in this country—is being almost wasted so far as the health of the nation is concerned. The work of doctoring, as conducted at present, where it is not pure quackery, consists almost entirely in 'curing' or relieving the symptoms of disease, rather than in preventing

disease or in improving the health and vigour of the race. The position is most unsatisfactory. The more unhealthy the nation, the better we pay our doctors. It is as though we paid our generals in proportion to the number of battles they lost. In a properly organised nation it would clearly be the work of the doctors to organise the national campaign against disease; and their interests would certainly be made to lie in the same direction as the success of their efforts in this direction.

Every self-respecting doctor must be in revolt against the petty humbug and charlatanry which constitute so large a part of ordinary private practice, and must sigh for the chance to apply his skill and knowledge so that they may be of real use to the community. Unfortunately, private practice seems altogether destructive of self-respect. The result is that doctors play a very small part in the education of the public in matters of health. Unless they happen to be public-spirited altruists, there is no particular reason why they should wish disease to disappear. After all, the medical profession, sugar over the truth as we may, is at present parasitic upon diseased persons; and, so long as the system of fees which obtains at present is continued, to stamp out disease means for doctors the destruction of their host. Probably few men are cynical or cold-blooded enough consciously to assist in the continuance of disease, but no great enthusiasm for the public health (as apart from the 'cure' of his own patients by the doctor himself) can be expected so long as we arrange that the material interests of those most powerful to promote it lie in a diametrically opposite direction.

An example of the results of this opposition of interests is afforded by the deception practised by the profession in the matter of drugs. Doctors make a terrible to-do over the purveying of proprietary mixtures to all and sundry, and they assume an attitude of superior, not to say unctuous, rectitude which is scarcely justified. Every intelligent doctor knows that in the case of quite 50 per cent. of all the patients who consult him, no drugs are of the slightest value, and are merely given in order to please the patient. Now while, so far as the individual practitioner is concerned, the prescribing of the usual bottle of medicine may be excusable enough, in order to retain the confidence of his patient, and so induce him to follow the doctor's advice, the same excuse does not apply either to the responsible heads of the profession or to the great professional organised bodies. While everyone in the know is aware that, with a few exceptions, drugs have no useful influence on disease at all, and the majority of 'bottles of medicine' are mere placebos or 'A.D.T.s' (any d—— thing), yet there is an organised silence upon this subject when the public is within earshot. Mr. Lloyd George, in the speech with which h in[illegible] Bill into th Hou of Commons l [illegible]

great stress on the terrible injustice under which the poor at present groan, in that they are inadequately supplied with those 'expensive drugs' which he seemed to consider the key to health; and it is an interesting illustration of the extent of this superstition that this sentiment was received by all sections of the House with sympathetic applause. Yet practically every doctor who has ever thought about anything for himself agrees with Oliver Wendell Holmes, that, so far as nearly all drugs are concerned, 'if they were cast into the sea it would be so much the better for man, and so much the worse for the fishes.'

It is interesting to inquire what are the changes likely to be brought about in the conditions of medical practice if the State Insurance Bill becomes law. The British Medical Association has laid down certain conditions under which alone it recommends its members to take part in the working of the Bill; and the overwhelming majority of members of the Association have signified their determination to adhere to these conditions. The principal demands are these: that the doctors shall be adequately paid; that they shall be free from the rule of the friendly societies; that every patient shall be free to choose his own doctor; and that men with incomes of over two pounds a week shall not be entitled to medical benefits under the Act. Mr. Lloyd George has signified his personal sympathy with the first three of these demands, and there probably will be little difficulty so far as they are concerned in meeting the doctors' requirements. The fourth demand, however, is likely to be much more difficult to meet. Considered first of all from the point of view of political expediency, a modification of the Bill which would exclude from medical benefits a very large proportion of the miners and engineers, who constitute a powerful political section of the community, who, moreover, are for the most part already organised in voluntary sick clubs and friendly societies, would have little chance of passing the House of Commons. It seems, therefore, that, if the doctors insist on this condition, they are virtually insisting upon the killing of the Bill. No doubt an attempt will be made to meet the demand so far as the voluntary insurers are concerned, but whether the doctors will be tempted by a higher capitation grant to waive this demand so far as the compulsorily insured are concerned remains to be seen.

Considered from the point of view of national policy, all income limits entitling to, or excluding from, the benefits of legislation are, in a democratic community, indefensible. They tend to subsidise failure and poverty on the one hand, and to stereotype status on the other. In the present case, the fixing of a wage limit implies a poor man's doctor for poor people, and a rich man's doctor for rich people.

Not only politicians but well-meaning people of all kinds have

lately been devoting an increasing amount of thought to the problems involved in rendering more tolerable the lives of the least successful members of the community—the very poor, the sick, and the incompetent. All in turn receive the consideration of the philanthropic. Any proposal or any legislative measure which partakes of the character of charity is always sure of a very wide welcome. Constructive measures calculated to increase the efficiency and independence of the poor are much more coldly received by the charitable rich. One can scarcely wonder that the Socialists have come to the conclusion that 'the rich will do anything for the poor, except get off their backs.' One cannot help feeling suspicious that some of the applause with which the National Insurance Bill has been greeted is due to the fact that the Bill is calculated to make the poor a little more comfortable, and to remove a few of their more obvious distresses without in any way increasing their independence. A cynic might suggest that the richer classes welcomed the Bill as a means of easing their consciences at comparatively little cost to themselves. Anyway, the fact remains that most recent social legislation and most contemplated social legislation is of this palliative charitable kind rather than of a preventive nature. We keep on devising schemes for baling out water from the swamp of destitution, but no responsible statesman seems seriously concerned about dealing with the streams which feed the swamp.

There will probably always be a certain proportion of failure, just as there will probably always be a certain amount of sickness, and this will need to be relieved in accordance with the social conscience of the moment. But surely the rational line of policy is first to take such steps as will reduce the failure and the sickness to a minimum.

We cannot look with too much suspicion upon all legislation which offers subsidies to failure, and especially to failure of the social will. That is the most serious fault of the Poor Law—more serious even than the inhumanity with which it is often administered. The effect which a measure like the State Insurance Bill may easily have on the national character is enormous, so enormous as to make the evils of the old Poor Law sink into comparative unimportance. Of course, so far as really serious illnesses are concerned, no assistance that we are likely to offer can be too great. But any doctor who has had much experience of the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act must feel alarmed at the vista of incapacity from trivial ailments which opens out when incapacity is subsidised to the tune of ten shillings a week. Unless the Bill is vitally amended, we may expect to see an enormous increase of sickness among our worst-paid and least regularly employed workers. According to an article in the *Lancet*, based on the official figures, the amount of sickness in Germany has steadily

increased since the compulsory insurance scheme came into operation; until, in 1909, 40 per cent. of the twelve-and-a-half million persons insured were incapacitated for work through sickness for an average period of three weeks. This increase of sickness and incapacity is by no means necessarily due to deliberate malingering. Every doctor knows how important a part the will plays in nearly all cases of illness. Anything which tends to weaken the will to recover postpones recovery. The State Insurance Bill definitely arranges for paying people to be ill, just as the Poor Law definitely pays people to be destitute. It is all dealing with the wrong end of the stick. The great bulk of sickness, like the great bulk of destitution, could be prevented by good statesmanship. The provision of proper homes for the people, as is gradually being brought about in Ireland, the rational education of our children in place of the ridiculous farrago on which we spend such fabulous sums annually, the promotion of a serious constructive agricultural and land policy, the legal limitation of the hours of hired labour, the strengthening and developing of our already existing public health service—these are the sort of measures which would really do something to reduce sickness and the suffering it entails. These are the things which would develop the national character and individual independence, not destroy them; which would add to the national wealth, not subtract from it. We want more and different teachers, more employed builders, more men working on the land; not more Government inspectors and officials.

Still, if the Bill is wisely amended, it may yet within modest limits be an instrument for good; and most of its possible evils may be avoided. In the first place, sick benefit should only be payable on the occurrence of certain specified diseases, which should include all disabling diseases which can certainly be diagnosed. Even at the price of a little hardship to a few individuals, no disease which cannot be recognised by its physical signs should entitle to sick pay. In no other way can we avoid the most extensive malingering. We have so large a number of men casually employed that naturally enough many would be tempted to try their luck at getting a small steady income at the price of a little simulation. Indirectly, the Bill may do more good than it will do directly. The interests of the doctors will for the first time coincide with the interests of the community. Their income will no longer depend on the amount of sickness and the length of time to which each illness can be spun out. The less the sickness and the shorter the illness, the better for the doctor. The medical service under the Bill as it will probably be amended may be made to combine most of the advantages of an official public health service with those of private practice, without the disadvantages of either. Publicly appointed medical officers have certain advantages

ier medical practitioners selected and paid by their individual tients. They are more independent, they can afford to be more nest and outspoken, their income is assured them, and their terest is to reduce sickness to a minimum. On the other hand, is not particularly to their interest to be attentive or sympathetic, to put in more work than is absolutely insisted on. Under the w scheme it is almost certain that every patient will be free to lect his own doctor, so that a medical man who is habitually attentive, discourteous, or inefficient will not attract any large umber of clients. It will be to a doctor's interest to give to each tient all the skill, courtesy and attention he can command. On e other hand, it will be to his advantage to get his patient well id off his hands as quickly as possible, since a long attendance ill mean no increase of payment for himself. Every medical man ill naturally in his own interest become a keen sanitarian. It ill be to his interest actively to spread the truth about the rsonal and public care of health. Thus, as a by-product, the esent Bill—although itself but a kind of buying off of the Danes -may lead in the course of time to such an education of the iblic in matters of hygiene that real legislation and administration ected to the prevention of disease will be demanded.

There are people who believe that the destitution and exces- ve sickness of the poor are really due to their inherent depravity d incompetence. It is difficult for those of us who have direct iowledge of the conditions under which a large proportion of r poorer children are born and brought up, to hear with any gree of patience such ridiculous assumptions expressed. ersonal efficiency or any kind of dignity or self-respect is almost ipossible of attainment, given the surroundings amidst which wards of a third of our people have to spend their lives. Dirty , dirty food, dirty homes, an entire absence of scope for such stinctive refinements as even a wild animal possesses, and rdid and demoralising influences of every kind make healthy owth and mental development impossible. What the poor ed in the national interest is not 'relief,' or more bottles of edicine, or charity of any kind, but reasonable opportunity. iere is one goal which everyone who makes the smallest claim be a democrat, whether he labels himself Socialist or Indi- dualist, Liberal or Tory, must keep constantly in the forefront his mind. It is that every English boy and girl shall have, far as our knowledge and accumulated wealth can provide it, ll opportunity for the complete and healthy development of ind and body; and shall, in addition, have opportunity, access to the necessary land and capital, for the exercise of ir skill and talents so that they may obtain their due reward. test I would put to every social legislative proposal is this : Does

it tend towards equality of opportunity, or does it stereotype present inequalities and injustice?

At present the great majority of poor people find themselves blocked at every stage, from birth to death, by monopoly and lack of opportunity. The child who is born in a one-room tenement, unless he is very exceptional or has very exceptional luck, can never escape from the slum and all that this implies. I wonder how many of the superior persons from Bayswater who 'work among the poor' have the smallest conception of what life in a slum tenement really means! It is a sheer impertinence for people living in a hundred-a-year house, with one paid person to cook their meals, another to serve them, and another to wash up the plates and dishes afterwards, to say nothing of governesses, nursery maids, and ladies' maids, to come into the homes of people whose problem it is to pay the rent, and feed and clothe themselves and half a dozen children on a pound a week, keeping cheerful the while, with a view to teaching them what bad managers they are. In all the profound virtues—sympathy, generosity, and Christian helpfulness—the inhabitants of the slums have nothing to learn from Bayswater. In the minor virtues—industry and thrift—the poor have even less to learn from these teachers.

The poor, naturally enough, resent these patronising visits, knowing quite well, often in a subconscious way, that had their and their visitors' respective opportunities been reversed their positions would have been reversed also. In spite of all our social legislation and our greater interest in social problems, the relative poverty of the workers shows no sign of lessening. The number of persons receiving Poor-Law relief on the 1st of January 1910 was, with the exception of 1909, the largest for forty years; while the number of able-bodied people in workhouses grew from 14,800 in 1901 to 24,900 in 1910.

The fact is that the people who make our laws are very different people from those on whom our laws press most heavily. Not only so, but our legislators have, for the most part, not the smallest actual knowledge of the facts with which they deal. They may have access to volume after volume of statistics and to reports made by superior persons like themselves; but these statistics alone convey no more knowledge of the real conditions of the life of the working population than a collection of builder's specifications would convey of an English home. It is the utter unfamiliarity with the material with which they have to deal which those in charge of our affairs display, that has given rise to the growing demand for what has been called a 'business Government.' We certainly need greater business capacity in our statesmen, but we must look also for other qualities than those which are considered desirable in a director of a City company.

Our country, as Burke says, is not a thing of mere physical locality, nor ought it 'to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary or perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are dead, and those who are to be born.'

It is essential that we never let this view of our relation to the State slip from our consciousness. Such a view is necessary not only to good statesmanship but to good citizenship also. All cliques and coteries who, in pursuit of class or sectarian aims, disregard the common interest of the State, are to that extent traitors to their country and false to their race. And, in thinking of the welfare of the State, we are doing that which is best for the individuals who compose it. For, as Pythagoras said, 'the best thing we can do to a child is to make him the citizen of a country with good institutions.' Often, in the actual practice of politics, it unfortunately is not the welfare of the State which receives the greatest attention. Rather is it the noisiest and most clamorous and best organised caucus. Such warring groups will, at any rate for a long time to come, continue to exist, and the only way in which their activities can be kept within comparatively harmless bounds is by the building up of a force of public opinion determined to regard all public questions from the point of view of the national welfare.

The Party system—or its present extreme development—is responsible for much of our present political inefficiency. It leads first of all to a concentration of interest on unimportant points of difference, to the exclusion of those far more important matters on which nearly all sensible men are agreed. When, without prejudice, one endeavours to discover what are the real sentiments of ordinary people on all kinds of questions, nothing strikes one more than their essential similarity. The political labels which men wear serve not to point out their differences of opinion, but to hide their agreement. Fortunately, an increasing number of people are freeing themselves from party politics, and discarding their labels altogether. By repeated experiences they have come to mistrust the whole race of professional politicians. The fine sentiments and glowing promises shouted at them at election times are losing their effect. The fruit never seems to follow. There

is, moreover, growing up an increasing demand for real constructive legislation, for a real national policy, for statesmen who will think of their country and their country's interests, regardless of petty party gains or party losses. A demand is springing up among the thoughtful people of England that our country shall hold its place in the world honourably and securely; and also that the terrible injustice which condemns tens of thousands of English men and women to live and work and die in hopeless poverty and sordid degradation shall be ended. A feeling is spreading that with all our wealth and science it should be possible to give to politics and our social organisation such a direction that the infinite wastage which is occurring on all sides to-day might be avoided. These sentiments and demands are, so far, unorganised and vague; but as they grow in coherence they will become more insistent.

The urgent political need of the moment is in some way to unite those people who take what we may call the nationalist view —the view, that is, that while avoiding all unnecessary hardship to individuals, yet at whatever necessary cost to individuals, the business of statesmanship is to make the most of England and the people of England. But if anything is to be done sacrifices will have to be made, and vested interests will have to give way. If our patriotism means anything, the rich and the powerful and the educated should be the first to make such sacrifices as may be needful. Leaving out of account all questions of sentiment, it is clearly more economical to adopt measures of prevention than to treat failure. Even on the least unselfish grounds, wise constructive expenditure on a national scale should appeal to all prudent men. It is not really economical to allow upwards of a third of our people to grow up stunted, untrained and underfed; to house upwards of half-a-million of the inhabitants of our capital in one-room slum tenements; to allow our land steadily to go out of cultivation while thousands of Englishmen are clamouring for opportunity to work. It is not to our advantage, even to our money advantage, to raise up a generation of Englishmen ill-nourished, unskilled, and consequently devoid of enterprise and imagination, and so be driven to pay huge sums of money in housing them, later on, in workhouses and asylums, gaols and hospitals, and in providing them with weekly subsidies and bottles of medicine when they fall out of work or ill.

If we are to get the best out of the English people and the best out of England, we must provide an environment in which every individual will have real opportunity of complete development of mind and body, of finding out what work he can do, and of doing that work.

63 Harford Street, Stepney. HARRY ROBERTS.

THE GRAVE OF WILLIAM BLAKE

On Sunday the 12th of August 1827, in a little back-room on the first floor of No. 3 Fountain Court, a man lay dying, not as men are wont to die, regretful, indifferent; but with joy in his heart, brightness in his eyes, and words of happiness on his lips. As he lay, he composed songs of thanksgiving that fell 'so sweetly to the ear of his Catherine (the wife who tended him in his last hours) that when she stood to hear him, he, looking upon her most affectionately, said, 'My beloved! they are *not mine*. No! they are *not mine*!'[1] They were the songs of the angels who, during his lifetime, had always been near to applaud and encourage him in his work when men turned scornfully aside.

Loudly he sang his Hallelujahs and songs of joy, which appeared to the sadly watching woman,

> truly sublime in music and in verse; he sang . . . with true ecstatic energy and seemed so happy that he had finished his course, that he had run his race, and that he was shortly to arrive at the goal to receive the prize of his high and eternal calling. . . . His bursts of gladness made the room peal again. The walls rang and resounded with the beatific symphony.[2]

The dying man was William Blake, the Poet-Painter and Mystic. He died as he had lived, indifferent to all but spiritual things. 'My child,' he had once said, 'may God make this world to you as beautiful as he has made it to me'; yet this man, who from life had extracted a transcendental beauty, was eager to leave it that he might join the angels, whom he had averred had learned his songs and prized his pictures.

He told those about him that he was going to the country he had long wished to see. As the end approached his eyes brightened, and he sang of the things he saw in Heaven, and ceased only when, like a fleeting sigh, the breath passed from his body. Then from the chamber there went with bowed head a humble neighbour who knew that she had 'been at the death not of a man but a blessed angel.'

To this man, some of whose lyrics are admitted to be amongst the most glorious in our language, was accorded a small space in Bunhill Fields, some six feet by two, which he shared with seven others. There is no headstone to mark the resting-place

[1] 'Nollekens' Smith. [2] Frederick Tatham.

of this great Englishman, no record extant that tells more than that he was buried in a 'common grave,' that is one that is used again and again until full; and hitherto all endeavours to locate the exact spot where he lies have been unavailing. Gilchrist, his indefatigable and enthusiastic biographer, failed where a number of others have failed, not for lack of enterprise or earnest devotion, but because he was overcome by the difficulties that beset his path. Gilchrist wrote in 1863:

> Among 'the five thousand headstones' on Bunhill Fields exists none to William Blake; nothing to indicate the spot where he was buried. Smith—that is 'Nollekens' Smith—with the best intentions (and Mr. Fairholt, in the *Art Journal* for August 1858, follows him), would identify the grave as one 'numbered 80, at the distance of about twenty-five feet from the north wall.' Unfortunately that particular portion of the burial-ground was not added until 1836; in 1827 it was occupied by houses, then part of Bunhill Row. On reference to the Register, now kept at Somerset House, I find the grave to be numbered '77, east and west; 32, north and south.' This, helped by the sexton, we discover vaguely to be a spot somewhere about the middle of that division of the ground lying to the right as you enter. There is *no* identifying it further. As it was an unpurchased 'common grave' (only a nineteen-shilling fee paid) it was doubtless 'used again,' after the lapse of some fifteen years say: as must also have been the graves of those dear to him. For such had, of late years, become the uniform practice in regard to 'common graves,' the present custodian tells me, amid other melancholy detail of those good old times.

As he lay dying, Blake had been asked by his wife where he desired to be buried and whether the burial service should be conducted by a clergyman of the Church of England or Nonconformist minister. Blake's family, it must be remembered, was Swedenborgian. The reply had been that as far as he was concerned he was indifferent as to where they put him, and she could bury him 'where she pleased'; but as his 'father, mother, aunt, and brother [his beloved Robert] were buried in Bunhill Row (*sic*), perhaps it would be better to lie *there*. As to service, he should wish for that of the Church of England.'[3]

The funeral took place on the Friday following his death, the 17th of August, and the remains were followed to Bunhill Fields by George Richmond, R.A., Edward Calvert, Frederick Tatham, the last-named travelling ninety miles in order to be present. The grave was numbered, '77, east and west; 32, north and south,' and is described in the Register as 'Common.' The amount of the dues was twenty-two shillings, although for some unexplained reason twenty-three shillings was paid, according to a pencilled note in the margin of the Register. The funeral was furnished by Palmer & Son, of 175 Piccadilly, W. From that August afternoon when Blake was buried, at a cost of twenty-three shillings, all endeavours to trace the exact spot where he and his seven fellow-sojourners rest have been unavailing.

[3] Gilchrist's *Life*.

Blake was not in debt when he died, and he left a considerable quantity of drawings and books; he had a number of generous and admiring friends, yet none thought apparently that he should be saved from a 'common grave,' where men are buried as if they were so much useless, earth-encumbering rubbish. For a fee of two shillings Blake's name might have been engraved on a stone, if we are to judge by the sums paid by the relatives of other occupants of 'similar graves,' and the place of his interment would have been preserved to us, that a suitable memorial might be erected to his genius.

The grave in which Blake's body lies did not have to wait for 'some fifteen years' before being 'used again.' *Within two days of his remains being lowered into the earth those of another were placed above them*, and on the day following yet another body was placed above that. In all, the grave was used on eight occasions, three times before and four times after Blake's interment. A careful examination of the Registers gives the following interesting if repulsive details of how a 'common grave' (namely, 77 E & W; 32 N & S) was filled up:

1827 Date of Order	Name	Depth of Grave	Date of Burial	Time	Minister	Dues
Aug. 11th	Richard Thomas .	11 feet	Wed. Aug. 15th	4 P.M.	...	1 2 6
" 14th	Margaret Jones .	12 "	" " "	2.15 "	3/-	1 8 0
" 15th	Edward Sherwood	10 "	Thur. " 16th	4.30 "	3/-	1 3 0
" 17th	William Blake .	9 "	Fri. " 17th	1 "	3/-	1 2 0
" 16th	Mary Hilton . .	8 "	Sun. " 19th	2.45 "	...	18 0
" 18th	Magdalen Collin .	6 "	Tues. " 21st	12.30 "	3/-	19 0
" 20th	James Greenfield .	7 "	Mon. " 20th	5 "	3/-	1 0 0
" 24th	Rose Davis . .	5 "	Sun. " 26th	3 "	3/-	18 0

To call this Christian and decent burial is a misnomer. In time of war or plague such burials are countenanced as necessary; but without such an excuse it is nothing short of disgusting. On one occasion two bodies were lowered into this same grave within two hours of each other.

The Bunhill Fields Burial Ground, Southey's 'Campo Santo,' lies between the City Road and Bunhill Row, next to the Honourable Artillery Company's Armoury. From 1769 it has been administered by the Corporation of London. It was closed in 1852 with its 120,000 dead. Fifteen years later (1867) it was by Act of Parliament consigned to the care of the Corporation, to hold as an open space 'for ever.' And by that body it has been planted and restored 'for public resort.'

Among those interred in this Nonconformist 'God's Acre' lie De Foe, Bunyan, Henry and Richard Cromwell (grandsons of the Protector), Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood (the second husband of Bridget Cromwell), Thomas Stothard, R.A. (Blake's rival), Dr. Isaac Watts, and many other notable Dis-

senters. In the small booklet printed by order of the City Lands Committee of the Corporation the following paragraph appears about Blake:

WILLIAM BLAKE.

William Blake, a celebrated Engraver and Poet, was born in London in 1757. He was a person of eccentric character, and his etchings were remarkable for their peculiar and original manner. He died August 12, 1828 (*sic*). The exact place of his burial is not known.

The painter and the poet are here obscured by the engraver.

All round the ground are iron plates giving the numbers of the rows, the figures running from south to north, and from west to east. It is possible only approximately to locate a grave by these numbers. The method adopted in the search for Blake's grave was to arrive at a rough idea where 77 E & W; 32 N & S was situated. This done, the inscriptions on the stones within several square yards of the imaginary spot were carefully copied, frequently with the greatest possible difficulty, so weather-worn had they become. Then a reference was made to the Registers at the Guildhall. This meant journeys back and forth between the Registers and the graves; but each journey threw a little further light on the mystery, and, as the evidence became more conclusive, the interest in the work deepened. The result is the following list:

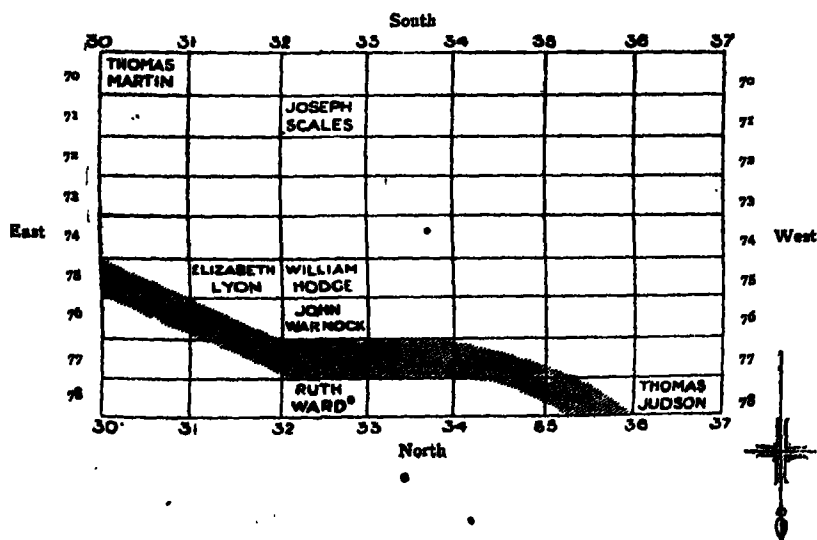
Name	Number of Grave		Date of Death	Year
	E & W	N & S		
Thomas Judson	78	36	Jan. 31st	1822
Joseph Scales	71	32-33	July 3rd	1820
William Hodge	74-75	32-33	July 28th	1818
Ruth Ward	78	33	Feb. 5th	1791
Caleb Ward	78	32-33	Jan. 2nd	1799
John Warnock	76	32-33	July 15th	1790
Thomas Martin	70	30	Mar. 18th	1790
Elizabeth Lyon	75	31	Feb. 11th	1810
Ruth Sharpe	78	32-33	June 11th	1824
Caleb Wickes	78	32-33	Oct. 31st	1820
Ann Miller Watson	74-75	32-33	Sept. 6th	1826

The only difficulty that presents itself is the somewhat loose method adopted in keeping the Registers. Sometimes graves are given a single number, sometimes a double number, North and South. East and West they are almost invariably indicated by a single number. Curiously enough exceptions to this last rule occur in two of the graves under consideration, viz., those of William Hodge and Ann Miller Watson, numbered 74—75 E & W. They must be 75 because they are next to 76 and four graves from 71. It is unlikely that they are both double graves. This may have been an alternative method of numbering, or an error. That there are errors in numbering is proved by Ruth Ward's grave being given as 33 N & S instead of 32—33 N & S. A glance at the table above will demonstrate this at once.

With regard to the positions North and South, the numbers on the plates are always from the foot to the head of each grave. Thus a body in a grave numbered 1 N & S has the plate numbered 1 in a line with the foot, and the plate numbered 2 in a line with the head of the grave. The double numbers are not always used in the Registers; but there is no room for doubt that 32—33 meant 32. A mere statement, however, is not sufficient, the point must be proved. The grave of Elizabeth Lyon is numbered 31 N & S, and it lies one grave east of the line in which those of Scales, Hodge, Warnock, and Ward are situated. If further proof be required it is to be found in the position of the grave of Thomas Martin, which is numbered 30, and which actually lies two east of the four numbered 32—33.

Thus the position North and South is proved beyond question, as a reference to the diagram below will conclusively show.

The next necessity was to locate the East and West position. The number is 77. The numbers on the walls are helpful; but cannot be accepted as definite proof. The Warnock grave is 76 and the Ward grave 78, consequently 77 must be between these two. This very simple reasoning is confirmed by the position of the Judson grave, and is placed beyond the most remote shadow of doubt by the fact that Elizabeth Lyon's grave is 75 E & W; 31 N & S, and that of Blake 77 E & W; 32 N & S. An asphalted path now covers the spot where Blake lies. There is no indication of this path on the plan of the Burial Ground at the office of the City Surveyor. It is consequently of comparatively recent construction.

The following rough sketch will be of assistance as illustrating the foregoing; the path is indicated by the shading:

It was strange that Blake's friends should allow him to be buried in a manner only one degree removed from that of a pauper; but it was natural that Mrs. Blake should ordain to be interred with 'the same funeral decorations' as her husband. She left certain property behind her (drawings, pictures, and manuscripts of Blake), and from the sale of these sufficient might have been realised to have bought the small plot of ground where she might lie in the sacred quiet that is the inalienable right of the dead. She died on the 18th of October 1831, a little over four years after the man whom she had served and loved in a way that drew from Swinburne the finest tribute ever paid by a poet to a woman—'The most perfect wife on record.' Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Tatham, who were the legatees, were present as chief mourners. There were also present Mr. and Mrs. George Richmond, 'Mr. Bird, painter, and Mr. Denham, sculptor,'[4] and they saw 'the remains of this irradiated saint,' as Tatham describes her, lowered into a grave *that an hour later was to receive another body*. Gilchrist states that she 'was buried beside her husband in Bunhill Fields.' In no sense is this true, for her grave is in the next row, viz., '31—32, North and South'; and is seventy graves away, being numbered 7, East and West. There is no stone marking her grave, and she has indeed received 'the same funeral decorations' as her husband.

The Registers furnish the following particulars as to the interment:

Date of Order	Name	Depth of Grave	Date of Burial	Time	Minister	Dues
1831 Oct. 20th	Catherine Sophia Blake, 17 Upper Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	12 feet	Sun. Oct. 23rd	3 P.M.	3/-	1 8 0

The undertaker was Mr. Balls, of Oxford Street, W.

Of the other interments in the grave the details are as below:

Name	Depth of Grave	Date of Burial	Time
Richard Chick . .	11 feet	Oct. 23rd	4 P.M.
William Butlin . .	10 "	" 27th	4 "
Ann Cleaton . . .	8 "	" 28th	4 "
Susanna Smith . .	7 "	" 30th	3.30 "
George Northam . .	6 "	Nov. 5th	3 "

[4] Tatham so gives their names. 'Mr. Bird, painter,' may be Edward Bird, R.A., or Isaac F. Bird, of Exeter, whose address at that period, according to the Royal Academy records, was 37 London Street, Fitzroy Square. Of Mr. Denham, sculptor, I find no trace. There was a Thomas Denman, who exhibited at the Royal Academy 1815-1836. There was also John Charles Denham, painter, 'an Honorary Exhibitor' at the Royal Academy 1796-1858.

When the inquiries that have resulted in the locating of Blake's grave were first instituted, a preliminary visit was paid to Bunhill Fields. The uniformed keeper, assuming that something more than common curiosity was the cause of such elaborate and mysterious movements and notes, approached and inquired if he could be of any assistance. On hearing what it was that had inspired the search, he smiled pleasantly but sceptically, remarking:

'Ah! many comes here, sir, lookin' for Blake's grave, more for his and Bunyan's than for any others; but no one knows where he was buried!'

It was a miserable afternoon of rain and gloom and despair, with short intervals during which the rain held off; yet in spite of the weather, and as if to prove the keeper's words, a few minutes later a visitor approached, guide-book in hand, and with the inflection of the Western States inquired for 'the grave of William Blake.'

To the City Surveyor, Mr. Sydney Perks, in particular are the writer's thanks due for the courtesy with which he has answered inquiries, and also to his staff. At the Guildhall Library the Librarians, as soon as they heard the reason of the search, readily brushed aside red tape and allowed an unlimited supply of the Registers to be had up at one time. The keeper and deputy-keeper of Bunhill Fields also showed a ready and intelligent interest in the search, and helped to the best of their ability.

It now remains for lovers of Blake's work and admirers of his genius to erect a suitable monument in Bunhill Fields, and thus remove the reproach that we permit our poets and painters to be buried in 'common graves.' Blake received but scant recognition during his lifetime; let us rear to his memory a fitting monument that shall in some degree compensate for the indifference of his contemporaries. Such a proceeding would be in strict accordance with the literary traditions of our country, where we neglect our poets *pour encourager les autres*.

HERBERT JENKINS.
(*Herbert Ives.*)

'LA FORCE NOIRE'

THE DANGER TO FRANCE OF HER BLACK ARMY

In 1884 the French inaugurated an African policy, which, when carried to its logical conclusion, will affect Europe more than anything that has happened for centuries.

We have been interested lately by the French official publications dealing with the diplomatic moves and counter-moves which resulted in the Franco-German War. By the aid of these publications the 'man in the crowd' can now follow the national plots and counter-plots, step by step, and verify his intelligent guesses as to what had taken place behind the scenes years before even diplomats of European standing suspected the aims and plans of Prussia.

In like manner it is probable that some official publication (say the French Yellow-book of 1940) may inform the world of the secret commissions and reports dealing with the inception of the creation of 'La Force Noire,' that Black Force which is to raise France to the position of the supreme world-Power. Our successors may then learn of the eager hunt after 'ways and means' to consummate the 'Revenge,' and the panic of successive French Governments on being confronted with the ever-increasing might and population of the German Empire, and the decadence of their own. They will learn the names of those military patriots who first induced the French Inner Circle of the time to permit the formation of the first Senegalese Regiment in 1884.

Let us, for the moment, limit ourselves to an intelligent guess of the summary submitted to the Parliamentary War Budget Committee in 1909.

'Your predecessors in 1883 having agreed to the formation of a Senegalese Regiment of four battalions for the purpose of securing the "hinterland" of our colony, the secret plans of the Supreme Government were put into execution, and officers commanding in West Africa received orders to conquer all the countries between the Senegal, the Congo, and the Nile not occupied by European Powers. We considered it of paramount importance to concentrate our efforts on the thickly populated countries skirting the southern fringe of the Sahara, both by reason of the warlike character of their inhabitants, as well as

their affording us the most rapid approach towards the Nile. We knew that the destruction of the Mahdi's power by the English was only a question of time, and hoped to establish ourselves on the White Nile before they reached Omdurman. The Supreme Government, though fully aware of the hostile feeling which our success would arouse among the English, sanctioned our plans for the following, among other reasons:

'1. That we should destroy the extension of the Senoussi influence in the "hinterland" of Turkish Africa.

'2. As the alternations in British policy were proverbial, it might happen that the re-conquest of the Soudan would either be abandoned, or at least so long delayed, that we might have time to consolidate our power to such an extent that the British would accept the accomplished fact.

'3. As it was our fixed determination to ally ourselves with England for the purpose of securing our communications with North and West Africa, there would be no danger of a collision with the English, as we had decided to abandon the White Nile if necessary, and Col. Marchand had strict orders to adopt a neutral attitude in the event of contact with either an Anglo-Egyptian force or any expedition which might be launched by the British from their Uganda Protectorate.

'4. Our consent to abandon the Nile would induce the British Government to sanction the rest of our conquests.

'It is not necessary to trouble you with the Fashoda incident, as it is of common knowledge, and it is only referred to in order to prove the continuity of our policy, and that your executive had foreseen and provided against all contingencies.

'By the end of 1908 our six or seven thousand Black troops, and the temporary contingents of auxiliaries raised locally, enabled the handful of French commissioned and non-commissioned officers to conquer a territory larger than Europe, with an estimated minimum population of twenty millions, including at least a million warriors capable of being incorporated in our army.

'The time has now arrived to raise our Black Force to 20,000 on a peace footing, which will mean 70-100,000 on a war footing, and an organisation which will enable us to increase that force very quickly and to an enormous extent.

'As it is obvious that the sanction of Parliament to this increase of our Black Force may arouse distrust among our own people as well as "others," it has been decided to authorise the publication (unofficially) of a work compiled by Lieut.-Col. Mangin, which is herewith submitted. The committee will notice that the scheme is presented as a temporary one for bridging the interval required for restoring the birth-rate by means therein set forth, and it is hoped that the very able arguments in favour of this

policy will allay public suspicion for the time being, and strengthen our military position to such an extent that when your executive next appeals to Parliament, say ten years hence, they will be able to sanction our whole plan openly and without fear.'

The book itself is devoted:

1. To an exposition of the relative birth-rate among the European nations, with 33.9 per 1,000 in Germany against 19.6 in France, with a consequent decrease of 86,000 conscripts in the annual contingent for 1928.

2. To the value of Blacks as fighting machines in the annals of ancient Egypt, the Eastern and Western Kaliphates, under Mehemet Ali, etc.; and lastly, by a summary of the French campaigns in northern Equatorial Africa, where a handful of French officers with some 12,000 Blacks conquered a territory more extensive than Europe, with a warlike population capable of strengthening the French Army by a million men, equally good as 'Horse, Foot, Gunners, Sailors, Engineers, Navvies, etc.' —'men without nerves but plenty of blood.'

Throughout the narrative of the conquest of Africa, highly-coloured as it may be both by the temperament and design of the gallant and astute writer, the one fact which stands out above all others is the desperate bravery, the calculated recklessness, and the unhesitating self-sacrifice of the French officers. Ever in the thickest of the fray, always first in the breach, blazing the trail with their own blood, hugging death to their breasts with both arms. Never has a country produced better men or more gallant soldiers. May their souls rest in peace!

3. To various remedies for increasing the French birth-rate by subventions to families rearing more than three children; by dismissing officials who remain unmarried at twenty-five; by educating school girls to regard a prolific maternity as their supreme duty to the *patrie*, and, generally, by inducing all patriots to change habits and characters which it has taken ages to evolve. These suggested remedies are all based on the assumption that 'artificial sterility' is the prime cause of the national decadence.

4. To the organisation of the Black and Brown (Arab-Berber) Forces. Algeria and Tunis can furnish some 600,000 warriors of the best type, but, as they are Moslems and without political rights, it would be dangerous to use them. It is therefore proposed to establish the Black Fetishers in Algeria—to prevent a Moslem rising—and to draft 100,000 Moslems for service in specially selected camps in *France;* care being taken to prevent the Fetishers being contaminated by Mohammedanism, in order to preserve their virtues as—disciplined savages.

The result aimed at in *this* scheme is to hurl 100,000 Arabs and 40,000 Blacks into the first battle, which would take place at the

end of the third week after the declaration of war. Fully confident that the 'allies' of France would hold the Atlantic open for the transportation of her Black Legions, and that the French Fleet would be strong enough to hold the Mediterranean, the battle-shock of those 140,000 men should be sufficient to win the first great victory.

5. To an apology for the use of 'savages' against Europeans, by the allegation that the allies used Cossacks, Kirghiz, and Kalmucks against France in 1814 and 1815, that the Prussians had used conquered Hanoverians, South Germans, Danes and Poles for conquering Alsace-Lorraine, and that the British, Russians, and Dutch hold their distant possessions by the aid of 'native' troops. That British Indian troops, and more particularly the Sikhs, were used in Egypt, Somaliland, East Africa, the Transvaal (!), and China.

He meets objections to the expense of the scheme by saying: 'If it is necessary to spend two million sterling a year in bringing 100,000 Algerians and 100,000 Blacks to the coming battlefield, no nation would hesitate, and we shall not hesitate. When this evidence shall have penetrated, nobody in France will dream of opposing the creation of Black troops.'

In conclusion Col. Mangin draws a glowing picture of a happy and prosperous France extending from the Channel to the Congo, with a hundred million blacks absorbing the manufactured products of the Fatherland, and supplying it in return with inexhaustible treasures of raw material, including rice, cotton, gold, petroleum, railway dividends and—rubber.

The scheme of Col. Mangin is put forward as a temporary expedient to bridge over the next thirty years, during which time the French nation is to become regenerated, and breed like Slavs and Hungarians.

I neither believe that the French will increase their birth-rate nor that their Government, which is actually organising the Black Force, believes it.

There is no historical precedent of a dying nation restoring its lessening fecundity by abolishing its causes, such as love of ease and pleasure, dread of self-sacrificing responsibility, and also the very natural desire of those who have accumulated savings to leave their offspring in a better position than themselves. The past teaches us that in all countries and all ages it is the classes forming the upper minority who perish for want of direct heirs, and that it is the poor and needy who keep a nation alive. Col. Mangin states that a register of nobles was drawn up in Sweden in 1626 on which were inscribed 3083 families, and that six generations later 2324 of these had become extinguished through lack of male heirs. An analysis of such a body as our House of

Peers shows that if all new creations had been stopped in England in 1700 and no Irish or Scottish Representative Peers elected, the House of Lords would now muster—exclusive of Princes of the Blood and the Lords Spiritual—less than 40 members. Can it for a moment be claimed that such wholesale extinctions were due to 'artificial sterility'?

As long as those upper layers of a nation form only a small portion of the whole, their sterility is more than counterbalanced by the fertility of the large majority, which is more exposed to the buffets of want. When a high degree of civilisation and comfort is reached by the mass of a nation, the area of sterility becomes enlarged in proportion to that aristocratic mass, and the extinction of the whole becomes merely a question of time, unless, during the period of decay, some universal and cataclysmic event should happen which shall strip the race of everything it has cherished, and hurl the remnant back into that primeval struggle which had first fashioned and breathed the breath of national life into it. Modern wars among civilised nations would have no such effect, and it is difficult to imagine a catastrophe of sufficient magnitude, under the sway of our present humanitarianism. History, however, furnishes sign-posts. France was undoubtedly decadent towards the end of the fourteenth century, and obtained a fresh lease of life by the 'blood and fire' calamities which seared, and scorched, and harrowed her from end to end, and changed her position from that of one of the three great Powers of the time to that of an English province. The poor remnant, without natural chiefs and leaders worthy of the name, tempered by gaunt hunger and the merciless cruelty of the fierce men of prey who had turned their fair country into a slaughterhouse, commenced that desperate struggle which culminated in the incredible triumph of the Maid of Orleans. In this age of humanitarianism, similar causes cannot arise to produce like effects, and France could only be scourged into life by either a monstrous upheaval from within, or by becoming the prey of hordes of Arab-Berber Moors and Pagan Blacks.

The appeals to her religious instincts only beat the wind. Her religious *spirit* is dead beyond the hope of resurrection.

Col. Mangin's constant reference to 'artificial' sterility being the cause of depopulation is entirely misleading. This is not the place for discussing so unsavoury a subject, but, in my opinion, artificiality plays but a small part. It is the relaxation during several generations of the laws of conventional morality, and the diversion of natural instincts into by-paths of erotic ecstasy, which not only prevents the birth of children, but fashions men and, in a lesser degree, women incapable of becoming parents.

This congenital sterility is now patent in France, the aristo-

cracy of European nations, but it is already affecting all but the Slavs, and, in a century at most, will become the burning question among all the Teutonic, Celtic, and Latin races both in Europe, America, and the Antipodes.

In view of the ever-decreasing birth-rate, Col. Mangin's proposed remedies appear to be utterly unconvincing. It is futile to suppose that the State functionaries will suddenly begin to breed on such a vast scale within the next dozen years as to make an appreciable difference to the nation, and I am not convinced that either Col. Mangin or any other Frenchman really believes it.

Twenty or thirty years hence, when the Arab-Berber and Black armies shall have become an accomplished fact, General Mangin, as he will be then, may write :

'Our hopes and efforts to increase the birth-rate having failed, it becomes our urgent duty to safeguard the Fatherland by the introduction of the conscription into all our territories. Arabs, Berbers, Kabyles, Touaregs, Blacks, Indo-Chinese, Malagasis, &c., are all children of France and burn with desire to fight for our common *patrie*. In view of our neighbour's increase of trained forces on a peace-footing and our own decrease it becomes imperative not only to equalise this dangerous disparity, but to give us such a margin of safety as shall compel our neighbours to give up all hope of diminishing our power and glory. It is proposed that all the North African conscripts shall serve their two years with the colours in France, and the Black Forces in North Africa. This will increase our Army to nearly a million men in Europe on a peace-footing, and over half a million in North Africa, who could be brought into the fighting line within three weeks.

'Frenchmen will understand and not grudge us the necessary millions of money, especially when they consider the enormous wealth which has accrued to the nation from having the monopoly of trade in domains nearly twice as large as Europe, and a population of fifty million people who consume the manufactures of the *patrie* and supply us with their exhaustless treasure of raw material. Frenchmen will laugh to scorn the suspicion that the Arab-Berbers will be used in internal commotions. They will remember that Rome ruled the world for four hundred years by means of legions raised from among her former enemies. The yelping of the German gutter Press at our having placed fifty thousand Arabs on our Eastern frontier will be sufficient to convince every French patriot that our proposals offer a final solution of the problem whether France is to retain its rank as a world Power.'

Col. Mangin's apology for the use of 'coloured' people is backed by analogies which do not stand the test of investigation. His constant appeals to the Kaliphs' use of Black troops are

entirely misleading. The Black forces used by various Kaliphs both in the East and West were developed partly from an extension of their household guards (eunuchs), and later for the purpose of maintaining their despotic rule over their own subjects. I know of no instance where a Black army was used for the purpose of either national offence or defence. The armies which swept like hurricanes across the face of the Old World were composed of Arabs and kindred races. Those, no doubt, included negroes, but these fought as volunteer Moslems, and not as organised mercenaries. Islam recognises no distinction of colour among its votaries, and a Moslem Black, Brown, Yellow, or White could attain any position to which his talents entitled him. Negro slaves on making a public confession of the Faith became free men, and as such fought in the ranks of the other Believers. The practice of purchasing newly imported negroes and (after emasculation) organising them as Imperial Guards and what not, marked the end of individual liberty and the decay and death of the Arabian world-power.

At no period, either in ancient, mediæval, or modern history, has the Black been of assistance in raising any white or brown people to eminence. Save in their own districts and for local purposes we never come across them in organised bodies under white leadership without finding tyranny and decay writ large on the scenes of their activity.

Moslem Arabs and Fetish Blacks will never become reconciled and absorbed by French sentiment. They will serve France against the foreigner as faithfully and zealously as our own Sikhs, but they will obey their French military chiefs with equal zeal and fidelity when directed against the French themselves.

It is all very well for Col. Mangin to claim that the Algerian Regiment stationed in France has never been used in internal commotions, but a regiment is not an army, and its use could never have compensated either Napoleon III. or the Third Republic for the national resentment its employment would have entailed. It is permissible to foresee the rise of a Buonaparte-Boulanger, and to speculate on the use such a leader would make of half a million Algerians on French soil, and half a million Blacks within three days' sail of Marseilles. 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity' would become as unmarketable as the individual political freedom of the Roman plebeian in the heyday of Nero's power. H. G. Wells's dream (in 'The Sleeper Awakened') of using Senegalese police to crush 'white trash' might then be realised.

To prove his 'artificial sterility' theory Col. Mangin cites the Canadian French as an example of French virility, as they have doubled in number every twenty-eight years since 1763, quite

overlooking the fact that they are descendants of men and women who for several generations were exposed to exceptional stress and struggle, as also the very considerable absorption of aboriginal male 'converts'; that they are, in fact, a hybrid race, and only 'French' by tradition and education.

Whatever scheme the French may adopt short of actual hybridisation will be based on the assumption that vigour can be the offspring of impotency, and (I crave pardon for so poor a simile) that they can by mixing liquids of varying degrees of muddiness produce a crystal-clear fluid.

Is the French nation still capable of placing itself under such conditions as shall intensify its struggle for existence, and, by exposing itself to a fierce struggle with other nations, harden its moral and material fibre to such an extent as to bring about the natural reaction of stress and struggle—Progeny? Are they capable of destroying the wall they have built round themselves and opening their country to the swarms of immigrants they need? I think not.

The present inhabitants of France have been born into and become enervated by an atmosphere of seclusion from the storms which brace most of the other nations. Protection—not merely in its fiscal but in the wider sense of the term—has become the breath of its life. The incapacity to 'struggle' turns most of them into either functionaries or candidates for functionarism. Their whole-hearted desire to 'secure' themselves by means of and at the expense of the State, in order to avoid the struggle for a livelihood, has shaped their present social and political structure.

Exclusive of the civil police force, Col. Mangin estimates the functionaries at 700,000! As there must be at least 300,000 picked men in their police forces, we are confronted with the fact that one out of every thirteen adult males draws his living from the State. In other words, that every twelve families of non-functionaries have to support the upkeep of a family of functionaries! This enormous drain on the 'producers' necessitates special methods in order to enable the 'twelve' to cope with it. Among the methods adopted, that of giving the monopoly of the home market to their own producers is the most important. But the securing of that monopoly has brought about a shrinkage in their foreign trade, which has in its turn been overcome by, first, the acquisition of fresh territory, and, second, inclusion within the ring-fence of the national monopoly. But as the same costly system of 'functionaries' is grafted on their newly acquired dominions the vicious circle becomes larger and larger, and the logical sequence will be either the creation on a vast scale of profit-bearing dependencies of the type of the Congo Free State or

National Communism. As the latter is unthinkable, we are driven to the conclusion that Col. Mangin's frequent references to the Roman Empire postulate its corollary—viz. that France by means of a vast number of savage and half-savage legions can keep itself going for several centuries—by living on other nations.

It would be impertinent on the part of any outsider to advise the 'aristocrats' among nations on the course they are to pursue, and the suggestions I am about to set down are merely the passing thoughts of a spectator.

Col. Mangin states that there are still visible traces of the infusion of Arab blood in the Southern Provinces, and recognises the value of that mixture, in spite of the attenuating effects of a thousand years. France has expended untold treasure in futile attempts to create a new French nation in Algeria. Why not reverse the experiment? Would it not be practicable to offer special advantages to young men of pure Arab and Kabyle blood to settle in France? As there appears to be no limit to their State activity, could they not devise some system of State 'dots' for French maidens marrying vigorous young Arabs who shall have attained some specified standard of education or craftsmanship, or both? French culture and genius would undoubtedly assimilate the new blood inside a generation, and the sound of children's laughter would again be heard in her southern provinces.

Then there are the myriads of Poles now flocking into the slums of America who could so easily be induced to settle on the broad bosom of Fair France, where there must be room for at least twenty million additional people. The Poles, besides confessing the nominal religion of the French, are known to be specially susceptible to French culture and civilisation, and their bountiful enthusiasm and vigour would act and react beneficially in a thousand ways.

Col. Mangin cites the case of some Picardy men settled at Mardyk under Louis XIV., whose descendants still receive grants of marsh land on marrying. Their increase has been steady throughout the eight generations which have elapsed.

Is not this a fine example of 'stress' and 'hybridisation'? 'Stress,' in that each generation had to reclaim its bit of marsh, and 'hybridisation' by procuring male stock from a distance.

Would it not be worth while trying a number of similar schemes in those districts which are the worst in respect of the birth-rate? It is not essential to confine it either to marsh lands or granitic plateaus, nor to land at all. The French genius for organisation will discover numberless baits by which to attract the Norman into the Midi, the Breton into Champagne, the

prolific frontiersmen of Savoy, Bearn, and the Vosges to her Central and Western districts, etc. etc.

I shall not attempt to elaborate these and similar suggestions, because they entail an increased struggle for life and a lower standard of luxury, with less State 'security,' for the generation which shall put such schemes into execution. I confess that I am utterly lacking in faith in the possibility of French regeneration. Their dreams of military glory and the exploitation of subject races—first in Africa and next in Europe—will drive them to become even more of a Berserk nation than they were under Napoleon the Great, thereby bringing about their final destruction. On the other hand, should their love of ease and dislike to be hustled have become so natural to them as to scare them into refusing to sanction the full scheme of the 'Death or Glory' party, they will perish from inanition. Death will not come suddenly and with blare of trumpets. France is old, and will go through the regular stages of old age, senility, and death. Her good and evil deeds will leave the impress of her genius and gallantry on future races, but none will miss her. By that time 'knowledge shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.' No dying nation is indispensable to the great human race.

I shall now try to expose the futility of Col. Mangin's scheme, and endeavour to show that its creators have exaggerated the value of the Blacks; overrated their own enthusiasm and resources; and underrated those of Germany. For though that Empire is never referred to directly as the enemy, it is Germany and the Revenge which the French militarists refer to as 'that which we all hope.'

The preliminary portions of the scheme are contingent on their 'allies' keeping the sea open for their transports between Senegal and French and Algerian ports. As *ententes*, however *cordiales*, are very seldom lasting, it is proposed to keep the present one going for all it is worth until they can do without it. That is to say, until this country has become so trustful as to leave the Mediterranean entirely under French control and a railway connects Algeria with Central Africa. A 'feeler' was put out lately with regard to the Mediterranean. A paragraph went round the French and British Press pointing out the interest this country had in concentrating its fleets in our home waters, and assigning the duty of guarding the Mediterranean, *including Malta and Gibraltar*—to France. Lord Charles Beresford having scouted the idea of delegating any other Power, however friendly, to discharge our obligations as a world Power, a French Admiral was put up immediately to echo these noble sentiments. As the 'feeler' in question relates to a real part of the 'La Force Noire et Brune' scheme, we shall hear of it again.

To create a huge Black and Brown force—for without the Blacks in Algiers they dare not utilise the Arab-Berbers—with the sources of supply and reserve separated from France by nearly 2000 miles of ocean, and from Algiers by 1500 miles of desert, would perforce mean that those weapons could not be drawn without Britain's permission. As the *Entente* would secure their freedom of action for several years, it is deemed feasible to organise those forces at once, and at the same time become independent of the Atlantic route by connecting Central Africa with Algiers. It is not worth while to speculate on the greater suitability of any one of the four great caravan roads which connect the seventh parallel of northern latitude with the thirty-second, as we can already see the one they have selected.

It has been somewhat of a puzzle to many why French encroachments on the eastern Moroccan frontier should always end in shaving off a thin strip, running north and south, instead of scooping out a solid chunk.

The answer is, of course, that they see no immediate necessity for rousing the Moroccan hornets' nest about their ears, and that the clatter and splash within hearing of Europe was merely to deaden the sound of the more distant strife. The easiest and most strategical road to the South (excepting that through Turkish Africa) lies just within the Moorish frontier, and they have already taken possession of it as far as Igli, about 500 miles due south from their Mediterranean Port of Oran. Railhead is now actually approaching Igli, and as soon as that place is reached we shall hear of another 'Kroumir' tribe of Moorish freebooters, and their suppression by the occupation of the very tip of South-eastern Morocco, across which the railway must run in order to avoid the jagged gorges and scattered hill-ranges of the Wady Saura. From Igli to Timbuctoo—westwards to Souat and thence southwards, as close to the ancient caravan route as the levels will permit, across the Oases of Tuat (or Taudeni) and Arauan—the railway will stretch for 1350 miles. Timbuctoo will form the main junction, whence railways will radiate westwards to the Atlantic, eastwards to the hinterland of Tripoli, and finally right down to French Congo. There is nothing imaginary about these vast schemes, as the 2500 miles between the Atlantic and the Gulf of Guinea have not only been surveyed, but at least 900 miles of rail and 600 miles of permanent way have actually been completed.

On the principle of first catching their hares, they are devoting more money and energy on the railways traversing the Black recruiting-field than on the desert route, as the latter will be easier to construct when the Blacks become organised on a more extended scale: those valuable Blacks who make such splendid

soldiers as well as 'navvies, blacksmiths, carpenters, platelayers, engine drivers, &c.'

As at least 3500 miles of railway must be built before France can become independent of British complacency in the Atlantic, France is faced with an expenditure of at least seventeen million sterling, if they can do it as cheaply as our cheapest Soudanese lines, or fifty million sterling if they adopt the usual French monopoly system. As it would take about fifteen years to complete about 2000 miles of West to East railway, and from Igli to Timbuctoo, even the larger figure would only entail an annual expenditure of between three and four million sterling, a sum which can be made to look very small, or even hidden entirely, in a National Budget which will soon reach two hundred millions sterling.

Assuming that by the time the *Entente* cools down France has managed to plant 50,000 Algerian troops in Europe and a like number of Blacks in Algeria, a fortnight's 'strained relations' with Germany would give her time to transport to Marseilles and Toulon (in 100,000 tons of shipping) 200,000 Algerian and Tunisian Reserves (with guns, horses, &c.) and 30,000 Blacks from Dakkar and Port Louis to Bordeaux, and at the same time reinforce Algeria, by rail, with some 50,000 Black Reserves. If the French should have been entrusted with guarding Gibraltar and Malta, they could even, in the event of British neutrality, hold the Western Mediterranean tightly closed for at least a month, and enable them to pour another 400,000 Black and Brown troops into France and fill up the gaps in Algiers with the raw black levies.

In short, a month after the declaration of war, the French Army, with its mobilised trained Reserves, of two and a half million men, would be reinforced by some 700,000 'coloured' patriots, giving her a superiority of some 600,000 over Germany, whose *present* standing army and trained Reserves muster about 2,600,000 men. If France were to be lucky enough to destroy the fleets of the allies, she would, of course, be free to make good the wastage in her fighting-line by continuous shipments of Blacks from Algiers, but the survival of even a few hostile cruisers, operating from Italian fortified bases, would render it too risky to transport more than a battalion or two at a time. She would therefore be compelled to crush Germany with the 3,300,000 troops then in France, and her practically obsolete remaining Reserve of about 400,000 Frenchmen.

Even if it is accepted as granted that France can screen the formation of a large force of Blacks from European knowledge by the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara, it is absurd to suppose that Germany would remain ignorant of her organisation in France and

Algeria, and rest content with her own military establishment on its present footing.

Germany's present army on a war-footing is a picked force of 2,600,000 men, but if they decide on adopting the French method of enrolling the manhood of the nation, they have a reserve of 5,000,000 untrained men to draw from. Assuming—and it is a large assumption—that Germany will fear to embark on a war of aggression for the purpose of crushing France before the latter can complete her enlarged organisation, common prudence will decide them to increase their annual contingent of recruits to at least the same extent as the Algerian and Black contingents.

It is obvious that her reserve of 5,000,000 men will prove of greater utility to her than the Brown-Blacks will be to France. Not only from the point of view of numbers, but also in quality and sentiment. Valuable as the Blacks may be, and even accepting Col. Mangin's estimate of their heroism and endurance, it should not be forgotten that from ten to twenty millions of their equals, fairly well armed, and spread over a territory twice as large as Europe, were conquered by a handful of Senegalese under French officers. To me, it is inconceivable that such a force could conquer the most timid of white races under similar conditions. It indicates a decided inferiority in the warlike qualities of Blacks. The Arab-Berbers are probably equal to any race in possessing the characteristics of a warrior caste, but even they are only able to give of their best under the stimulus of religious enthusiasm. As such a stimulus will not be aroused in fighting for one unbeliever against another, we may assume that German sentiment, roused to fever heat by the use against them of ruthless Fetishers and bloodthirsty Moslems, will turn this vast reserve into a danger to France, greater than the safety she can hope to insure by the use of alien, and—say what she will—hostile races.

One cannot imagine Germany to stand by passively and view the full fruition of the French scheme. They will either increase their own trained forces, or, if it should suit them better, crush France long before that scheme becomes a real danger. In such a case what would become of the *Entente cordiale*? Should we feel in honour bound to defend France against such 'aggression'? I think not, because it would be a mere quibble to call German action under such provocation 'aggressive.' On the contrary, the organisation of so formidable an engine of destruction as is contemplated by the French Inner Circle would be quite as aggressive as a declaration of war, and entirely opposed to the spirit of prudence and peaceful intent which dictated the *Entente cordiale* with ourselves.

'Are we then to view our decline with indifference,' the French might retort to these arguments, 'and permit Germany

to destroy us whenever it suits her?' Even assuming that Germany covets more French territory, which is, at least, very doubtful, I think I have shown that the French 'Force Noire' will not enable them to thwart German covetousness, and that it behoves them to elaborate some other plan.

Col. Mangin assumes too much when he says that European armies, as military machines, are practically equal in value, and that, therefore, superiority of numbers becomes the prime factor. On the contrary, I think that the vast numbers enrolled in modern Continental armies reduce the tactical value of their units, and that they are far inferior as fighting machines to many of the armies of the past, when judged by the standard of comparative science and mechanics applicable to each period. To mention only a few, the Roman Legions, the Yeni Cheries (Ianissarys), the Great Companies of Mediaeval Europe, and the Army of Cromwell, were each in its own best period far superior weapons of offence to any present-day Continental army. Many military students are convinced that 100,000 really well-trained troops, equipped with the best which modern science could furnish, would have no more difficulty in dealing with the whole of Europe than Col. Mangin's gallant comrades in annexing the French Soudan. That is to say, that if France cared to concentrate her present efforts and expenditure on her declining armies, their gain in increased efficiency would more than compensate their lessening numbers, and render them a more formidable opponent than at present, for at least another fifty years. Besides that, as long as Britain is convinced of her pacific intentions, the British world-Power will stand beside her, if not 'in shining armour,' at least in the grey of her 'Thunderers' and the khaki of her free men. No reasonable Frenchman can fail to admit that the increase of their own efficiency and the whole-hearted support of the British Empire is of greater moral and material value than hordes of Fetishers and subject Arab-Berbers.

The formation of 'La Force Noire' would be a sign and a token of French aggressiveness and 'The Revenge.'

Leaving Europe out of the question, could we feel secure in our African dominions with Franco-Black armies all along the thousands of miles of Anglo-French frontiers? Whether the French scheme succeeded or not, our African dominions might be overwhelmed by the Black Deluge.

If France crushed Germany, the French 'fury' of conquest and glory would know no bounds. If they suffered defeat, we should have to provide against the Napoleonic temperament of one or other of her generals who may be tempted to create Black Empires out of the ruins.

The contact of Black and White may raise the former, but it

undoubtedly lowers the latter. Most white men who have lived among Blacks deteriorate rapidly, and imbibe the fatalistic and other objectionable traits of the Black. White women are almost entirely immune from such influence, because physiological reasons (well understood in the United States) unfit the majority of them from being attracted by black men.

Col. Mangin relates that a young French officer raised the standard of revolt against his *patrie* and ordered his Blacks to shoot down his superior. In this case, as soon as the Blacks discovered that they had murdered their superior officer, they slew their rebel leader. But what would have happened if the superior himself had been the guilty party? This is not the time and place for such speculation, but we should no doubt have to provide against such contingencies. Our sea-power, however great, would be of no avail against a Franco-Fetish army, with its base in Northern Equatorial Africa, and we, too, should be driven to organise our 40,000,000 Blacks.

Germany, too, controls some six to ten million Blacks, whom she might be tempted to militarise, not only in order to defend the Cameroons and Tongoland, but to serve as a counter-irritant to the whole French scheme.

The white man would thus become a 'civilising' agent with a vengeance. Africa would become an armed camp, and might become a shambles of unparalleled magnitude.

I have touched but lightly on the probable consequences which would result from the formation of 'La Force Noire et Brune,' merely attempting to point out that it would be a menace to France herself, useless against Germany, dangerous to our African possessions, and probably fatal to the mass of the black nations, who, once they have become used to war against the white man, may have to be destroyed without mercy. I am not arguing against the employment of a Black Force adequate for the pacification and upkeep of the French Soudan, but against the wholesale formation of Black armies on the vast scale hinted at by Lieut.-Col. Mangin and his superiors. It is no concern of ours if France chooses to enfranchise her Arab-Berbers, and, having endowed them with French citizenship, calls upon them to fulfil the duties as well as enjoy the privileges of citizenship; but I protest against their being transported from their country like chained tigers, to be loosed against Europeans.

It is the duty of our Government to watch closely and give our allies timely warning. The Black Peril is already being forged and tempered, and it may very soon be too late for our friends to accept our advice without loss of dignity. Those who share the views of the military party must be given to understand that a decadent nation will not be permitted to ape the policy of Rome

in her decay; that Rome was kept going, at least in name, because of her absolute necessity of preventing hordes of Barbarians from destroying civilisation, and that the use of semi-barbarian legions was justified because they were used against wholly savage invaders. It is absurd to claim that these Fetishers would raise the civilisation of Europe, as it is equally obvious that the extinction of France would not greatly hinder the steady progress of the white races. There exist several Roman Empires in our day, and the gradual death of one of them would make but little difference to the rest. Let us strengthen the bonds of mutual friendship, and assure them that, whatever be their numbers, as long as they remain true to their gallant traditions and high civilisation, they may count on the whole-hearted support of Britain; but let them also be warned, frankly and amicably, that we shall not stand by and see a people to whom we are bound by ties of sentiment and common ancestry exposed to the fury of Moslems untainted by Christianity or Atheism, and Black Devils uncontaminated by Islamism.

MAX MONTESOLE.

Postscript.—In the March number of the *National Review* there appeared an 'apologia' by M. Philippe Millet, which was intended to accustom the British to accept the accomplished fact, and to anticipate any objections that might be raised. M. Millet was, however, too astute to use Col. Mangin's pleading for a Black Force of uncorrupted Fetishism, of 'plenty of blood and no nerves.' That argument was intended to influence Frenchmen with plenty of nerves and very little blood. Britain, on the other hand, must be told that the Black is probably as humane as the White. M. Millet, being a gifted journalist (he is now Colonial Editor of *Le Temps*), felt instinctively that arguments in support of such a case must, necessarily, be contradictory and entangling, so he laughed pleasantly at sentimental critics, and tried to console us with the reflection that we lived in a world where 'right and civilisation count for nothing in war,' and that the French 'Black Force policy' will be a further strengthening of the ties between France and England; a diplomatic way of saying that the protection of the British Fleet is of prime importance to French ambition.

And the most saddening fact is that M. Millet's plea for calling upon Barbarism to bolster up Decadence has called forth no protest in the British Press.

Is the *Entente* so sacred a Fetish that it is 'taboo' to mention it in any but praise-the-lord terms? The 'moral' influence of our Foreign Office Press-Censor is, indeed, far more potent than most of us imagine.

Col. Mangin conducted a special Commission of Inquiry across Equatorial Africa, and reported that 200,000 'volunteers' could be recruited within four years. The French Parliament has authorised the formation of a new Black Regiment of four battalions. After that great service to French Chauvinism, he was appointed Chief of the Military Mission to Morocco, and throughout the blockade of Fez was Commander-in-Chief of the Sultan's troops. Now that France has decided to occupy the country, as 'friends' of the Sultan, Col. Mangin becomes, practically, the ruler of that part of Morocco which Spain may refrain from seizing.

With regard to this Moroccan affair, we may already notice the strange effect which French ambition has on the French national character. There is of course no doubt of the humanity and high ideals of the French, and yet we have seen French officers retain their command of Moorish troops when the latter have been committing the most monstrous atrocities: atrocities sufficiently atrocious to have moved our Government to refuse to receive the Moorish Coronation Embassy.

Germany has not spoken a word. She probably waits until France has sunk so deeply into the Black mud as to involve her national honour beyond the possibility of drawing back. It is therefore our urgent duty to save France from the abyss into which her super-patriots are driving her.

MAX MONTESOLE.

THE DESPOTISM OF THE LABOUR PARTY

The Bill introduced by Mr. Winston Churchill into the House of Commons for the reversal of the Osborne judgment marks more clearly perhaps than any previous piece of legislation the complete subservience of the present Liberal Party, and of the greater part of the House of Commons, to the Socialist caucus which Mr. Ramsay Macdonald commands. It is hard to imagine any principle of government which ought to appeal more strongly both to Liberals and to professed lovers of the British Constitution than the principle that political organisations should be voluntary. Departure from that principle means the undoing of the work which the Ballot Act of 1872 was supposed to have accomplished: it means the subjection of the liberties of Englishmen to a well-disciplined group of political wire-pullers. The Ballot Act has long been claimed by Liberals as one of the greatest legislative achievements of their party; yet they now cheerfully accept the Trade Union Bill at the dictation of men who in every urban constituency are attacking Liberalism. Almost more astounding is the attitude of the Unionist leaders. For months past Unionists have been making the welkin ring with their denunciations of the Parliament Bill on the ground that it subjects the country to the tyranny of the caucus. Yet when the Trade Union Bill came up for second reading in the House of Commons the Unionist Party were afraid to vote against it. That the two great political parties who once divided between them the government of this country should thus grovel before the Labour Party shows how complete is the terrorism which that party has already established, and furnishes the strongest possible argument against the Bill itself.

The essence of the Bill, as already stated, is the reversal of the Osborne judgment. That judgment declared that Trade Unions could not legally make provision for parliamentary representation. The judgment was given in a suit brought by Mr. Osborne against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and decided in the Court of Appeal in November 1908. The Labour Socialists, who then controlled, and still control, the 'A.S.R.S.,' at once decided to appeal to the House of Lords. The case did not come before that tribunal till a year later—

December 1909—when the judgment of the Court of Appeal was upheld by the final court of the realm. Every reasonably well-educated person is of course aware that this Court, though it is called the House of Lords, is composed exclusively, like every other court, of professional lawyers; yet the supporters of the Labour Party in the Press do not scruple to try to create prejudice against the Osborne judgment by suggesting that it was the original act of the House of Lords, and was inspired by the Tory prejudices of that legislative assembly. For example, in a leading article appearing on the 26th of May 1911 on 'The "Osborne" Bill,' the *Daily News* wrote: 'Then in 1909 came the House of Lords' surprise, and Lord Halsbury and his colleagues with one authoritative puff blew the whole accepted theory away.' I am informed that Mr. Osborne wrote within a few days to the *Daily News* pointing out that the judgment in the Osborne case was the work of the Appeal Court, and that the suggestion contained in the paragraph quoted was unfair. His letter was not published. It is perhaps not surprising that the truth should be burked by a newspaper which supports a Bill for destroying the political independence of English working men. If it were really true that the legal tribunal which sits in the House of Lords is inspired with class prejudice, it would be difficult to explain the anxiety of the Labour Party to obtain the judgment of that Court in every case, in spite of the very heavy expense incurred. At the Trade Union Congress at Sheffield in 1910—a Congress dominated by the Labour Party—a resolution was carried without a division in favour of the establishment of a Central Legal Defence Fund, the 'object of such fund being to meet the legal costs incurred by any of the affiliated unions in carrying to the highest legal court any test case affecting the fundamental principles of organised labour.' Yet it is safe to predict that if the highest legal court decided against the Socialists who had appealed to its authority—as they did in the Osborne case—Mr. Winston Churchill and the *Daily News* would promptly suggest that the decision was the result of class bias.

On the other hand, the supporters of the Trade Union Bill are fairly entitled to argue that for many years Trade Unions did spend their money on parliamentary representation, and that though this practice has now been proved to have been technically illegal, the fact that it was carried on for so long without protest constitutes a presumption that it was harmless and ought therefore to be legalised. Superficially that is a strong argument, but its strength disappears on examination. The parliamentary representation for which the Trade Unions used to provide was in the main of a non-party character. For example, when Mr. Richard Bell was first sent to Parliament at the cost of the Amalgamated

Society of Railway Servants he was required to pledge himself to be 'independent of either political party.' The Labour Party did not then exist. Its establishment altered the whole situation, for the Socialists who controlled the new party demanded that Labour representation, instead of being independent of political parties, should be tied hand and foot to their party. It was Mr. Bell's refusal to accept this servile situation that made it impossible for him to retain his seat in Parliament. For the same cause Mr. Burt and Mr. Fenwick were deprived of the income they had previously been drawing from the Miners' Federation.

It was Mr. Bell's case that brought Mr. Osborne into the field. The essence of the Osborne movement is the revolt of independent Trade Unionists against the tyranny of the Labour Party. Mr. Osborne and his friends asserted that it was unfair that their money, and the power and prestige of an organisation which they had helped to build, should be used for the support of a political party of which they disapproved.

In the earlier stages of the controversy special stress was laid upon the fact that the Labour Party was a pledge-bound party. Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton in delivering judgment in the Court of Appeal in 1908 gave great emphasis to this aspect of the case, arguing that it was contrary to public policy 'to procure members of Parliament who shall be bound to vote in a prescribed manner.' Lord Justice Farwell argued the same point: 'No one could attempt to defend an individual millionaire who subsidised members on the terms that they voted for a particular measure, or generally according to his directions, and the case is certainly not improved by multiplying the subsidisors or by registering them as a Trade Union.' Lord Shaw of Dunfermline when the case reached the House of Lords was equally emphatic on this constitutional point, declaring that the Labour Party pledge was 'an unconstitutional and unwarrantable interference with the rights of the constituencies of the United Kingdom.' In view of these strong expressions of opinion by judges, two of whom had previously been well known as Liberal members of Parliament, the Liberal Press generally took the line that it was impossible to reverse the judgment as long as the Labour Party remained pledge-bound. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had no difficulty in meeting that situation. He knew how easy it is to gull politicians who wish to be gulled. Early last autumn he called his committee together, and a statement was issued to the Press announcing that at the next general meeting of the Labour Party a proposal would be made to abandon the pledge. Instantly all the Liberal leader-writers fell upon his neck weeping tears of joy to find themselves friends once more with the master of so many legions. To Mr. Macdonald's credit it must be added that

he did not pretend for a moment that this proposal was anything more than a device to save the faces of the Radical journalists. He explained with cynical frankness that 'the objection to our constitution was that it stated certain things in black and white which it is no longer necessary to state in that way,' and he added: 'There is to be no change in the working of the party' (*Times*, the 30th of September 1910). That accurately describes the situation. The working of the party remains unchanged. The whole difference is that certain things are no longer set down in black and white. The Trade Unions are still engaged in procuring members of Parliament who are bound to vote in a prescribed manner; they are still engaged in destroying that freedom which in the words of Lord Shaw is 'essential to the working of representative government.' Yet the whole Liberal Party has now toed the line and proposes to confer upon these bodies a statutory right to destroy the fundamental principle of the constitution of Parliament.

So far as the mere monetary question affects individual members of a Trade Union, the Government have made a pretence of meeting Mr. Osborne's case. The Bill provides that payments for political purposes are to be made out of a separate fund, and that any member objecting to contribute to such fund shall be under no obligation to do so if he gives notice in writing of his objection. In passing it may be remarked that the clause is so badly drafted that it does not specifically declare that the money to be used for political purposes must be raised by a separate levy. It only declares that it must be spent out of a separate fund, and as the clause stands, if the controllers of the Trade Union, backed by a bare majority of those voting in a poll of the society, were to pay into that fund any moneys belonging to the Union, there is nothing to prevent them doing so. It is only fair to assume that this is not the intention of the Government, and that his Majesty's ministers do honestly intend that there should be a separate levy, to which no workman should be compelled to contribute against his will. If this is the intention it ought to be clearly stated in the text of the Bill. But even then the protection given to the workman would be more imaginary than real, for any workman who refused to contribute to the political levy would instantly become a marked man, and would be subjected in many unions to very serious inconveniences. The clause does indeed specifically declare that a member who exempts himself from contributions to the political fund is not to be 'placed in any respect either directly or indirectly under any disability or at any disadvantage as compared with other members of the Union (except in relation to the control or management of the political fund) by reason of his being so exempt.' But how is

this provision to be made effective in practice? It would only be enforced by an appeal to the Courts of Law. Yet according to Mr. Churchill; 'The second main object of the Bill is to remove the Trade Unions from the harassing litigation to which they have been exposed and to set them free to develop and do their work without the perpetual checks and uncertainty of recent times, and without being brought constantly into contact with the Courts.' (House of Commons, the 30th of May 1911.) Instead of accomplishing this 'second main object' the Trade Union Bill, unless the provision just quoted is to be a dead letter, will give unlimited opportunities for dragging the private affairs of the Trade Unions into the public Courts.

Two illustrations may be given. One of the most valuable services which a Trade Union renders to its members is the assistance given in obtaining employment. A Trade Union is an employment bureau which the Government Labour Exchanges have not yet superseded. If a man makes himself obnoxious to the officials of the Union—who are nearly all Socialists—they can quite easily place obstacles in the way of his obtaining a job. Are the Courts of Law to intervene and inquire whether in any particular case a man was kept from the chance of employment because he had refused to subscribe to the political fund? Again, many Trade Unionists possess a laudable ambition to take an active part in the government of their own societies. But if a man refuses to contribute to the political fund in a society dominated by Socialists that refusal will certainly impair his chance of being elected to office. The Socialists would indeed have a very plausible case for refusing to elect him, for they would argue that it was convenient that the same officers who managed the general affairs of the society should also manage the political fund, and the clause rightly permits them to exclude from the management of that fund a member who does not contribute to it. If therefore a real protection is to be given to working men who are Liberals or Conservatives and who object to Socialism, the Bill must provide that the committee and officers who manage the political fund must not be the same as the committee and officers managing the general affairs of the society, and specific power must be given to the Courts to inquire whether a candidate for one of the general offices or for the general committee has failed to secure election because of his refusal to contribute to the political fund. How such an inquiry is to be conducted I do not venture to suggest.

That protection against Socialist domination is required on both these points is notorious to anyone familiar with the way in which Trade Unions are now being worked by the very clever wirepullers of the Labour Party. I have had placed in my hands

a letter from a member of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners calling attention to the following proposal put forward by the General Council of the Society: 'That no member shall use his official position to further the candidature to any public body of any person contrary to the spirit contained in our rules or against the expressed wish of the national or a local governing body of our Union.' The 'reason' assigned by the General Council for this proposal is as follows: 'Our Society having become affiliated to the National Labour Party has by so doing affirmed that Labour has no interests in common with the orthodox Liberal or Tory capitalist parties, therefore to give these parties official recognition only stultifies the principle for which our Society has declared.' The effect of this proposal on the liberty of the members of the Union is well described by the writer of the letter, who gives his own case: 'I am an ardent supporter of Trade Unionism and I am also possessed of ambitions so far as the Society is concerned. Unfortunately I am also an enthusiastic Liberal and am constantly employed on their platforms. Either I must give up my Liberalism (or at any rate keep it quiet), or I must give up my hopes and aspirations so far as the Society is concerned.' It would be interesting to know how Mr. Churchill proposes to deal with this case. Are the King's judges, who in his opinion are not fit to be trusted to deal with Trade Unions, to have power to declare that the proposed rule of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners is *ultra vires*? If not, what becomes of the clause in the Trade Union Bill providing that working men who refuse to subscribe to a political fund are not to be penalised?

There is a further proposal of the General Council of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners to which it is desirable to call attention. Not only are officers of the Society to be prohibited from giving expression to their own political views, but private members are not to be allowed to take the most obvious means of influencing the opinion of their fellow-members. The actual words of the proposal are as follows: 'That no member or subordinate Committee shall issue any circular or other document calculated to influence the votes of members on any question submitted to them to vote on by the General Council, Executive Council, or Executive Board.' This means that the governing body of this Trade Union, though in many cases compelled to go through the form of consulting the members of the Society, is doing its best to prevent that form from being converted into a reality by public discussion of any proposals put forward. The whole duty of the rank and file is to vote as the 'bosses' tell them.

It is worth while adding that another society of carpenters and joiners, namely, the General Union of Operative Carpenters and

Joiners, has already incorporated in its rules a similar ban upon free speech. The rule was quoted in the judgment delivered by Mr. Justice Coleridge on the 5th of June 1910, in a case where a member claimed to recover from that Society benefit due to him for the loss of his tools. It runs as follows: 'If a member publish a circular on any question relating to the Society, or affecting the character or conduct of any of its members, without obtaining the sanction of the Executive Council, he shall be fined 1*l.*; for the second offence he shall be expelled from the Society.' On account of this and similar rules the judge held that the Society was an illegal body at common law, and therefore could with impunity refuse to pay the benefits for which the plaintiff had subscribed.

Let me give another illustration: A member of the South Wales Miners' Federation sends a detailed statement which may be summarised as follows: 'W. B., a stalwart Trade Unionist, who had worked in the pits for fifty years, was the man indicated by the custom of the society for the position of chairman of a district comprising thirteen lodges. He happened to support a Conservative candidate in a municipal election. He was at once summoned before a special committee and asked to promise to support Labour-Socialists only in the future. He refused, and a man who had only worked in the pits for three or four years was elected district chairman over his head.' Such a statement as this cannot be lightly dismissed. It at any rate gives ground under Mr. Churchill's Bill for taking the affairs of the society into Court. Is this what Mr. Churchill intends? The same difficulty crops up at every turn. Another Trade Unionist, writing from South Wales under date 15th of February 1911, says: 'A case in point came under my notice last week. A member wanted to transfer from one lodge to another. They refused to let him have his transfer until he paid his parliamentary levy arrears. He did so against his will.' Would this man be allowed under the Bill to carry his plaint to those Courts which are so weighted with class bias?

A question of still more far-reaching character is indicated by an inspired paragraph in the *Daily Chronicle* of the 13th of March 1910, with reference to the then recent decision of the Court of Appeal that the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had no power to expel Mr. Osborne for the action he had taken with regard to the parliamentary levy. The paragraph was as follows: 'The Executive Council of the A.S.R.S. hold that though Mr. Osborne can compel admission to membership he cannot compel the Society to pay him its benefits.' This is an accurate statement of the existing law. As regards the majority of Trade Unions there is no question that under the existing law a member cannot legally recover from the society the benefits for which he has paid. But the new Bill says that a member who refuses to subscribe to the

political fund is not to be placed on that account under 'any disability or disadvantage as compared with other members.' What, then, is to happen if the officials of the Union decline to pay him the benefits to which he is entitled under the rules? That clearly places him under a disadvantage as compared with other members who in similar circumstances would obtain their benefits. If the Courts are to follow the text and apparent intention of the present Bill they must give him relief, and order the society to pay what is due. In that event the non-contributor to the political fund would be given a power to recover benefits by legal process which would still remain denied to other members of the society. That is not a result which is likely to commend itself to the Socialists, from whom Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill take their orders. Nor would it indeed be fair to put the non-contributor in this preferential position. The only way to meet the difficulty is to alter the general law with regard to Trade Unions, and to give every member a legal right to recover the benefits which the society has contracted to pay him. That is in itself a most desirable proposition, but it would be difficult to reconcile such a complete change in the legal status of Trade Unions with the privileged position which they hold in other respects.

This brings us to the very important question of the bearing of the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 upon the main proposal of the present Bill. That Act relieved Trade Unions from all legal responsibility 'in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the Trade Union.' If, then, a Trade Union may convert itself into a political caucus, or reciprocally if a political caucus qualifies for registration or certification as a Trade Union, the members and officials of the caucus will be at liberty to slander and libel their political opponents without any fear of being cast in damages. It is true that the new Bill provides that a combination shall not be registered or certified as a Trade Union unless in the opinion of the Registrar of Friendly Societies 'the principal objects of the combination are statutory objects.' But the statutory objects as defined by the Trade Union Acts are very wide indeed. A Trade Union is 'any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business.' Under this definition a shipping combine, or even a league of shopkeepers for early-closing, might be registered as a Trade Union, might spend money on the promotion of parliamentary candidates, and might claim immunity for any libel published in pursuance of its political activities. Whether the National Liberal Federation could also be registered as a Trade Union is more doubtful, but it is worth while to note in passing that the Bill gives absolute power to the Registrar

of Friendly Societies to grant registration, or a certificate, to any combination that meets with his approval. There is indeed an appeal to the Courts against his decision if he refuses registration, but no appeal if he grants it. The danger of this power will be apparent when it is remembered that the Registrar of Friendly Societies is a member of the Civil Service, who can be dismissed at any moment by his political chiefs, and that of recent years Cabinet Ministers have shown but scant regard for the law when it crosses their political interests. It is more than conceivable that the Registrar of Friendly Societies might receive imperative instructions from the Cabinet, inspired by purely political motives, to register a particular combination as a Trade Union, or to give it a certificate of immunity.

These are some of the incidental dangers arising out of the provisions of the Trade Union Bill.. But the main point on which attention should be concentrated is the authority given to the Labour Party to convert Trade Unions into Socialist caucuses. That is the real essence of the Bill. The cruelty of the proposal lies in the fact that Trade Unions are not voluntary bodies. This is admitted even by the authors of the Bill. Sir Rufus Isaacs, in moving the second reading, said:

> A member of a Trade Union was in a very different position from a member of a club. If a member of a club objected to any action of the club he could resign and join another club, and in all probability would be nothing the worse. But if a member of a Trade Union were to withdraw he would forfeit all his interest in the large funds accumulated by the Trade Union for the advancement of the interests of its members, he would lose the very valuable advantage of the protection of the Trade Union in disputes with employers, and all his contributions to the sick and unemployment schemes of the Union would have gone for nothing.

Mr. Churchill said with equal emphasis in the same debate:

> No one could say that if a workman did not like the Union he could leave it. We might as well tell him to 'Leave the earth.' He could not leave his Trade Union, and he ought not to leave it. With regard to a great many trades in this country, to leave the Union would involve leaving the only means by which the man could live.

But if a man can be compelled to join a Trade Union, and if a Trade Union may become a political caucus, it follows that a citizen of this country may be compelled under penalty of losing his livelihood to join a political party of which he disapproves. It is true that the Bill says that he shall not be compelled to contribute to the funds of this political party. If he chooses to forego the protection which the Ballot Act was designed to afford to every citizen, he may claim exemption from the payment of the shilling

a year, or any other sum levied for political purposes. But the Bill does not even pretend to give him any protection against the greater injury of having the whole corporate strength of his society used for political purposes of which he disapproves.

In politics it is organisation that counts. Money is only important as a means of buying organisation. So far as money is concerned, either of the two great parties could buy up the Labour Party ten times over. Yet the leaders of these two parties tremble in their shoes before Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, because he commands the great industrial organisation which English working men have built up by years of patient toil and self-sacrifice. It is important to realise that the value of this as of other organisations is not dependent upon the active adhesion of all the members to the policy which the organisation advocates. In all classes of society only a minority of men think for themselves. The rest look for a lead. Consequently the men who can capture the machinery of any organisation can within very wide limits impose their will upon all the persons adhering to that organisation. Those who object must go elsewhere. In the case of a voluntary organisation this is not a very serious hardship. When Mr. Gladstone in 1886 suddenly decided to swing over to the policy of Home Rule, which he had previously denounced, he carried with him the bulk of the Liberal Party because he controlled the party machinery. Those Liberals who objected to the new policy formed a new party of their own. Again in 1903 and 1904, when Mr. Chamberlain, by capturing the Conservative caucuses, diverted the policy of the Conservative Party from Free Trade to Protection, many Conservatives went over to the Liberal Party: others formed Free-Trade Unionist Associations. In the case of Trade Unions there is no such way of escape. If a man leaves his Trade Union he forfeits, as Sir Rufus Isaacs so clearly points out, all claim to the benefits for which he has been subscribing perhaps since he was a boy, and has to start afresh with his capital gone and a ban placed upon his chances of earning an income.

Nor is he even permitted to combine with other workmen to form a new Union which shall be loyal to the principles of Trade Unionism but independent of politics. On this point the story of the South Wales miners is peculiarly instructive. Towards the end of 1910 many of the Welsh miners who were tired of the tyranny of Socialist officials proposed to form within the Federation a new lodge which should be non-political. Some of the correspondence in connexion with this proposal has been placed in my hands. In September 1910 one of the leaders of the movement for a non-political lodge wrote as follows to the

secretary of the District Committee of the South Wales Miners' Federation:

Two thousand workmen, including myself, in Dowlais to-day refuse on principle to pay the parliamentary levy, but still we claim to be just as good federationists as those who pay the parliamentary levy. Therefore, to avoid in the future the constant bickerings which have occurred in the lodges, I respectfully ask your District Committee to sanction the establishment of this non-political lodge. I need hardly mention that it is not our intention for one single moment to secede from the South Wales Miners' Federation, but rather to strengthen and build up our Federation on non-party lines, where every member can meet on the broad platform of Trade Unionism.

The District Committee for a long time delayed to reply to this request, and finally refused to accede to it. Failing to obtain the approval of the District Committee, the non-political Trade Unionists decided to take independent action, and formed a new lodge. The retort of the Socialists was prompt and crushing. The officials of the Miners' Federation declared that the adherents to the new lodge were non-Unionists, and threatened to strike the mines unless these men were dismissed. The employers yielded to this threat, and those workmen who had attempted to win political liberty for themselves were compelled to surrender. This is a significant foretaste of the kind of liberty the world will enjoy under a Socialist *régime*.

How this tyranny affects the individual workman in his own home is well illustrated by the following letter from a member of the Durham Miners' Association:

I do not know how they will act when the cases (*re* parliamentary levy) come on in February again, and I do not care as regards myself, but I am sorry for A. B., for his wife is rather nervous about things, and they have a large family. I had tea at their house the other night, and she was telling me all about her fears for him.

The man referred to had been struck on the previous Saturday for the part he had taken in opposing the parliamentary levy. Probably actual violence, as in this case, is seldom resorted to, though there have been several ugly incidents. More often the man is persecuted at his daily work in a multitude of little ways till he finds life intolerable. A London compositor gives an account of the circumstances under which he left the London Society of Compositors. He joined that Society in 1891 and paid all his dues up to February 1911, but refused to pay the parliamentary levy. His life was made so unpleasant to him that he decided to accept a situation in a non-Union house. When questioned by his employer as to the cause of his going he explained that:

Things were a bit complex now that I was an anti-Socialist, and that was the real cause. I had not had a very pleasant time in their firm, and

did not like the outlook. I told him I was still a Trade Unionist, but Trade Unionism did not seem to exist now; they were being exploited by Socialists for their ends only.

He goes on to describe his interview with his prospective employer:

> He then asked: 'What about wages?' I replied: 'It is not so much a question of money, sir. I want to free myself from this lot.'

It is not happily in all workshops that the Socialists can thus tyrannise over those who disagree with them, but even where men are freed from this daily persecution they have to suffer the humiliation of knowing that the organisation to which they are in many cases compelled to belong is being used against their convictions. Here, for example, is a letter from Lanarkshire:

> Along with many others I am in a position of having to pay parliamentary levies against my will and also against my political opinions. We had a meeting in our workshop on Wednesday of this week and decided by a majority of 45 votes against 6 to try and get our executive to withdraw it. . . I don't expect to get civility, far less justice, as they seem to work solely with a selfish end in view, being composed practically of so-called Socialists.

These illustrations from private letters will suffice to show the practical injustice involved in permitting the Trade Unions to become political caucuses. Against this injustice the Government Bill gives no real protection. The authors of the Bill have not even taken the precaution to insist that a substantial majority of the members of the Union shall be really in favour of political action. This would not, of course, remove the injustice, but it would reduce the number of people affected by it. In practice, moreover, it would place a very serious obstacle in the way of converting Trade Unions into Socialist caucuses. At present this conversion is generally accomplished at the dictation of an active minority of members, the majority expressing no opinion. This abstention is due to two causes: first, the reluctance of the natural man to worry about political questions at all except when he has been stirred up by the excitement incident to a general election; and secondly the fear felt by the average workman that he may injure his pecuniary position by running counter to the wishes of those on whom his prospects of employment directly or indirectly depend. This latter is a consideration to which Parliament has frequently and properly devoted great attention, and every conceivable precaution has been taken to prevent an employer from intimidating his workpeople. No precaution is taken to prevent a Trade Union official from intimidating the rank and file of the members of his Society, through the power which he possesses of retarding or advancing a man's

chances of obtaining employment. As a result workmen who do not feel very strongly on political issues, or whose moral courage is overweighted by the anxieties of providing for a large family, protect themselves by a policy of silence. Hence we find that in the Trade Union ballots on the question whether the Society shall or shall not embark upon politics in most cases only a minority of members vote at all. Yet the majority of this minority claims and exercises the right to determine the policy of the whole Society.[1] In minor matters this method of working is of little consequence, but in such an admittedly important matter as the question whether a Trade Union shall become a Socialist caucus it is obviously desirable that the assent of the majority of the members of the Society should be required. Yet the Government Bill endorses the present practice and authorises a majority of members voting, which may mean a small minority of the total members, to bind the whole Society to the Labour Party. An equally important point arises in connexion with the counting of the votes. The present practice of Trade Unions with regard to the taking of ballots is extraordinarily careless, and in some cases deliberately dishonest. There is no machinery for providing each member with a ballot paper, no provision to secure secrecy, and no precautions for accuracy in counting. Members will casually call at the office, and volunteer to take ballot papers to other members living in their neighbourhood. The papers may or may not be delivered. Often one member will fill up a large number of papers in the names of his brother members. Sometimes all the papers coming from one branch are filled up in one handwriting, presumably that of the secretary, and in such extreme cases the votes have sometimes been subsequently disallowed. But there is hardly any effective check upon the officials, who have been known to throw into the fire votes recorded against the policy which they advocate. The authors of the Government Bill appear to be dimly conscious of these abuses, and the Bill provides that rules must be formed for taking a ballot and must be approved by the Registrar of Friendly Societies. But however excellent the rules on paper, the Registrar has absolutely no means of seeing that they are carried out in practice. As the clause stands, it effects no other purpose than to throw dust in the eyes of the public by professing to give safeguards which will not in reality exist. Nor is it possible to make these professed safeguards effec-

[1] As an example of the small proportion of members who take an active part in the business of the Societies, the following is instructive: A meeting of the Fife miners was called to consider the case of Mr. Hugh Muirhead (miner) who had applied to the Court for an injunction to restrain the Society from using the corporate funds for political purposes. Out of nearly 800 members on the rolls 9 attended. It was decided by 5 votes to 3, one of the nine abstaining, to expel Mr. Muirhead. (See *Edinburgh Evening Dispatch*, January 9, 1911.)

tual without completely destroying the autonomy of the Trade Unions. That is why all ideas of improving the Bill by amendment may at once be dismissed. No amendments can make the Bill satisfactory, for the problem which it aims at solving is insoluble. A combination cannot be at once and the same time politically free and industrially binding.

HAROLD COX.

'STONEHENGE AND THE HYPERBOREANS.'

By a printer's error the word 'not' was omitted from the passage at the foot of the first page of Miss Plunket's article in the June number. This passage should, of course, read as follows:—'Research has not confirmed this opinion.'

Editor, *Nineteenth Century and After.*

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GERMAN DESIGNS IN AFRICA

On the 6th of July Mr. Asquith stated in the House, in reply to Mr. Balfour's question regarding Morocco:

> Recent events are causing discussion between the Powers most interested in Morocco, and at this stage I can say little of the negotiations which are passing between them. But *I wish it clearly to be understood that his Majesty's Government consider that a new situation has arisen in Morocco, in which it is possible that future developments may affect British interests more directly than has hitherto been the case.* I am confident that diplomatic discussion will find a solution, and in the part that we shall take in it *we shall have due regard to the protection of those interests and to the fulfilment of our treaty obligations to France,* which are well known to the House.

Mr. Asquith is an earnest, cool-headed, and unemotional man. He is an exceedingly strong man—perhaps the strongest man who in modern times has sat on the Treasury Bench—and, like most strong and determined Englishmen, he is slow at action and sparing of speech. His laconic and powerful statement, and especially the portion italicised in the foregoing, upon which he laid considerable stress, showed to all who heard him that a situation of great gravity had arisen. On the 6th of July Mr. Asquith spoke not merely to the British House of Commons but

to the world. But apparently those foreign statesmen to whom Mr. Asquith's words were addressed have either chosen to misunderstand the words and the temper of the British Prime Minister or they believe that Great Britain's interests may be disregarded. Hence they have allowed the international situation to become still more threatening to the peace of the world.

Mr. Lloyd George is the most pacific and the least jingoistic of his Majesty's Ministers, and it is significant for the extreme gravity of the situation that he of all men thought it necessary to reinforce Mr. Asquith's emphatic warning by reading on the 21st of July, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, the following carefully prepared statement on behalf of the Government:

> I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace; I conceive that nothing would justify a disturbance of international goodwill except questions of the greatest national moment. But *if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement—by allowing Britain to be treated, where her interests are vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations—then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.*

Mr. Lloyd George's warning also was misunderstood by the semi-official German Press. We seemed to be on the brink of war.

Many people in France and Great Britain find Germany's aggressive attitude inexplicable, and they are asking: What does Germany want in Africa? That question can best be answered by a rapid survey of Germany's former activity in that Continent.

The German population increases every year by almost 1,000,000, while ours increases by only about 400,000. Therefore, most Germans believe that they are morally far more strongly entitled to the possession of colonies situated in a moderate zone than is Great Britain. The statesmen of Germany are determined that their surplus population shall no longer serve to strengthen the non-German nations across the sea to the weakening of the Fatherland. We read in the semi-official German Naval Year Book of 1907: 'Our population increases every year by almost a million. We mean not to give our surplus population to foreign States, for the wealth of a nation lies in the number of its industrious inhabitants. Therefore we must create for our present population the means of making a living, and secure the means of living also to future generations.' Similar views are held by most thinking Germans.

Recognising that Germany's territory was becoming too small for her rapidly growing population, and that suitable colonies were their country's greatest need, the German statesmen and thinkers have striven for many years to acquire extensive colonies situated

in a moderate zone. Surveying the globe, they perceived that Asia was not very suitable for European settlers, that Australia and its islands were too far away, and that, in trying to acquire colonies in America, they would encounter the hostility of the United States. Africa was the only continent which might give rise to a Greater Germany. Therefore Africa became the centre of German expansionist activity.

The Germans hoped to drive the British out of South Africa with the help of the Boers. The apostle of German Imperialism, the great historian Treitschke, wrote many years ago in *Deutsche Kämpfe*:

> In the South of Africa circumstances are decidedly favouring us. English colonial policy, which has been successful everywhere else, has not had a lucky hand at the Cape of Good Hope. The civilisation which exists there is Teutonic, is Dutch. The policy of England in South Africa, which vacillates between weakness and brutality, has created a deadly and unextinguishable hatred against her among the Dutch Boers. If our Empire has the courage to follow an independent colonial policy with determination, a collision of our interests and those of England is unavoidable.

The policy of wresting South Africa from Great Britain with the help of the Boers was not only recommended by irresponsible German writers, but was pursued by Germany's statesmen. As early as 1876, and again in 1884, Bismarck tried to acquire on the East African coast, in Zululand, Santa Lucia Bay, a port situated in the closest proximity to the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State. Thence a hand could be stretched out to the Boers. That step was frustrated by the British Government, which, being warned in time, laid claim to that strategically most important harbour. However, the Germans did not give up the idea of making themselves masters of South Africa with the help of the Boers. That policy was openly discussed in many German papers and on many German platforms. South Africa was looked upon as a ripening pear, which in course of time was bound to drop into Germany's lap. Meanwhile President Kruger and the Boers were honoured and flattered, and praised and politically supported by the German Government, Press, and public whenever possible.

The Boers responded with alacrity to Germany's advances. President Kruger stated early in 1895 at a public banquet: 'I shall ever promote the interests of Germany, though it be but with the resources of a child, such as my land is considered. This child is now being trodden upon by one Great Power, and the natural consequence is that it seeks protection from another. The time has come to knit ties of the closest friendship between Germany and the South African Republic, ties such as are natural between father and child.' The Germans firmly believed that they

possessed an unavowed protectorate over the Transvaal, and the reversion of South Africa.

In December 1895, when to Germany's delight, and largely through Germany's prompting, the differences between British and Boers had become very acute, the Jameson Raid occurred. Germany feared that South Africa might be lost to her. The German Emperor meant, in Germany's interest, to defend the independence of the Boer States with all means in his power, and he tried unsuccessfully to form a European coalition against Great Britain. He sent to Mr. Kruger the famous telegram, in which he congratulated him on having defeated the British invaders 'without appealing to the aid of friendly Powers'—that is, without appealing to Germany and her political following. German sailors were ostentatiously brought to Delagoa Bay and held at President Kruger's disposal to proceed to the Transvaal, and to assist in its defence, and Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, Germany's Minister for Foreign Affairs, officially declared to the British Government that 'the continued independence of the Boer Republics was a German interest.' The semi-official *Grenzboten* wrote:

> For us the Boer States with the coasts which are their due signify a great possibility. Their absorption into the British Empire would mean the blocking up of our last road towards an independent agricultural colony in a temperate clime. Will England obstruct our path? If Germany shows determination, Never!

After the Jameson Raid Germany increased her support of the Boers to the utmost. She helped them with advice, arms and ammunition, and encouraged them to take up a most defiant and aggressive attitude towards Great Britain. As in her South African policy Germany might have to encounter Great Britain's opposition, she wished to create for herself a navy strong enough to encounter the British Fleet. Through the Emperor's personal initiative a national agitation for a powerful fleet was engineered, and in 1898 the German Navy League was founded, and a Navy Bill providing for seventeen battleships was introduced. The crisis came in South Africa long before the great German fleet was ready. On the 9th of October 1899 the Boers despatched to Great Britain the unacceptable ultimatum which opened the war. All Germany was in despair at the turn events had taken, and at the insufficiency of her naval forces. On the 18th of October the German Emperor exclaimed: 'We are in bitter need of a strong German navy. If the increase demanded during the first years of my reign had not been continually refused to me in spite of my pressing entreaties and warnings, for which I have even experienced derision and ridicule, how differently should we be able to further our flourishing commerce and our interests over sea.' It can

y be doubted that the Emperor's bitterness at his inability urther our interests over sea' was caused by the South African At the time when he was speaking the Boer ultimatum had despatched only nine days, and a strong German fleet might oubt have been able to further the German interests in the ısvaal as an independent State.

n 1900 the great German Navy Bill was introduced, and the anatory memorandum appended to it stated: 'Germany ires a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest l Power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of Power.' Germany recognised that she could acquire suitable ement colonies only by defeating or by overawing 'the htiest naval Power.'

The Boer War ended in 1902, and the settlement and reconcilia- following it showed that Germany's chance of acquiring South a was apparently gone for ever. The absorption of the Boer ublics had brought the last of the territories situated in a erate zone under the British flag. Germany had to revise her y.

t the time when Germany had been inciting the Boers to war upon Great Britain, and had helped them in every pos- way to make their attack a success, she had continually tried tain the support of France and of her fleet against this country. ıer dismay France not only declined to take part in an attack ı the British Empire, but began to enter upon more and more nate relations with Great Britain. Now it became Germany's to destroy the Franco-British *entente* and to prepare for the ibility of an encounter with France and Great Britain. She nded very greatly the enormous naval programme of 1900, easing her fleet of battleships of more than 10,000 tons from 00 tons in 1900 to no less than 360,990 tons in 1910, and ed for points of vantage for a possible conflict. Her eyes upon Morocco.

Morocco is a point which would be of inestimable strategical e to Germany in a war against France and Great Britain as as against the United States. A German occupation of occo would make Algeria and the rest of French Africa unten- for France. The unruly Algerian tribes could easily be raised volt at the critical moment. Thus the connexion could be cut een France and her great African Empire, and France would eprived not only of the use of the 75,000 troops whom she ntains in Algeria, but also of the hundreds of thousands of ured troops whom she is raising in her other African colonies, who, in case of need, could be brought to Europe to assist in lefence of France against a German invasion. Great Britain ost vulnerable through her great dependence on foreign food

and raw material. Now, three of the principal trade routes of the world—the route through the Mediterranean to the East, the route round the Cape to India, and that from Europe to South America—pass the coast of Morocco. A port on the Atlantic, such as Agadir, would be a most admirable point where to station a few of the small but exceedingly fast protected cruisers of the Dartmouth type, which are specially designed to act as commerce-destroyers, of which, by-the-by, Germany has a large and Great Britain a totally insufficient number. Besides, if Germany should give the North of Morocco to Spain—and this is apparently contemplated—the latter, in order to be able to hold her own against France, would require Germany's constant support. Through the joint possession of Morocco, Germany and Spain would necessarily become allies, and Spain could in time of war materially assist Germany against France by making a demonstration on the Franco-Spanish frontier, and against Great Britain by threatening Gibraltar. Last, but not least, the future great route to the Far East by way of the Panama Canal, which may become the greatest trade route of all, would also pass by Agadir, and that port would be a most excellent base whence to attack the United States in their most vulnerable spots, the Panama Canal and the American war harbours in the Antilles protecting it.

Germany's policy in Morocco closely resembles the policy which she has pursued in South Africa. She has tried twice to seize the purely strategical Santa Lucia Bay, and she is now trying for the second time to seize a purely strategical harbour in the South of Morocco. In 1896 Germany proclaimed to the world that the independence of the Boer States was 'a German interest.' On the 31st of March 1905 William the Second landed dramatically in Tangiers and proclaimed to the world: 'Germany has large commercial interests in Morocco. I shall protect and promote Germany's Moroccan trade, which is rapidly growing, and see that it is treated with full equality among the nations. Such equality of treatment is possible only under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco and the independence of the country. *For Germany the sovereignty of the Sultan and the independence of his country are beyond doubt. I shall therefore always be ready to support these.*' History is repeating itself. Morocco was considered to be another ripening pear which was bound to drop into Germany's lap unless it had previously been taken by another power. Germany desires to preserve the independence of Morocco, as that of the Boer States, during the process of ripening. Ministers have come and have gone in Germany, but from the similarity of her proceeding it appears that the same hand which, with more daring than skill, directed her policy in Africa before the Boer War has been directing it now in Morocco.

Germany showed that she was ready to make war upon France for the independence of Morocco, which was declared to be important to Germany only on economic grounds. She actually began mobilising her army in 1905, and she subscribed to the independence of Morocco in solemn treaties of which the ink is scarcely dry. France's recent intervention in Morocco and her march upon Fez took place at the Sultan's wish, and were in accordance with her Treaty obligations, while Germany had by treaty acknowledged France's 'special political interests' in Morocco, and had announced her resolve 'not to impede these interests.' Nevertheless Germany used France's action in coming to the rescue of the Sultan and of the Europeans in Fez as a pretext for intervention, and announced on the 2nd of July of this year that she had sent a warship to Agadir to protect her important economic interests in Morocco and the lives of German citizens and of German *protégés*.

Germany's economic interests in Morocco are infinitesimal. Of Germany's foreign trade exactly $\frac{1}{1500}$th, that is, one-fifteenth of one per cent., is with Morocco. Of the imports into Morocco Germany supplied in 1909, according to the British statistics, only 5.9 per cent., while the United Kingdom supplied 37.1 per cent. and France 41.3 per cent. During the period 1904-1909 Germany's exports to Morocco averaged, according to the German statistics, exactly 104,160*l*. per annum, about as much as the yearly turnover of a medium-sized shop. It is true that German citizens have acquired from the natives certain mining concessions, but in the absence of a Moroccan mining law these are valueless. Lastly, of the 16,485 Europeans in Morocco, only 150 were Germans according to the latest official figures available. This number may possibly have increased by now to 300 or 350. It is clear, therefore, that Germany's important economic interests in Morocco have no existence in fact. Germany's real interests in Morocco are territorial, political, and especially strategical. By 'touching the button' in Morocco Germany can at any moment produce a revolt in the neighbouring Algeria and throw France into convulsions. From Morocco she can threaten the great trade routes and Gibraltar, and compel Great Britain to divide her naval forces. Germany's establishment in Morocco means her permanent domination of France, and an ever-present danger to British trade and commerce.

In 1905 it was Germany's aim to seize the most valuable South of Morocco with Mogador and Agadir, but when Great Britain intervened she subscribed reluctantly to the independence of Morocco. Yet to careful observers it was clear for a long time that Germany was preparing for a *coup*. Those whose duty it is to watch the movements of foreign warships noticed, for instance, that the German cruisers lingered habitually, and for no apparent

reason, in harbours situated within easy reach of Morocco, as they used to loiter with wonderful foresight about Delagoa Bay when trouble was coming between Britons and Boers. It was recently observed that in Cadiz, the Spanish harbour nearest to Morocco, the German cruiser *Geier* stopped for seven days on her way to East Africa, and the German cruiser *Sperber*, on her return to Germany *viâ* the Mediterranean, stayed in May in Cadiz during no less than thirteen days. The reason why Germany interfered in Morocco at the moment she did seems perfectly clear. On the 6th of July France was in the throes of a Cabinet crisis, while Great Britain was entering upon the greatest constitutional crisis of modern times. Monsieur Caillaux, whom I had the pleasure of meeting at the time of the first Morocco incident, and who, I think, is essentially sound, had just become Prime Minister. Perhaps the German diplomats thought that, inexperienced as he was, M. Caillaux might possibly be rushed and dragooned, and that the Morocco problem might this time be settled between France and Germany without Great Britain's knowledge. It was perhaps believed in Germany that the French and British Governments were so seriously embarrassed by their great internal difficulties that they were incapable of vigorous action in the domain of foreign politics. As the Governments, but not the people, of Great Britain and France were embarrassed by their simultaneous domestic crises, it was, of course, most important to deal with the diplomats without the knowledge of the people. Hence the Germans wished to negotiate with the French Government alone and in secret, hoping evidently that the Press would not spoil the plan of obtaining from an embarrassed French Government, and behind the back of the people, concessions which would be fatal to France and highly disadvantageous to Great Britain—concessions devised to change not only the map of Africa, but also that of Europe and to alter the European balance of power.

The scheme, like most highly imaginative schemes in which Germany has been engaged for some considerable time, was badly planned. Germany's demands upon France leaked out, and the German Press flew into a boundless rage when the news appeared in the British and French papers that the German Government had demanded from France the French Congo and the reversionary rights to the Congo State as a 'compensation.' What is the meaning of 'compensation'? Compensation is the indemnity which is given as an equivalent for loss incurred or for services rendered. Now, it will appear in the following pages that Germany was determined not to give up her claims to the South of Morocco, to which she has not the shred of a title. Hence it seems that she demanded from France the 200,000 square miles of the French Congo—a territory larger than that of Germany—together with the

eversion of the Congo State, with its 900,000 square miles, as compensation 'for an undertaking to remove her warships from Agadir. 'Compensation,' as used by German diplomacy, is a misnomer. 'Compensation' in modern German diplomatic language seems to mean compensation for nothing. The *Times*, which is not given to the use of strong language, said editorially, commenting on Germany's extraordinary demand for compensation, that the methods and arguments employed by Germany were not those of European diplomacy, but those of Dick Turpin.

The inspired articles which have appeared in the leading German papers during the last few days make it plain that Germany did not demand compensation from France because she was willing to abandon her claims to the South of Morocco with the Province of Sus and the harbours of Mogador and Agadir. Apparently she had not the slightest intention to abandon these claims. This will be clear from the following extracts, which show at the same time the gradual development of the Morocco crisis during the last fortnight. The *Kölnische Zeitung* published on the 14th of July the following remarkable telegram from Berlin:

> The *Panther's* visit at Agadir gave evidence of Germany's strong interest on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. A section of the German Press therefore thought that portion of Morocco to be the region in which Germany should seek compensation. It is true that the economic importance of the South of Morocco is very great, and if, in consideration of Germany's position in Morocco, this is regarded as a fair demand on the part of Germany, it is very easy to imagine the partition of Morocco between France, Germany and Spain. This solution recommends itself by its apparent simplicity.
>
> As we are ignorant of the drift of the negotiations, the acquisition of Agadir and its hinterland, or the creation of a German zone in this part, may, or may not, form part of the German official programme.
>
> The word 'compensation' obviously means that advantages lost in one place are to be made good by indemnification in another place. It is not essential whether compensation is given in one part or in another. The essential thing is indemnification, and the concession of advantages which counterbalance losses sustained elsewhere. The main thing is and will continue to be that we receive a *genuine equivalent* for what we give up.

Apparently Germany was willing to waive her claim to Morocco. However, a few days later the fact that Germany was not willing to accept the 200,000 square miles of the French Congo and the reversion of the Congo State as 'compensation' for her claim to the South of Morocco was proclaimed by some of the leading German papers. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote on the 13th of July:

> 'Compensation' means the making good of a loss. With us, and applied to Morocco, it would mean: Germany waives her rights in Morocco and is indemnified elsewhere by the cession of a French colony. Which

are Germany's rights in Morocco? They are founded upon the Act of Algeciras and the Franco-German Convention of the 9th of February 1909. The Act of Algeciras gives Germany the right of supervising the pacification and reform of Morocco in conjunction with the other signatory Powers. The policing of the eight principal Moroccan harbours is divided between France and Spain for five years. By the Franco-German Convention of the 9th of February 1909, Germany has waived her political interests in Morocco, and has recognised France's predominant political interests in that country, and in return she has received from France the promise of equal economic opportunities in Morocco. Where, then, suffers Germany a loss for which 'compensation' must be found?

It is clear that Germany can make things very unpleasant to the French in Morocco by hampering their action, and by making demonstrations of force (*durch Aufwerfen der Machtfrage*) against France. Germany hangs like a sword of Damocles over the head of France, and France will find it worth her while to pay something for getting rid of this sword. It can be got rid of by replacing the Act of Algeciras by a separate Franco-German Convention. Prince Bülow emphatically declared in the Reichstag on the 25th of February 1909 that Germany had no political interests in Morocco, and would never lay claim to them. As the possession of Morocco would greatly increase the power of France, Germany is highly interested in preventing Morocco's absorption by France. *We can therefore readily see how large the compensation which Germany would be justified in demanding would have to be. We should not be put off with a piece of the French Congo and Lake Chad.*

The *Nationalzeitung* of Berlin wrote:

The question of giving or of receiving compensation can arise only when one of the parties interested is disposed to renounce its previous rights. But it cannot in any way be supposed—and the conversations of Herr von Kidderlen-Waechter with Monsieur Cambon have made this clear—that Germany will waive those rights which she possesses in virtue of treaties. *Neither does the German Government think of abandoning Morocco to unlimited French influence, nor would the German people approve of such a pitiful retreat.*

Mr. Bassermann, the leader of the Liberal Party, delivered on the 23rd of July at Solingen a lecture on the political situation in which he dealt principally with Morocco, and in it he said:

As Germany's population increases yearly by almost 1,000,000 we are forced to pursue a world policy. An empire as great as ours cannot tolerate that all doors are closed in its face. Germany has not received a share corresponding to her economic needs in the partition of the world. It is not to be thought of that Germany will allow herself to be compensated for her claims in Morocco with territory on the Congo. That is not an adequate indemnification for Germany's economic interests in Morocco.

Apparently the Germans considered themselves the masters of the situation and the South of Morocco their rightful sphere of influence, if not their property. The Berlin *Post* wrote in menacing tones:

We do not doubt for a moment that, if in Agadir and Mogador disturbances should occur which would imperil the lives and property of German citizens, the German Government would take the necessary steps

for their protection, and we do not doubt that France is aware that an attempt on the part of the Sultan of Morocco—which means of France—to deal with such disturbances by sending French troops to the South of Morocco would immediately create a very trying international situation.

The *Deutsche Tageszeitung* wrote :

Trouble seems to be brewing in the province of Sus, not through the fault of the Germans, but through the action of M. Tugi, an emissary of the Sultan of Morocco. We shall probably soon hear of fighting, and it is clear that Mulai Hafid, the Sultan of Morocco, is taking part in this intrigue as the dummy of France.

The foregoing six extracts show the rapid development of the Morocco crisis. On the 14th of July the *Kölnische Zeitung* intimated to France in an inspired telegram from Berlin that Germany might conceivably abandon her claims to the South of Morocco if she received adequate compensation elsewhere. A few days later the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the *Nationalzeitung*, and other inspired papers proclaimed that Germany's abandonment of the South of Morocco was out of the question; and then German papers, such as the Berlin *Post* and the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, went further and foretold the outbreak of troubles in the South of Morocco and warned France and the Sultan not to deal with such troubles, because the South of Morocco was Germany's domain and she might consider the suppression of possible outbreaks by the Sultan or by France, in the Sultan's own country, as a *casus belli*. The last two extracts from the German Press are highly significant and are very ominous. The Germans seemed to be bent upon producing serious troubles in the South of Morocco, which would furnish them with a colourable pretext for landing troops and interfering, for they were encouraging those natives who are dissatisfied with the Sultan and his representative and who might be ready to revolt if they are promised Germany's support. The Germans in the South of Morocco appeared to be anxious to create an incident which would call for their interference, not only by fomenting strife between the local dignitaries, tribes and factions, but also by provoking the natives to an attack upon the German officers, sailors and marines who come to the shore and engage in expeditions into the interior.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech of the 16th of July has received a tardy and very energetic answer. On the 24th of July the important *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote in a leading article :

It is really not easy to please the men who govern England to-day. Downing Street is surprised and hurt that Germany, with whom they were imagined to be in good relations, has made known her demands by sending a ship to Agadir. Yet Germany has only done the same as France in Fes and Spain in Larache, and no such crushing words were considered necessary there, nor even towards Russia's doubtful action in Persia. Why this sensitiveness just now regarding Germany? Is it any wonder that

opinion takes root in Germany that England will not allow the troublesome cousin across the North Sea to rise in the world? In London it should be clear that a great nation whose population is equal to, if not greater than, the British, and which increases by nearly 1,000,000 annually, cannot be forced from all the outlets which she may need for future national expansion. Such a policy would eventually be a great danger to the peace of the world and must, in the nature of things, some day lead to the bursting of the bonds which have been laid upon the nation to hinder its peaceable extension. If the English people but understood Germany's national needs, the present differences would be overcome and perhaps an alliance would be formed between the two nations which could give to the world permanent peace and, if necessary, command it.

On the same day the frequently inspired *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* wrote in an article 'Germany's Attitude in the Morocco Question' sent from Berlin:

We see in the language of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer an inadmissible interference in the negotiations between Great Powers with the nature of which he is not acquainted. Everywhere in Germany the attempt to put pressure upon us will be rejected. We cannot tolerate good advice in the form of a threat, and protest against it with energy. Great Britain's interference is not wanted. We shall soon be officially informed by England how we stand with her. Meanwhile it will be well to keep cool and to look out not for England's words but England's action. After all, the decision rests not with the Chancellor of the Exchequer but with the British Prime Minister.

The Morocco trouble rapidly approached a crisis, and it appeared that the most serious consequences could be avoided only if the German Government and the German people were convinced in good time that Germany's policy in Morocco was as obnoxious to Great Britain as it was to France. As the most emphatic warnings of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George have apparently not sufficed to impress the Government and the people, and as the German Press is explaining away their significance, it might seem necessary to send some British ships to Agadir without delay. The meaning of such a step would be clearly understood by the German Government, Press and people. Besides, if the German Commander at Agadir should, 'through circumstances over which he has no control,' be compelled to land troops and to attack the natives or to take an active part in their local disputes, he would no doubt be glad of the presence of independent witnesses, and of a British force able to assist him in case of need in protecting the lives and property of Europeans.

In view of the great strategical importance of Morocco, its independence is no doubt very desirable for the peace of the world. On the 31st of March 1905 the German Emperor solemnly proclaimed at Tangiers: 'For Germany the sovereignty of the Sultan of Morocco and the independence of his country are beyond doubt. I shall therefore always be ready to support these.' Great Britain

can unreservedly endorse that unselfish policy, and will no doubt assist Germany in preserving Morocco's independence against all comers. If, however, German diplomacy should have changed its mind since 1905, and if it should have arrived at the conviction that Morocco is not fit for self-government, and that it should henceforth be governed by Europeans under some scheme of partition, it seems perhaps fairest that Spain should receive the northern half and France the southern half of the country; for the historical, economical, political and geographical claims of these two nations to the possession of Morocco are infinitely stronger than are those of Germany, whose claim to the South of Morocco consists chiefly in the display and assertion of her armed force. Morocco is of little value to Germany, except as a means of terrorising and weakening France, as a means of threatening several of the most important British trade routes and Gibraltar, and as a means of setting Spain against France and Great Britain. In German hands Morocco would be a permanent danger to the peace of the world, and it cannot be doubted that the peaceful nations of the world ought to oppose Germany's occupation of that country. Even her own allies may not care to be embroiled with their neighbours over Morocco. Besides, it seems very doubtful whether the enlargement of the German dominion in Africa would be desirable on humanitarian grounds. German colonisation has been a failure because the Germans do not know how to deal with the natives. German colonisation has been distinguished by the brutal misdeeds of countless officers and officials. The shameless plundering of the natives in German South-West Africa drove the Hereros into a rebellion which was suppressed by the extermination of the men, women and children, of whom many thousands were driven into the waterless desert and condemned to slow death by thirst and starvation.

Germany has been trying to acquire Southern Morocco, and perhaps the French Congo as well, by methods which remind one of those employed by Louis XIV. of France. But Louis XIV. observed at least some appearance of legality in robbing the German Empire and the Spanish Netherlands of valuable territories in time of peace, by obtaining edicts justifying his violent proceedings by his Chambres de Réunion. Germany has gone farther than Louis XIV. Germany demanded the best part of Morocco and part of the French Congo as 'compensation' without telling us what she required to be compensated for. That would apparently be explained only after the transference had been made. German diplomacy has done an ill-service to the Empire. The position and prestige of a State, as of an individual, depend very largely on its reputation for honesty, straightforwardness, reliability and fair dealing. As a friend and admirer of Germany, I

regret that her diplomacy has laid Germany open to the gravest suspicions, and has destroyed the belief in her peacefulness and all that has been done during the last few years for improving Anglo-German relations.

War has been brought within the limits of vision. It is to be hoped that Germany will turn away from the very dangerous course upon which she has embarked, a course which in a very short time may bring her into a collision not only with France, but with several Great Powers; and as the Triple Alliance is believed to be a purely defensive alliance relating only to Europe, Germany may find herself deserted by her allies in the hour of trouble. Let us hope that the Morocco crisis can be explained away as the mistake of a single man. Let us hope that Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter will be replaced without delay. That will solve and explain the crisis, and the Morocco incident will soon be forgotten. Persistence on the dangerous and unprecedented course which Germany is steering at the present moment may imperil Germany's future, and may cost the Emperor his throne. The German nation is intensely loyal and patriotic, but it would never forgive a monarch who had driven the nation into a disastrous war without adequate reason.

J. ELLIS BARKER.

Constitutional Club, London,
July 26th.

THE KING AND HIS PREROGATIVE

In the execution of the lawful prerogative the King is and ought to be absolute. . . He may reject what bills, make what treaties, coin what money, *create what peers*, pardon what offences he pleases.—BLACKSTONE : *Commentaries.*

When the King dies his politic body escapes from his natural body and by a sort of legal metempsychosis enters into the natural body of his successor. . . . But while he is alive the two bodies are indissolubly united and consolidated into one.—ALLEN : *On the Prerogative*, p. 6.

When we say the influence of the Crown [is] increased, it by no means follows that the influence of the King is equally augmented; indeed it may be directly the reverse.—LORD JOHN RUSSELL : *English Government and Constitution* (p. 318).

WHEN the history of our distracted age comes to be written the historian will select the year 1911 as the high-water mark of the prerogative. *Nullum tempus occurrit regi*—no lapse of time can operate to bar the claims of the King; the ancient maxim of the lawyers has suddenly renewed its strength with dramatic and overwhelming force. Writing at the very beginning of the constitutional controversy not quite two years ago I ventured to predict that this would be its issue.[1] Its issue it has been but it will not be its end. Every precedent, as Burke once remarked, is the fruitful mother of a hundred more, and we are probably on the eve of changes yet more momentous than those we have recently witnessed. The weakness of what has often been called the weakest part of the Constitution was never more apparent than now, and I shall be greatly surprised if this sudden blow to the security of the House of Lords does not give a new vitality to the movement in the Unionist party for its reform. Members of that party may not unnaturally reflect that other exercises of the prerogative no less potent are no less legally permissible. The prerogative to create life-peers has never been taken away. The prerogative to withhold writs of summons from peers at the commencement of a new Parliament is legally unimpaired. We do not for a moment believe that the Liberal party would ever thus abuse a triumph which in the writer's opinion was as legitimate as it was inevitable. But the intimidating effect of such an assertion of the prerogative as we are now witnessing may remove many landmarks of political thought. Men will now reflect on the

[1] *The House of Lords and the Constitution*, p. 31.

magnitude of the power that may be exercised by a ministry commanding the confidence of the House of Commons. They will realise anew the significance of a saying that had become almost trite from repetition that 'the prerogatives of the Crown are the privileges of the people.'[2]

The saying has not the meaning to-day that it had in the day of Pitt. Pitt was a stout defender of the prerogative as a power held in trust by the Crown for the people, but when he spoke of the people he did not mean the House of Commons, still less did he mean a reformed electorate—he was a Prime Minister in a minority. He was resting on the support of a King who had not yet surrendered, as his successors have had to surrender, the personal control of his prerogatives, and he had behind him a House of Lords which was still a powerful factor in the control of the unreformed constituencies. Pitt did indeed, unconsciously, when he dissolved a hostile House of Commons in 1784, set a precedent which worked powerfully in the transfer of the prerogative from its control by the King and the House of Lords to its control by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister began by asking for a dissolution; he has since acquired a right to claim it, and to claim it not only against a hostile House of Commons but against an obstructive House of Lords. Thus by an insensible process of development the exercise of this particular prerogative has at last really passed into the hands of the people. The General Election of 1910, as we shall show later, has set this beyond doubt.

The use of the prerogatives in general remained dormant while the long ascendency of the Unionist party continued. When in power they had little occasion for their exercise. They had a docile House of Lords, and it is not a little singular that they often went out of their way to do by statute what they might have done by prerogative. The cession of Heligoland was a notable case in point. Mr. Gladstone, upholding the later Whig tradition,[3] protested against the innovation with no little prescience as to the danger to the Liberal party of creating a precedent for the intervention of the Lords by Bill in matters of government which had hitherto been transacted by Order in Council. None the less Lord Salisbury's Government were but following the main stream of constitutional development. The tendency of Parliaments since 1832 had been to bring more and more of the prerogative under statutory regulation, if only because the prerogative by the very fact of its imprescriptible character was vague and undefined. Could the King set up courts to try Englishmen on foreign terri-

[2] The earliest use of this expression that I can trace occurs in 1676.
[3] Cp. Shelburne: see Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*, iii. 312.

tory? It was doubtful.[4] Had he the power to expel criminal aliens who had taken refuge in this country? It was disputed.[5] Could he grant charters to new municipalities with a power to levy tolls for municipal services? It was uncertain.[6] Had he still the power to enfranchise a new borough or disfranchise an old one? It was thought to be obsolete.[7] Could he legislate for English Colonies acquired by settlement? It had been done in Australia but not without misgiving. The Foreign Jurisdiction Acts, the Extradition Act, the Municipal Corporations Act, the Reform Act, the British Settlements Acts supplied the answer to these questions by conceding to the King whatever was disputed without withdrawing anything that was admitted.[8]

This tendency to confer powers on the executive by statute or to regulate such powers as it already possessed at common law in virtue of the prerogative had, however, become so customary that the prerogative itself had almost fallen into obscurity. The Liberal Government may be said to have rediscovered it when, confronted with a House of Lords hostile to their South African policy of a grant of self-government, they suddenly availed themselves of the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the Crown to legislate for Colonies acquired by conquest or cession.

A French critic of great acuteness, M. Boutmy, has remarked of the English Constitution that it is full of 'hibernating parts'—ancient statutes, disused prerogatives, derelict councils which time cannot enervate nor desuetude destroy. Should a grave emergency arise a touch of the lawyer's wand will call them into life and renew the vitality of their youth. It has long been a commonplace of historians that, while the Revolution of 1689 altered the succession to the Crown, it left its prerogatives intact. The two centuries that have since elapsed have witnessed a gradual transfer of the prerogative from the King to his Ministers. What they at first viewed with suspicion as the King's they have come to regard with affection as their own. We are confronted with the paradox that the power of the Crown has grown in proportion as the power of the King has declined. The English monarchy in the reign of George the Fifth has become almost as much a constitutional fiction as was the Roman Republic under the principate of Augustus. True, the Crown 'does' nothing, as Maitland once remarked, but lie in the Tower and in the vocabu-

[4] See the preamble to 6 & 7 Vict. c. 94.
[5] The point is discussed incidentally in *Musgrove v. Toy* (A.C. 1891 p. 272.)
[6] See *Rutter v. Chapman*, M. & W. viii. 16, and Chitty, *Prerogatives*, p. 386.
[7] See Hansard, Ser. 3, Vol. 140, p. 335.
[8] This is a point of some uncertainty.

lary of the law the King is still the source of authority. Writs run, laws are made, supplies are voted in and to his name. In law the King is both legal and equitable owner of his kingship. To distinguish between his natural and politic capacities, between the King as man and the King as Sovereign, is, as Coke[9] invited the reader to observe by a terrible example in the law of treason, a 'most damnable and damned' opinion. But in point of *fact* the two capacities were never more distinct than now. Whatever be the King's private opinions his 'politics' are not his own, but those of his Ministers. On the other hand, in the execution of their policy his Ministers, however displeasing their politics may be to the Sovereign, share his prerogatives and are protected by his immunities. The King enjoys the benefit of the prerogative in his private capacity—his private estates may not be taxed nor his palaces rated nor his person impleaded; the Ministers enjoy it in their public capacity—their offices in Whitehall pay no rates; in their official acts they cannot be sued for tort; the Courts will not compel them to perform their official duties.[10] Nothing perhaps illustrates this legal dualism more curiously than the Crown lands—the reversionary interest is in the Crown, but the State is the tenant for life under a kind of statutory conveyance known as the Civil List. But the Crown lands which the King has conveyed away enjoy the same legal immunities as the private estates which he has retained. We will not pursue these legal illustrations any further; enough has been said to illustrate our thesis that in the twentieth century the English executive is legally the most powerful Government in the world.

The power of the Crown has increased in two ways—first, by the revival of old prerogatives; secondly, by the grant of new statutory powers. Of the latter we shall have something to say later. It is with the sudden and dramatic revival of the prerogative that we are most immediately concerned. Do the scope and occasion of its assertion indicate any further shifting in the transfer of power from the person of the King to the Cabinet? In other words, is the King's personal influence likely to be greater or less in future than it has been in the past? Further, does this revival of the prerogative mean that the Ministry is becoming more autocratic? Does it involve an

[9] Coke: Reports, vii. 10b.

[10] We refer of course to their prerogative acts, *i.e.* their duties owed to the Crown, not to duties imposed on them by statute. The distinction is clearly made in the leading case of *R.* v. *the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury*, 1872.

increase in the power of the Prime Minister or of the House of Commons or of the electorate?

As to the question of any transfer of power from the King to the Cabinet, I do not think that it arises. The exercise of a prerogative of this kind is not one of those—such as the direction of foreign policy or the appointment to a particular office the gift of the Crown—in which the Sovereign can, as it were, measure his strength against his Ministry as in such cases Queen Victoria sometimes measured it. Mr. Gladstone once defined the flexibility of the relationship between the King and his Ministers in language of peculiar felicity. 'In the face of the country,' he remarked, 'the Sovereign and the Ministers are an absolute unity. The one may concede to the other, but the limit of concession by the Sovereign is at the point where he becomes willing to try the experiment of changing his Government.'[11] In the case under discussion the King could only have refused to follow the advice of the Prime Minister if he had been prepared to try this experiment. He might conceivably have taken this course before the election of last December; he could not take it afterwards. But even before December the only alternatives open were either the resignation of the Ministry or a dissolution, and the choice of these alternatives has now become that of the Prime Minister rather than of the King. The third course of a dismissal of the Ministry by the King, though theoretically within his power, involves so direct an intervention of the Sovereign that it has not been practised for a century. King William the Fourth's dismissal of Melbourne in 1834 is now universally recognised, in the light of subsequent information,[12] as a resignation rather than a dismissal. Mr. Asquith therefore had it in his power to dissolve and in almost so many words to ask the country whether the prerogative should be exercised. Had he attempted to insist on the exercise of the prerogative before the election he might have exposed himself to the risk of a refusal, and as he could not have dissolved against the Sovereign he would have had to resign. His resignation would doubtless have been followed by the acceptance of office by Mr. Balfour, who would then have been in a position to dissolve with all the prestige of the King's refusal to accept the advice of his opponent. Neither the King nor his Prime Minister therefore has been a free agent—it cannot be said that either 'demanded' a dissolution of the other: both bowed to the necessity of consulting the popular will. No question of antagonism can arise here, and it is mischievous to suggest either that the King was arbitrary or his Prime Minister presumptuous. The King was no more

[11] *Gleanings*, i. 235 [12] *Melbourne Papers*, pp. 220-5.

compromised by Mr. Asquith's victory than he would have been by his defeat, for the grant of a dissolution is no longer regarded, as it was still regarded in the early years of Queen Victoria,[13] as a personal exercise of royal power. The situation is singularly like that of 1832, with this important difference, that the dissolution of 1910 was not only a dissolution to decide the fate of a Bill, but also the exercise of the prerogative to pass it. In 1832, even after the country had pronounced in favour of the Bill, the question of the prerogative remained open, and the King still felt himself at liberty to refuse his Ministry's advice to create peers and, by accepting their resignation, try the experiment of an alternative Government; it was only when the experiment had proved unsuccessful that he granted the use of his prerogative. But precedents make precedents, and the failure of William the Fourth's experiment was decisive, not only for that case, but for all subsequent ones. It decided not only that he must create peers, but that his successors, in a similar case, must not hesitate to make them. The prerogative in this matter has passed from the hands of the King, not so much to his Prime Minister, but to the electorate, for whom the Prime Minister holds it in trust. We think that this will be the verdict of posterity on the events of the month of August 1911. Other and lesser prerogatives may be and may remain 'the discretionary power of the executive'; this supreme prerogative of forcing the House of Lords to yield has passed definitely into the hands of the people. Juristic speculation in future will be inclined to speak not, as Blackstone did, of a dual sovereignty residing in the 'King in Council' and the 'King in Parliament' respectively, nor of a single sovereignty of 'King, Lords, and Commons,' but, going even beyond Austin's 'King, Lords, and electors,' it will speak of the sovereign electorate.

Rarely are men conscious of the full significance of the changes through which they are passing. The full significance of the election of 1832 was not apparent even to the Ministry which won it. Before that date the close domestic connexion between the old pocket-boroughs and the House of Lords who owned the larger part of them had, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, 'cushioned off'[14] the conflicts between the two Houses. Since then the conflicts have ceased to be domestic, and an appeal to the electorate has involved the invocation of a force the more decisive as it is external. This is probably the reason why, while so many other prerogatives of the Crown have either fallen into disuse or been

[13] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, i. 348.

[14] *Gleanings*, i. 77.

regulated by statute, the prerogative of creation of peers has neither been impaired by disuse nor limited by surrender.

A consideration of the position of the Crown under statutory regulations will make it clear why the Sovereign's personal influence is tending to recede into the background.

Does the tendency of such regulation operate to increase the personal power of the King? We think not. When the Act of 1858 transferred the Government of India from John Company to the Crown it was to the Crown in Parliament rather than to the Crown in Council that the transfer was made. Great was Queen Victoria's indignation at the way in which two of the fairest flowers of what Bacon called the 'garland of prerogatives' were surrendered to Parliament—the right to make peace and war in so far as it affected the movement of Indian troops and the control of the civil service in India.[15] She tried hard in compensation to subject the Secretary for India to the same personal control as the Secretaries of State, particularly the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, over whom, in the person of Palmerston, she had triumphed in 1851. In her Memorandum of 1858 [16] she insisted that a secretary who administered 'in the Queen's name' must submit all despatches to her Majesty and, what was more, must not introduce any matter of importance to his Council without first consulting her. But on the whole Queen Victoria fought a losing battle. Step by step her predecessors had surrendered the right of personally presiding over their Councils. George the First absented himself from Cabinet meetings; George the Third went a step further by giving up sitting at the Treasury Board after his surrender of the hereditary revenues. To preside at the Privy Council is still within the constitutional powers of the King, but only on the understanding that nothing is discussed there. The last entrenchment of the personal authority of the Sovereign, the army, was surrendered when the old dual control of a commander-in-chief responsible to the Sovereign, and a Secretary for War responsible to Parliament, gave way to the sole control of the latter. Queen Victoria made no attempt to regain the personal exercise of power surrendered by her predecessors, but she clung jealously to the right of direction. Here, as I have said, on the whole she gradually lost ground. In foreign policy she gained it; even at the expense, according to Gladstone, of the primacy of the Prime Minister, by her successful assertion of her claim to discuss the despatches of the Foreign Secretary before he had agreed on them with the Prime Minister. But, generally speaking—especially in the matter of legislation—she lost ground. George the

[15] *Letters*, iii. 374. [16] *Ibid.* iii. 380.

third had ultimately failed to extract pledges of a negative kind from his Ministers against Catholic emancipation, and when Wellington claimed that the King by his choice of Ministers expressed a positive approval of their policy, he was using language that had already become obsolete. The most that Queen Victoria successfully contended for was the right to be consulted before important measures were introduced into Parliament, and her claim that she should be consulted before the Government made or accepted vital amendments in them during their passage through the House of Commons was signally defeated.[17] On the other hand she exercised a remarkable influence as a mediator between the two Houses of Parliament in cases of conflict on two important occasions—namely, in the disputes over the Irish Disestablishment Bill of 1868 and the Franchise Bill of 1884. In both cases her communications with the opposite leaders were, of course, made with the approval of the Prime Minister, without which they could not have been made at all, and were directed not towards modifying the legislative proposals of the Government to suit any personal predilections, but in order to bring the rival parties together with a view to compromise. Such an exercise of the personal influence of the Sovereign is, of course, always legitimate. But to mediate is not to arbitrate.

There does indeed now seem to be no point of time in the life of the Sovereign when he actively pursues a policy of his own. From the moment he ceases to follow the advice of one Minister, he must find another who will accept a retrospective responsibility for the action of the Sovereign. Instead of saying the King never dies,[18] we might with almost equal truth say 'The Prime Minister never dies.' Peel's words as to this are well known.[19] The view expressed was repeated by Gladstone in a remarkably interesting Memorandum on the curious situation which arose in 1873 when Disraeli, with singular disingenuousness, tried to advise the Sovereign without accepting responsibility for his advice.[20]

The Sovereign cannot act alone. The tendency is to restrict more and more his political communications with other than his

[17] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, iii. 374. There is a highly interesting letter of Granville's to the Queen on the etiquette as to the introduction of resolutions or bills touching the prerogative in Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of Lord Granville*, vol. i. p. 523-5, a book which, as the classical authority on Victorian foreign policy, is invaluable for its treatment of questions touching the exercise of the prerogative.

[18] The Demise of the Crown Act, 1901, has in a sense carried the doctrine a step further by removing the last traces of any effects of the death of the King on the tenure of offices, etc.

[19] *Peel Memoirs*, ii. 31.

[20] Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, ii. 446-56.

Ministers. William the Fourth appears (the history of the period so far as revealed to us by his correspondence with Grey, and by Molesworth and Roebuck's narratives, is somewhat obscure on this point) to have conveyed to the Opposition leaders in 1832 the necessity of his having to create peers if they did not withdraw, without the knowledge of his Ministers.[21] It is worthy of remark that in a very similar crisis to-day the intimation has been made, not by the King, but by the Prime Minister. No such announcement was made by Grey in 1832, though he more than hinted at it.

Whether statutory definition of the prerogative makes the Government more or less arbitrary I do not propose to inquire here. It by no means follows that a power which Parliament has regulated by statute becomes less arbitrary than when it was governed by prerogative. It may, indeed, become much more so, and by giving statutory effect 'as if they were incorporated in this Act' to Orders in Council made by the Minister, such regulation may withdraw the executive from that control by the courts which can always be exercised when the prerogative has not been so regulated. We have seen a Government enabled by statute to set up 'a despotism' which it never could have established by prerogative.[22] We have seen it empowered by an Act of Parliament to alter the terms of the Act itself.[23] The tendency of statutory regulation is often to diminish the responsibility of Ministers. The transfer of powers to the Army Council by the Army Annual Act of 1909 would, but for the saving clause inserted in the Bill when under discussion, reserving the sole responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament for the exercise of the Royal prerogative, probably have diminished Parliamentary control over army administration. There is always the danger of putting the prerogative into commission when the powers of a Secretary of State are transferred to or shared with a council by statutory enactment. It was only avoided in the Government of India Act by giving the Secretary of State—the first statutory Secretary—the power to overrule his Council just as one of the prerogative Secretaries can overrule his department. Queen Victoria, in her jealousy for the integrity of her prerogative and her dislike of encroachment on it by statute, was unconsciously upholding the liberty of the subject.[24]

[21] *Greville Journals*, i. 303, and Roebuck, *History of the Whig Ministry*.

[22] *R. v. Crewe (Earl), Ex parte, Sekgome*, 1910, 2 K.B., in which Lord Justice Farwell said of the issue decided in favour of the Crown: 'It raises the question of the right of the Crown by Order in Council to create *a despotism* in the Protectorate,' p. 611.

[23] See *R. v. Wilson*, 3 Q.B.D., 42.

To return to the present crisis. It will be apparent from what has just been said that the exercise of old prerogatives by a Liberal Government no more indicates an arbitrary temper, than the recourse to statutory powers by a Unionist Government implies a deferential one. The peculiar circumstances attending the exercise of the prerogative of creation of peers make its assertion not the despotic act of an autocratic Ministry, but the logical expression of the national will. This is not the time to enter into the delicate question of exactly how and when the request for the exercise of that prerogative was made by the Prime Minister. The history of these things will not, and must not, be written for many years to come, and when the Leader of the Opposition tries at the present moment to put hypothetical questions to the Prime Minister on this point he violates an etiquette that has hitherto been unquestioned. As Mr. Gladstone forcibly remarked:

> The dignity of the Crown requires that it should never come into contact with the public, or with the Cabinet, in mental *déshabillé*.

I have good reason for saying that when the time does come to write of these things, the public will learn that never have the relations of a King and his Prime Minister been more harmonious than in the present crisis. To talk of 'the prostitution of the Crown' is mischievous nonsense. Those who talk like this forget that for the first time in our history the opinion of the country was invited and taken on the very text of the measure in question, after attempts at compromise had been tried and had failed. In the language of the jurists the electorate was invited to exercise 'constituent' powers. This particular prerogative had, unlike the lesser prerogatives, remained unrestricted and unregulated by statute just because the House of Lords had remained unreformed. This is not the place to enter into the constitutional aspects of peerage 'law'—I have done it elsewhere [25]—but it would not be difficult to show, particularly by an examination of the Wensleydale case, that the House of Lords during the nineteenth century has suffered from the oligarchical distemper which was exhibited by the House of Commons during the eighteenth. Between the arbitrary determination of its own constitution by the House of Commons, in the exercise of a political jurisdiction in election petitions during the eighteenth century, and the arrogant assumption of a right by the House of Lords to alter the law of the prerogative by a mere resolution in 1856,

[25] *The Westminster Gazette*, July 24, 1911.
[24] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, iii. 377.

ere is not much to choose. Had the House of Commons not formed itself by statute in 1832, there were some who seriously ntended that the ancient prerogative of enfranchisement of new roughs might have had to be revived. The House of Lords, ving remained unreformed, has had to admit—as all its legal mbers admitted in the Wensleydale case—that the prerogative create hereditary peers could not fall into desuetude. The eel has come full circle.

J. H. MORGAN.

A VINDICATION OF WAR

'To everything there is a reason, and a time for every purpose under heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die . . . . a time for war, and a time for peace' (Eccl. iii. 8). 'They have healed also the hurt of my people lightly, saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace' (Jer. vi. 14). 'Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, nay; but rather division' (Luke xii. 51).

It has been certain unwise politicians, not the seers, who have ever healed the hurt of the people lightly by lulling them into a sense of false security from the terrible consequences of unsuccessful war, by proclaiming Peace, peace, when there is no peace. It is contrary to the nature of things. And what has been the result? Empire after empire, nation after nation, has been overwhelmed and obliterated, and how? Not by war exactly, but by war for which the people were not prepared.

In times of national emergency, a state is weakened by citizens who hope that peace at any price will involve less risk and personal sacrifice than armed resistance. They are cast in the same mould as those who, in our early history, foolishly expected to enjoy the blessings of peace by buying off the Danes. It is unthinkable to them that the wolf could be so immoral as to hurt the gentle, unoffending lamb. And they are apparently without knowledge of the process under which the gregarious animal man has evolved to his present state of comparative perfection, or, at all events, if they accept the principle of Nature's sifting process in the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, they without any justification assume that, no matter what may have been the conditions in past ages, modern civilisation has freed man, but man alone, from Nature's inexorable laws, and he may, for the future, continue to evolve to a higher state without undergoing the ordeal of battle that was ever present to his forefathers.

Those who so confidently believe in such fantastic ideas might well ponder over Cromwell's advice to a deputation of intolerant Puritans: 'I beseech you, gentlemen, in the name of Christ, to believe it possible that you may be mistaken.' Our

domestic animals certainly progress under peace conditions, but then does not man, as pitilessly as Nature, destroy the unfit?

When Napoleon was securely chained to the rock at St. Helena, many people in this country did not believe it possible that they could be mistaken that there would be no more war—the millennium was as good as come. Well, we know what sort of a millennium was ushered in! Just at first all Europe was exhausted and tired of war—the combatants required breathing time between the rounds—but alas! for the peace-party, the stream of human gore soon began to flow again in undiminished volume, just as the quiescent volcano pours forth its periodical flow of fresh lava. Rest follows effort, effort rest. But why should anyone have been surprised? Might they not have known from history that it must be so?

Man has no reason to boast of his foresight. For centuries France had been our hereditary enemy; no serious war cloud could arise except in France. When the French were crushed in 1815, war was unthinkable, and the same thing occurred in 1870. But what unforseen changes have occurred in the last few decades! War with France is again unthinkable, but for a different reason. Close friendship with France is now as essential to us as it is to her, but is the peace of Europe more assured? Certainly not; though the conditions are greatly changed, and may change again, the war-cloud never disperses.

At the present time we tolerate some self-sacrifice, perhaps not enough, in preparations for war, because the prospects of peace are less apparent to us than to our grandparents, but there are few professional politicians who have the courage to tell the people that we may, at very short notice, be plunged in a great war with the most awful possibilities. Indeed, if politicians defend military expenditure, they do so apologetically, and try to impress upon their hearers that they, at all events, are no advocates of militancy, which is erroneously likened to a vampire sucking the very life-blood of the nation. Militancy demands effort, and all effort demands blood, but, unlike the vampire, it also creates blood. Without effort there would be no life-blood to suck.

We may all be in agreement that war is a dreadful thing and, at the time, an almost unmitigated evil, but there is considerable disagreement regarding the necessity of war and its future effects. There cannot be much in common between those who assert that conferences, compromises and arbitration can and must settle all international disputes, and those who insist that *war is in the nature of things* and is actually necessary for the future welfare of man. Here we have two hostile parties who never contemplate so much as a truce, and the more aggressive is perhaps the

side that believes in universal peace and for ever wars against war under any circumstances whatever. Between these extreme parties is the great silent majority that reflects very little on the subject, and, according to circumstances, reinforces one side or the other. The war-party appeals to history and evolution, which the peace-party ignores, because it is unable to strengthen its case by pointing to any precedents.

Communities have, from the instinct of self-preservation, consolidated and organised themselves into nations and empires, and much strengthened their fighting capacity by suppressing private and, to a great extent, civil war. However, it is not logical to deduce that, because these sources of internal weakness have been eliminated, international warfare may, in the same way, become a thing of the past, though it is undoubtedly true that conferences, arbitration, and the spirit of forbearance will prevent many unnecessary wars, but the antagonism of races is very real —*it is in the nature of things*—and there has been no abatement of great wars, rather the contrary.

At the Guildhall on the 9th of November 1910 Mr. Asquith said truly: 'No single country can reduce its expenditure (on armaments) and trust, even temporarily, for its own security, and the security of its possessions, to the forbearance of more powerful and vigilant neighbours.'

We have lately had a prolonged conference of Statesmen who completely failed to come to an agreement on a constitutional question. Therefore, is it at all probable that the representatives of hostile nations will often be able to avert war by means of a conference? How have we restrained the lawlessness, violence and wanton destruction of property by excited strikers except by the display of force? Yes, it is the superior force that is the best safeguard against wars of all kinds. Arbitration is a noble ideal that appeals strongly to public opinion, because it is enormously to the interests of both contracting parties that differences which are not of vital importance should be settled without a resort to arms, but we must not deceive ourselves, we are not approaching the millennium.

When man attempts to control or interfere with the great forces of nature, it behoves him to act with circumspection. The Po, like some other rivers, used periodically to overflow its banks and spread a vast amount of sediment over its valley, but these floods have long since been prevented, and the river confined to its channel, so that the sediment is now deposited in its bed, and, although this is partially dredged to repair and raise the banks, the level of the stream has gradually risen, and the water now flows in a raised aqueduct, much above the valley. The care

of the banks is the cause of much expenditure and anxiety, and, if from any cause the river should now break through its barrier, the effect of the overwhelming flood would be appalling.

In India, by means of sanitation, we have preserved hundreds of thousands of lives, and the figures run into millions so far as famines are concerned. We have also, very properly, prevented infanticide and internal warfare. Famines have hitherto been more or less local, though the areas may be immense, and sometimes millions have died of starvation. By means of improved transport, elaborate organisation, and heavy expenditure, the famine-stricken millions have been relieved. However, are we not, after all, preparing for a catastrophe on a far larger scale than anything ever known before? The population is increasing enormously, and a great famine will come by and by that we shall be unable to cope with, and, in one season, there will perish of starvation far more than would have been spread over many years had not man, with the most humane intention, interfered with the course of Nature. The vast increase in the population of India is due to the fact that practically everyone is married very young indeed, and the question of having no means to support a family is not considered. In fact, we have of necessity prevented causes that reduced the teeming population, but, having closed the safety-valves, we must not be surprised if the pent-up forces break through the feeble barriers and produce effects quite beyond our control. The pathos of it is that we cannot help ourselves, we could not act otherwise than we have done. We cannot keep the population within reasonable limits, but Nature will and must do so, as regardless of our sufferings as she is of those of the other animals that struggle for the limited subsistence that is to be found on this earth.

Then regarding slavery. It passed the wit of man in the time of the Greeks and Romans, and much later, to perceive that slave-labour would ultimately prove a curse to him. We have bought our experience dearly, and America is still reaping the dire results of acting contrary to Nature.

Man is ever attempting to bridle Nature as he does a horse, and he has been wonderfully successful, but he sometimes misdirects his efforts, and has to pay the consequences when Nature has not really been conquered.

We seek to protect ourselves from the horrors of war; we settle peaceably many international disputes, and wars are apparently avoided, but sometimes only postponed, because they still recur and unfortunately on a more gigantic scale than ever; the battles of hours now drag on into days, and the killed and wounded far out-number those of earlier days; instead of a few mercenaries, whole nations now take up arms.

If, in the distant future, European wars could cease for a time, it could perhaps only be because the pressure of circumstances, which put an end to private warfare, may cause the nations to combine to protect themselves against threatening aggression from the races of other continents.

If we close the safety-valves of war, the force accumulates, something must give way, and there is a fearful and devastating explosion, and, with all our good intentions, one single catastrophe may be more awful than the sum total of all the evils from which we have spared ourselves in the previous years.

Man has always been groping; history records that he has often blundered badly in the past, and this leads us to suppose that he will blunder again in the future. This is all very sad and discouraging, but surely warns us of the limitations of human wisdom and foresight.

The brotherhood of man and universal peace are fine ideals, but in practice we have to strive for the advancement and preservation of the intellectual and physical powers of individuals, and for national patriotism before we can afford to consider cosmopolitanism. Charity begins at home. In advocating the national spirit, we do not necessarily close our ears to the calls of humanity; we did not do so when, at great cost, we emancipated the slaves; and nations send relief to other nations overwhelmed by calamities like earthquakes or even war. We must take the world as it is, and not as idealists imagine it might be, and we must recognise the extraordinary differences in national characteristics, and that there is absolutely no craving in the world for cosmopolitanism.

Of course we feel that we are citizens of the world as well as citizens of a particular nation, and we recognise our obligations more or less imperfectly, but there can be nothing in cosmopolitanism corresponding to patriotism—indeed we have no word to express it—because the world of men has no soul or spirit. It is not universally true that the whole is the sum of the parts. For example, a complex living organism is more than the sum of its parts or cells; it has an entity, an intelligence or a soul, and the same may be said of a community, a regiment, an army, a nation, an empire, but it is doubtful if we can go higher; there is not even sufficient solidarity to give a soul to either the white, the black or the yellow race. If there cannot be white, black, or yellow patriotism, how can there be much cosmopolitan patriotism? No attempt has ever been made to form so much as the nucleus of a cosmopolitan community. Although cosmopolitanism is an unpracticable ideal, duty to our neighbour is quite a different thing, and it should be fostered by good men

of all races and creeds, and it will remove much misery and injustice.

The doctrine that all men are equal has not caught on, and the white man will never believe that the black man is his equal. Conflicting interests we see all around us for individuals; they lead to quarrels and sometimes even to bloodshed. It is the same with nations, and their quarrels are called war.

'The life of a nation is not only a struggle between its individuals for mere personal existence, but also a strife between nations for greatness and duration. The one quality that stands for success in this latter conflict is unity of purpose and coherency of action, combined with the physical vigour and patriotic spirit of the individuals of the nation. But the continual struggle for the personal existence of these individuals is too apt, owing to its severity and unceasing operations, to divert their minds from the presence of that greater national struggle which, while equally ceaseless, only manifests its triumphant or disastrous results, as the case may be, at more or less distant periods apart.' —*Times*, September 4, 1910.

The history of man affords no example of the formation of a nation, or its survival, by men who abjured war and were devoid of the patriotic spirit.

The theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest is simple enough when we have to consider only natural selection, but when civilised man interferes with Nature he complicates the process. Neither Darwin nor anyone else has attempted to account for the arrival of the fittest—that is an unsolved mystery—only that 'those things best adapted to the conditions of their existence survive, while others survive less certainly or perish'—and when we speak of the survival of the fittest we must ask the question: fittest for what? To carry on war or to over-reach one another, or what?

We know that living things are not exact reproductions of their parents; there is always variation, and from some unknown cause a variation may be an advance to a higher type; but man does not always recognise it as such, especially where his own species is concerned, and he has sometimes endeavoured forcibly to eliminate what he wrongly considered to be the unfit—the Holy Inquisition made such an attempt. The treatment of Socrates and Galileo are good examples. It is at all events probable that the war-struggle, as following Nature, is more likely to secure the survival of the fittest than the peace-struggle which thwarts natural selection and, by questionable means, secures the survival of those who can over-reach their neighbours.

In remote times every man was a warrior, whereas a civilised

community contains a large proportion of men who are physically unfit. A war kills off many of the fit, and from this it might be argued that the less a nation engages in war, the fitter will be the man, but even if it is so in theory, it is not so in practice. A man does not receive everything from his father; he also inherits from his mother, grandparents and ancestors. And it is a fact that, notwithstanding casualties in war, a warlike nation does not deteriorate.

Our ape-like ancestors were very defenceless creatures till their superior intelligence enabled them to use weapons and implements, and then for countless generations they waged war against the animal kingdom, and finally brought it—and the vegetable kingdom too—into subjection, but if it had not been for this severe struggle we should still be as defenceless and unintellectual as the existing manlike apes.

We know something of the evolution of man in the past, but nothing of the future. Primeval man did not, and could not, accumulate the means of subsistence to enable him to secure the survival and future well-being of unfit offspring; he lived more or less from hand to mouth, and the unfit succumbed. Modern man lives under different and more artificial conditions; and it is quite certain that sexual selection is a more potent factor than it was in the distant past; but we cannot know how these conditions will affect the wished-for improvement of the race. Man has snatched up the guiding reins and is driving badly, but if there is a purpose with outside intelligence, guidance, and control, we may console ourselves that man will not be able utterly to thwart the transcendental designer or creator of protoplasm which is the physical basis of life. Under the rule of civilised man, many of the fittest may arrive in the world only to be submerged by the pressure of circumstances; in other words, they may never get their chance. And, on the contrary, many very unfit may flourish and leave descendants by reason of being born well-to-do. It is the same in all nations, but the less these unfavourable conditions exist, the more healthy the people, and the more likely to prevail when engaged in a death-struggle with an alien people, so that Nature will have her own way in the long run. Consequently, social reforms should engage our sympathy as raising the strength of the community, but for what is strength except for war, inevitable war?

Modern intellectual man considered that the fit might be selected on a large scale by a peace-process, so he introduced competitive examinations. It was a grand idea to eliminate favouritism, but Sir Francis Galton ably points out: 'The objections to competitive examinations are notorious, in that they give undue prominence to youths whose receptive faculties are quick,

and whose intellects are precocious. They give no indication of the directions in which the health, character, and intellect of the youth will change through the development, in their due course, of ancestral tendencies that are latent in youth, but will manifest themselves in after life. Examinations deal with the present, not with the future, although it is in the future of the youth that we are especially interested. Much of the needed guidance may be derived from his family history.'

Speaking generally, individuals who wish to survive must struggle, or compete, to gain some advantage over their fellows. It is the same with nations. In commercial rivalry we have conflicting interests, protective tariffs, and economic war which is often the prelude to the use of arms.

If we had enough to live upon, we should not be content; we should want more, and if we did not, we should lead the idle life, without ambition to work, of the savage whose womenkind easily supply his wants. The human race has hitherto shown no desire to attain to a state of listless Nirvana.

In July 1910, at the annual meeting of the International Arbitration and Peace Association, the President had no practical suggestion for universal peace, but he said:

> Hatred of war was now a matter of conscience with the serious-minded, and until the national conscience was educated to revolt at the idea of war-making, the work of peace congresses and peace societies would be incomplete. The picturesque and emotional side of war-making was so ready to inflame, and the war-making instinct so inflammable, that in times of tension the power of reasoning might be drowned by drums and trumpets. There would always be this danger until the national conscience placed war in the same category as gluttony, drunkenness, murder, and such like. What they had to fight was the sentimentalist who could not see murder under the khâki, flags, bayonets, and drawn swords.

In his own words he proves the hopelessness of universal peace, because the national conscience will never revolt at the idea of war-making when it is considered necessary; nor will it ever place war in the same category as murder. Then the hopelessness of the task is emphasised when the President recognises that man is very susceptible to the emotions, and that the war-making instinct is inherent and very inflammable. And if what they have to do is to fight the sentimentalist, does he not know that most men are profoundly affected by sentiment rather than by reason, and that many of the great wars have been the result of sentiment pure and simple? No, the first step to take is to attempt the impossible —to alter human nature. Supposing war had not been avoided with America some years ago concerning Venezuela, it would have been a scandal to civilisation, but the result of mere sentiment, because there were surely no great interests at stake. When the

French ambassador in 1870 was wrongly supposed to have been slighted, the whole nation, though unprepared, called out for war. It is not suggested they were right, or that this was the sole cause, but it is stated as an example of sentiment. The Crusades and the great religious wars were also the result of sentiment. Sir Ray Lankester, in *Science from an Easy Chair*, says:

> I, too, claim to be a sentimentalist, but the sentiment which thrills me is one of revolt against the needless and remediable suffering of all humanity—suffering which man has brought on himself by his stumbling, half-hearted resistance to Nature's drastic method of purifying and strengthening the race, her remorseless slaughter of the unfit.

Another speaker at the Peace Association did not help the cause by stating: 'It was simply atrocious that nations should exhaust so much of their resources merely to prepare for such a horrible thing as war.' There is no use preaching this doctrine to Prussia, who remembers how she came under the iron heel of the conqueror in 1806, or to France, who has not to this day recovered her crushing defeat in 1870. 'Malheur aux vaincus dont l'histoire est écrite par les vainqueurs!' Do not the French know that Bismarck wished to renew the war and bleed the nation white? When the British Empire is seriously threatened with such an unpleasant ordeal, then militancy will surely raise its head in the land, and we shall be just as righteously anxious as the French to prevent the execution of such a sentence. The Peace Association is wrong to look upon war as a thing apart, and dissociate from it the spirit, emotion, or sentiment that calls it into being.

When an empire, or a nation, falls, it is usual to single out defeat in battle as the cause, but we do not sufficiently consider the contributory causes; they may be numerous, and one of them may be that the people had been over-anxious to suppress militancy, and prematurely to beat their swords into ploughshares, so as to accumulate and revel in more wealth.

In this world everything has its opposite; we cannot get away from it—heat and cold, light and darkness, knowledge and ignorance, good and evil, effort and rest—and the existence of peace supposes war. It is like the swing of the pendulum.

Peace by all means if it is wise, but do not let us lose our warlike virtues, or call our soldiers murderers and butchers.

Now to return to Nature. She has her peculiar laws that restrict the increase of plants and animals that produce millions of seeds or eggs, and the same laws apply to the comparatively slow-breeding animal called man, or there would not be in a few generations standing room for his offspring. 'The struggle to live

is remorselessly keen among the denizens of air and field.' 'For we know the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain.'

The following extract from Sir Ray Lankester tells us what that struggle is like:

Living things, each in its kind, produce a far larger number of young than can possibly grow to maturity, since the kind of food and the situation necessary to each kind are limited and already occupied. Only one oyster embryo out of every five million produced grows up through all the successive stages of youth to the adult stage. The total number of a species of animal and plant on the whole area where it is found does not increase. Even in those which produce a small number of young there is great destruction, and, taking all the individuals into consideration, only a single pair of young arrive at maturity to replace their parents. There is no exception to the rule that every organic being naturally multiplies at so high a rate that, if not destroyed, the progeny of a single pair would soon cover the earth. The elephant is reckoned the slowest breeder of known animals; it commences to breed at thirty years of age, dies at one hundred, and has six young in the interval. After 750 years, supposing all the offspring of a single pair fulfilled the rule and were not destroyed in an untimely way, there would be nearly nineteen million elephants alive descended from the first pair. There is then no doubt as to the enormous excess in the production of young living things, nor as to their necessary competition with one another of the most severe and inexorable kind; nor again as to the necessary death, in many species, of hundreds and thousands, for every one which survives to maturity and in its turn breeds.

Enormous as is the output of young by a single oyster—amounting to something like a million a year in probably four or five successive years—yet it must be remembered that, on the whole, taking all the various oyster-beds into account, some of which increase, whilst others dwindle or actually die out altogether, there is no increase in the oyster population of the seas. Taking them all round, five million young oysters start life in order that one may finally come to maturity.[1]

The struggle is even more intense with the American and Portuguese oyster, as the female produces nine million eggs in one season, and fifty million during her life.

In every living species on this planet we see lavish production, but production kept in check, and man is no exception. War is by no means the most important check to the increase of the human population, but it brings about the survival and preponderance of certain varieties of man that we call nations; some must perish and be supplanted by others, and the history of man provides the object-lessons.

The *Times*, in a leading article on the 27th of October 1909, referred to the Annual Volume of London Statistics. It is not pleasant reading, and the unsatisfactory social condition of the great Christian States has been acquired not in consequence of war, but during a long phase of peace and material prosperity. We may well doubt if civic virtues are promoted by peace.

[1] *Science from an Easy Chair.*

London, Paris, and Berlin stand at the head of civilisation. 'In all three cities there has been during thirty years a progressive fall of birth-rates and death-rates; but the former have fallen more rapidly and much more steadily than the latter.'

The great city of to-day exhibits a constantly diminishing vitality. Nor is this caused by diminished frequency in marriage. In London there has been a fall in the marriage-rate during the same period, but it has not been progressive or nearly so large as the fall in the birth-rate; and in Paris and Berlin the diminishing births have been accompanied by a distinct and considerable, though fluctuating, rise in the marriage-rate. When the births are calculated in proportion to the number of married women it becomes clear that their diminution is in no wise dependent on marriage. The curves for London and Berlin show a steady fall in the number of legitimate births per 100 married women during the last thirty years.

All three, then, show a steadily increasing sterility. It is not confined to the great cities or even to towns, but it is most marked and most general in urban life, of which the great city is the exemplar and epitome.

It (Berlin) is the most modern of the three, the most scientifically organised and equipped, the most intellectually enlightened, the most perfect in a civic sense, and, in short, the most typical great city of to-day. The fall in the birth-rate has been more than twice as rapid there as in the other two, and though the death-rate has fallen rapidly too, it has not kept pace. In Berlin the birth-rate has dropped by more than 20 per 1000, against less than 10 per 1000 in London and Paris during the same period. *The movement has been concurrent with an equally rapid increase of prosperity.* (The italics are mine.—R. C. H.) The superior level of the marriage-rate is especially marked in Berlin, where the birth-rate has fallen most rapidly. There is clearly a connection between prosperity and the falling birth-rate. London is differentiated by another very significant fact: the proportion of illegitimate births is enormously lower, namely, 3.8 per cent., against 17.3 per cent. in Berlin and 28 per cent. in Paris.

War and misery we know depress national vitality; peace, prosperity, and progress do the same in a more subtle and permanent way, because they act through a moral influence which cannot be arrested as a physical one can. Some observers see ground for satisfaction in the movement; but history hardly supports that view. The great city has always eaten up and destroyed the people in all ages. Civilised man becomes so clever in mastering Nature and evading the conditions imposed on him that he ends by escaping from them altogether and disappearing from the scene.

It is an unsupported assertion to say that war does 'depress national vitality,' and at all events not so much as 'peace, prosperity, and progress.' We may take it as a fact that there is an increasing sterility in the three great cities taken as corporate communities, but that is not a necessary proof that the individual members of the city are becoming sterile at the same rate. The small birth-rate has more to do with peace and prosperity and a selfish love of ease, comfort, and luxury. No, peace does not make us live better and more unselfish lives. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the diminished birth-rate is confined to those who have prospered under peace-conditions.

It is not more difficult for an evolutionist to contemplate the sun standing still, in order to increase the destruction of human beings, than a millennium of peace in any form or shape, because both phenomena must be classed as supernatural or unnatural. History warns us that no nation can, with any degree of certainty, count upon exemption from war for even one generation. There is only one way known that may avert war, and that is by being prepared for it. But Mr. Carnegie thinks otherwise, and he has recently given two million pounds 'to hasten the abolition of international war.' Unfortunately, however, a nation will never put to arbitration a question of vital importance, ready as it may be to submit to a decision regarding comparatively unimportant disputes that it would be folly to fight about. War is not always a choice between right and wrong. Who can decide which side was right in the American Civil War, the North which fought for Union, or the South which claimed the right to secede? Would either side have allowed their case to have been submitted to arbitration?

If it be granted that we cannot secure ourselves from war, the question arises whether it is not extremely unwise not to prepare for what undoubtedly cannot be done successfully without preparation. There is nothing that averts aggression like fear of the consequences. It is only this fear that has fairly well kept the peace in Europe for the last forty years by restraining aggressive ambition, greed, or revenge. The historian Lecky truly says: 'There are no signs that democracy, which has enthroned the masses, has any real tendency to diminish war.'

A spirit of unrest, or of boredom with the dull routine of life, even its ease and comfort, may generate a craving for adventure and excitement among the younger people that may create a desire for war. We have examples of this in the warlike tribes in the North-Western Frontier of India, where the elders urge in vain the serious consequences of war. The young Zulus wished to blood their spears; and young Christians yearned to go under fire in South Africa. Human nature is much the same all the world over. Man is naturally a very quarrelsome creature, because combativeness is closely associated with the intinct of self-preservation.

It is hopeless to attempt to change the nature of things, or to explain it. For example, water becomes vapour at 212° F. and solidifies suddenly at 32°, and yet the gases oxygen and hydrogen, of which it is composed, do not liquefy or solidify until the temperature is immeasurably below the freezing-point of their compound.

War is in the nature of things, and history warns us that it is not good for a nation to be too long at peace. War represents

motion and life, whereas a too prolonged peace heralds in stagnation, decay, and death. Man has always been seeking after a Utopia where he will enjoy peace and plenty, ease, comfort, and perfection in all things, but universal peace is an unattainable ideal which to practical men is a mere will-o'-the-wisp. There has always been constant and deadly war in the vegetable as well as in the animal kingdom, indeed, ever since the conditions of this planet permitted the existence of the lowest forms of organic life, and it has only been by war that from these humble beginnings it has been possible by evolution and natural selection to develop so comparatively perfect a creature as man. The physical conditions will be much the same as they are now a million years hence, but our remote descendants may be as much in advance of ourselves as we are of our arboreal ancestors. However, the means of improvement must be the same as in the past, namely, war, relentless war of extermination of inferior individuals and nations. The process will be slower than in the past, because natural selection is hindered and thwarted by civilised man.

War has been the history of man in the past, and must be so also in the future. The introduction of civilisation is not going to change entirely the conditions under which man is to continue to live on this earth. It is not to be supposed that he is going to evolve to further perfection under conditions quite different from those that governed his upward progress in the past. If this fierce struggle for existence could cease, there could be no improvement, no advance to a higher ideal. But it cannot cease, because the population will always be more or less in excess of the subsistence, and therefore the difficulty regarding the unemployed and the under-employed may never be finally removed though it can and must be seriously attempted. And, as man interferes with natural selection, there will always exist the danger of the submergence of the fittest individuals, to be quickly followed by the submergence of the whole nation by a fitter one—that is the history of the rise and fall of nations and empires.

The socialism of bees and ants is far higher than anything man can attain to, but even with them there is constant internal and external competition, and cruel war dovetailed with sublime ideals of association and co-operation for the welfare of the community.

History proves up to the hilt that nations languish and perish under peace-conditions, and it has only been by war that a people has continued to thrive and exist. Rome was never so great as during the long struggle with Carthage, when she fought for her very existence. To be prosperous, peace and war must alternate. Peace for a nation is like sleep for an individual, it gives time for rest and recuperation. But, we must not sleep too long or we infallibly deteriorate. Peace is a disintegrating force,

whereas war consolidates a people. War is no doubt a dreadful ordeal, but it clears the air, and refines the race as fire purifies the gold and silver in the furnace. Nations, like individuals, ultimately benefit by their chastenings—this is one of the mysteries of Nature.

So long as any people, white, black, brown, or yellow, hold weapons in their hands, we must not commit the folly of beating our swords into ploughshares.

The sufferings of man and beast in war are horrible beyond description, and yet, is it not true that it is not in war, but in peace, and in great commercial prosperity, that our worst vices are developed, fostered, and grow rank? With our material prosperity we become self-indulgent, luxurious, inconsiderate, selfish, and even unmanly. In war, many of the noblest traits in human nature assert themselves, and a high sense of honour comes before everything.

The days of small independent kingdoms are past. With easy and rapid communications, the conditions of the world demand mutual protection, and therefore the consolidation of kindred peoples—in other words, great empires—and all parts of an empire must co-operate unselfishly to bear the burden of the defence of their common interests. The future of Australia will be a good object-lesson. Denmark, Holland, and Belgium are anomalies, and the separate existence of these small kingdoms is entirely due to the jealousies of rival empires. There is no colony strong enough to stand alone, independent of a great empire.

Whether we like it or not, there must always be war, and the nations that become unmanly and despise the military spirit will surely succumb to their more warlike neighbours. But far be it from me to advocate a wanton, bullying, and aggressive spirit. We must live and let live. It is to our advantage that other nations should be prosperous, but, unfortunately, *it is in the nature of things* that prosperous nations become jealous of each other, and then the war-cloud looms above the horizon.

The Bible does not say that war is the root of all evil, but that money is so. Now, money is not, as it is often said, the sinews of war. The sinews of war are the flesh and blood and bone of the manhood of the nation, but they must be animated by a warlike spirit.

Finally, in defence of our warlike virtues, I would point out that for some wise but inscrutable reason it has pleased the Almighty to constitute all life in this world on a war and not on a peace basis, and is it wise of the creature to dispute the wisdom of the Creator?

REGD. C. HART.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE CHURCH IN WALES

LIKE the well-known hymn book, the Church in Wales is both 'ancient and modern.' Its history stretches back into the earliest years of the Christian Era. Tidings of its progress reached the ears of Tertullian in his North African home at the beginning of the third century. Its Bishops sat in the great Church Councils of the fourth century; and we know, on the authority of S. Hilary of Poitiers, that in that age of peril to the Christian Faith it was 'free from all contagion of the detestable heresy' of Arius. Ever since the days of the good Bishop of S. David's, the patron saint of Wales, the light of religion and knowledge has shone through its churches and schools in every part of the country. Its four cathedrals, built, rebuilt, and rebuilt again, occupy to-day the sites on which they were planted in the first half of the sixth century. Other institutions have come and gone. The Church remains. Permanence and persistence are sure marks of truth and usefulness. If the Church in Wales had been false to its mission and ceased to be a blessing to the nation, it is difficult to believe that it would have survived, as it has done, the changes and ravages of so many generations.

I

Its renewed inner life and increased outward activity are evidence that the Church is modern as well as ancient. Much valuable and instructive information about its present work and position has been elicited by the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales, and is contained in its report and memoranda. Added to these, in the same Blue-book, is another 'report' so called, which must be distinguished from them. This document, written by one of the Commissioners and signed by him and another, was produced at the last moment, and after the Commission had completed its labours. The distinguished and learned Judge, who throughout acted as chairman, states that its criticisms on certain Church statistics are 'based on suggestions which were not put to the witnesses, and which were in no shape or form presented to the Commissioners during the long series of revises for eighteen

months.' A note by Archdeacon Owen Evans—one of the Commissioners—which according to the learned Judge is 'based on figures and facts presented in evidence to the Commissioners,' points out a number of serious and palpable errors into which the writer has fallen. The publication of this note by Archdeacon Evans was considered by the Judge to be a matter of necessity, 'otherwise grave injustice might be done.' It is, therefore, evident that this lengthy document cannot be regarded as furnishing trustworthy information.

Setting this aside, then, as discredited and of no use, we turn to the official report and the memoranda. The tested facts and figures here presented go to prove that the Church in England and in Wales is one; that the Welsh are not a nation of Nonconformists; that the Church is the largest and strongest religious body in the Principality; that it is now the only progressive religious body; that it is a patriotic Church in full sympathy with the people; and that its present endowments are wholly inadequate to the performance of the work it has in hand.

II

The Church in Wales is an integral part of the great Church of England. The Welsh dioceses differ in nothing from the English except that in the former the Welsh language is largely used. Geographically, they are not separated by any definite boundary-line. The Dioceses of S. Asaph and Llandaff have twenty parishes situated wholly or partly in England; whilst Chester, Hereford, and Lichfield have twenty-four parishes wholly or partly in Wales. For certain purposes the Bishop of Hereford acts with the Welsh Bishops. By Act of Parliament he is one of the five whose duty it is to guard the correctness of the Welsh version of the Book of Common Prayer. The alterations which become necessary in that book on the accession of a new Sovereign are submitted to him, and obtain his approval. Financially, a part of the income of the Welsh clergy is derived from English sources, whilst on the other hand a portion of the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is situate in Wales. Ecclesiastically, the four Welsh Bishops sit in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury; and the Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors in the Lower House. Every revision of the Prayer-Book has been the joint work of the Bishops and clergy of England and the Bishops and clergy of Wales. The laity of Wales sit with their English brethren in the House of Laymen; and there is one representative Church Council for the whole of the Church. Doctrinally, the same creeds are believed, the same truths are taught, the same doctrine of the ministry is held and practised, the same sacraments are

administered, and the same prayers are said in public worship. In English services the same identical Book of Common Prayer is used; and in Welsh services a faithful and exact translation. As the late Mr. Gladstone testified in 1870 in the House of Commons: 'There is a complete ecclesiastical, constitutional, legal, and I may add—for every practical purpose—historical identity between the Church in Wales and the rest of the Church of England.'

III

The figment that the Church in Wales is 'alien' is a recent creation of a fertile imagination, and a travesty of all history. Forty years ago the idea had not entered the brain of any writer of fiction. Speaking in favour of disestablishment in the House of Commons in 1870, Mr. Watkin Williams—who afterwards became a Judge—unhesitatingly declared that the Church in Wales was 'an ancient and venerable institution'; that 'it was not an alien Church forced upon the people by a conqueror and by an oppressor.' That was the view held then by Liberationists; and it is equally true to-day. Nothing has since occurred to change 'an ancient and venerable institution' into 'an alien Church.' Every student of history is well aware that the Church could not have been forced upon the people by Danes, or Saxons, or Normans, or English; for it was already there long before any of them set foot on British soil. An attempt to brand the Church in Yorkshire or in Liverpool as 'alien' would be resented by Englishmen as an unjust and cruel libel. Equally undeserved is the offensive epithet when applied to the four dioceses of Wales.

Throughout its whole history the Church in Wales has been animated by local patriotism and Welsh sentiment. Opinions may differ about the wisdom of the policy, adopted by Welsh Churchmen, which resulted in the refusal to accept S. Augustine as their Archbishop in British times; in resolute resistance to the intrusion into the See of Bangor of Harvé, the first Norman Bishop; in the support given to the revolt of the enthusiastic Welsh Prince, Owen Glendower; but that it was the outcome of a genuine love of Wales there can be no doubt. Moved by the same patriotic spirit, the Church of the Reformation period gave the Welsh people the Bible and the Prayer-Book in their own tongue. In later years, though governed for a period by Bishops who were strangers to the country and ignorant of its language, the parochial clergy remained faithful to the old traditions and loyal to Welsh sentiment. It was at this time that the noble Rector of Llanddowror—whose memory is venerated by every Welshman—established his circulating schools which in twenty-four years were the means of teaching 150,000 scholars to read the Welsh Bible, and which led

eventually to the establishment of the Sunday school. The movement was heartily supported by the parochial clergy; otherwise it could not have prospered as it did.

The present idea underlying the charge of being an 'alien Church' seems to be that the English-speaking Welsh Churchman is an unpatriotic person, and that the Church which provides English services where they are required, and which welcomes the co-operation of English Churchmen, where knowledge of Welsh is not essential, is an alien institution out of sympathy with the people. In certain Nonconformist circles, according to evidence placed before the Commission, it is the practice to induce young people, from false ideas of patriotism, to attend Welsh services and sermons which they do not understand. Thus, Nonconformist chapels resemble those of Roman Catholics in that 'a language not understanded of the people' is used in both. One Nonconformist witness stated: 'There are thousands of children who come to our services unable to profit in the least.' A President of the Welsh Congregational Union went so far as to say: 'When the Welsh language expires the spirituality and sacredness of religion will expire at the same time.' It is because the Church in Wales declines to adopt such doctrines and practices as these that it is denounced as anti-national. Uninfluenced by the odium incurred by such unreasonable charges, the Church at all times has endeavoured to deal with linguistic conditions as it finds them. It provides English services in English districts, Welsh services in Welsh districts; in bilingual districts it offers a choice of languages, whilst in places which are in a transition state—the young people speaking English only, and the older folk clinging to Welsh—as a temporary but unsatisfactory arrangement, the services held are partly in English and partly in Welsh. There are scores of parish churches in which no other language than Welsh has been heard since Latin was discontinued in the sixteenth century. There are 126 churches in the Diocese of S. David's and forty-four in the Diocese of Bangor in which only Welsh services are now held.

Taking the whole of Wales, according to the Census of 1901, half the population speak English only, thirty-five per cent. speak English and Welsh, and fifteen per cent. speak Welsh only. What, under these circumstances, is the language of the Sunday services? The English services number 2442, the Welsh 1113, the bilingual or mixed 228. There has been thus a generous leaning towards Welsh. As the Commissioners point out, the figures show 'that the Welsh services are proportionately high, having regard to the percentage of monoglot Welsh and the percentage of monoglot English.'

IV

Frequent attempts have been made in hostile quarters to ascertain the numerical strength of the Church in the four Welsh dioceses; but without satisfactory results. There appears to be no other way of arriving at the truth than that of a Government religious Census. Churchmen have always been favourable to such a Census; but in deference to the wishes of Nonconformists, none has been taken. Not that Churchmen are anxious to count heads. Their desire is to do their work to the best of their ability, and to leave the result in the hands of their Divine Master. But as false inferences and misrepresentations have become so common and widespread, and have been accepted by men in power as the basis of a destructive policy, justice and fair play demand that the best available measures should be taken to obtain accurate information on the subject. Legislation based on conjecture has never hitherto been the English practice.

The favourite theory of Liberationists has been that the numerical strength of Nonconformity may be best measured by the amount of sitting accommodation provided in places of worship. In a work published by him forty-five years ago, the late Mr. Henry Richard, member for Merthyr Tydyil, working on this theory, made himself responsible for the statement that the proportion of Dissenters to Churchmen in Wales was eight to three; and he appears to have been the author of the oft-quoted phrase 'nation of Nonconformists.' The frequent repetition of this strange theory has so misled Mr. Asquith that, in speaking in the House of Commons last year, he accepted the accommodation provided in places of worship as a 'trustworthy indication' of the relative strength of Church and Nonconformity. Calculated on this erroneous basis, Nonconformists in some counties are made to exceed the whole population. Thus, in Cardiganshire with a population of 60,249, there is chapel accommodation for 75,901. In Merionethshire, which has a population of 49,149, chapel seats have been provided for 62,466. Nonconformists are, of course, at liberty to build as many places of worship as they please; but no one is justified in making the number of sittings a test of the number of worshippers. It is as fallacious as to estimate the population of an overbuilt and partly inhabited town according to the number of rooms in the houses erected by rash speculating builders.

The test which the Commissioners seem to regard as the most satisfactory is that of 'Church communicants,' and 'Nonconformist members.' The two classes are not strictly analogous. The Church communicants placed on the list presented to the Commission were those who had actually communicated in the

course of the year; whilst Nonconformist members were those who had the status of communicants, and not necessarily those who had communicated within a given time. Judged on this basis, the Church is much the strongest and largest religious body in the Principality, its communicants in 1905 being 193,081; the Congregationalists coming second with 175,147 members; and the Calvinistic Methodists third, with 170,617 members. But later official statistics show that the number of Nonconformist members has since steadily decreased, falling from 529,298 in 1905 to 503,201 in 1908—a decrease of 26,097 in three years. Their Year Books report a further falling off last year. On the other hand, there was an increase of 10,177 in Easter Church communicants in the three years referred to; and there is every reason to believe that the total number also, which is generally speaking about 30 per cent. higher, has increased proportionately.

The Nonconformists, according to their own statistics—and no one has suggested that they under-rate their strength—do not claim for themselves quite half the population of Wales. The whole population in 1891 was 2,012,876; and the Registrar-General reckons that in 1905 it had risen to 2,144,390. The total numerical strength of Nonconformists might be ascertained by adding together the number of full members and their children, and the number of adherents and their children; but no official figures are available for the purpose. The estimates offered to the Commission are stated in the report to be 'of little or no use for statistics.' The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists have adopted for their own body a ratio of members to adherents on which they estimate their total strength. Calculating on this ratio, and taking as a basis the total number of Nonconformist full members as presented to the Commission, the total number of members, adherents, children and infants works out at 1,032,254. This, again, is but an estimate formed on *data* furnished by Nonconformists themselves; but it seems to indicate the highest figure which their methods of reckoning are capable of yielding. It will be seen that it represents less than half the population.

The Church does not claim that all the other half are regular worshippers at its services; but it does claim that it is its aim and endeavour to minister to all. Through its excellent system of pastoral care, to which the clergy are known to attach very great importance, and by means of which the light of the Gospel is carried into quarters where irreligion and sin prevail; its ministrations are of very far-reaching character. Moreover, the services of the clergy are frequently sought by Nonconformists, especially in times of trouble, sickness, and sorrow, and in districts where no minister of their own denomination is within reach.

The spiritual work done by the Church, and the religious influenc which it exercises, are things that may not be measured statistics.

V

That the modest parochial endowments of the four Wels dioceses are far from adequate is a well recognised fact. The gros total income of the benefices in 1906 amounted to 242,669*l.* If th sum were divided equally between the 1529 incumbents an assistant clergy, it would yield an income of about 159*l.* gross each; and in the case of tithes the net receipts are considerabl less than the gross. It would have been impossible for the Churc to provide and maintain its 1864 places of worship, and to carr on its extensive pastoral work, if it had to depend entirely o its endowments. The Church laity are alive to the necessit of supplementing them by large voluntary contributions. Durin the years 1840-1906, a sum of 575,554*l.* was contributed toward providing houses of residence for the clergy; whilst during th same period no less than 3,332,385*l.* was expended out of volun tary contributions upon the restoration and enlargement of ancien churches and the erection of new ones. As restorations costin less than 500*l.* were for many years not included in the returns, th sum expended was really more than this, but cannot now be ascer tained. During the year 1905-6 a sum of 48,972*l.* was contribute towards clerical stipends. Each diocese has its own Sustentatio Fund of voluntary subscriptions, out of which both annual grant to supplement small stipends, and larger sums towards increasin the permanent endowment of small benefices, are given. Th total voluntary contributions of Churchmen for the year 19 amounted to 296,412*l.*; the wealthy giving their gold and th poor their pence.

The diocesan endowments are reported to be 35,000*l.* a yea for the whole of Wales; and if this is compared with the expendi ture on similar objects in other dioceses of the Church of Englanc similarly circumstanced, it will be seen to be very moderate i amount; and in some particulars it is found far from sufficient.

An inquiry into the historic legal origin of Church propert was considered to be outside the terms of reference; otherwise some interesting ancient documents, which have survived th ravages of time and flames, might have been produced as example of tithes as well as lands being given by individual Churchme out of their own private resources. *Liber Landavensis* [1] afford an instance of the latter, and a deed brought to light by the lat Archdeacon Bevan of the former; Urban, who was made Bisho of Llandaff in 1107, discovering that some of the property of th

[1] *Liber Landavensis*, edited by D. Gwenogvryn Evans. Oxford, 1893.

See had been alienated, collected together 150 ancient title deeds, setting forth that the alienated lands and other properties had been given in British times to God, the Bishop and his successors, by various individuals. The Normans were men who would not hesitate to set aside a weak title; but they were satisfied that the deeds contained in *Liber Landavensis* furnished sufficient evidence that the property belonged to the See, and it was restored to it accordingly.[1]

The deed published by Archdeacon Bevan shows that down to the reign of Henry the First, individual Churchmen continued to endow churches voluntarily with a tithe of their estates. It sets forth that William Revel, living at that time, did 'give and grant as a free gift and endowment' to the Church of Hay, in Breconshire, certain lands which are enumerated; and 'also all the tithe of all his estate of Hay in all things.' 'And that no question may arise in the future respecting the matter, he definitely gave and granted tithe as follows: Of corn and hay, and poultry and cattle, and sheep and pigs, and wool and cheese, and underwood, and the benevolence of Welshmen and tolls for right of passage and fees for plaints.'[2]

No Act of Parliament bestowing lands and tithes upon the Church has ever been produced; but here are instances of their being given voluntarily by individuals. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

It is not surprising that advocates of disestablishment should be unwilling to submit the question of the private origin of Church endowments to a Court of Law for decision. In the discussion on the Welsh Disestablishment Bill in the House of Commons in 1895, Mr. Asquith was asked to accept an amendment which would leave to the Church all 'private benefactions' whether received before 1703 or after. With his knowledge of history and law, and his experience of the fearless integrity and impartiality of Courts of Justice, he declined the challenge, and gave this as his reason: 'If the amendment were adopted, it might be contended, and it might be open to a Court of Law to say, that practically the whole revenue of the present Established Church passed to the Representative Body of the Disestablished Church. In other words the Bill, instead of disendowing the Church, would re-endow it.'

VI

Standing, as it does, for honesty, and faithfulness to trust; believing in the value of unity, and in the importance of the religious welfare of the people, the poor in particular; desiring efficiency of equipment for service, and an independence of posi-

[1] A short account of these deeds is given in *Notes on Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff*, by the Rev. C. A. H. Green. Aberdare: T. E. Smith, 1906.

[2] Vide *Church Property and the Liberation Society*, by W. L. Bevan. Hay: George Horden.

tion in which effectively to teach unwelcome truths, and to rebu
fashionable vices; the Church in Wales is bound resolutely
oppose both disestablishment and disendowment. It is a mat
in which it dare not offer any compromise. In certain quarter
tendency to favour disestablishment without disendowment p
vails. The suggestion is not free from ambiguity; and its r
meaning is not easy to grasp. In some minds, as it would appe
it simply means Church reform. Needless to say, Churchmen
always anxious that abuses should be remedied, and just grievan
removed. It is, indeed, a process which has been gradually goi
on for half a century; and a society, or league of loyal Churchme
has been formed for the purpose of promoting and accelerati
the movement. But very different are the proposals laid bef
Parliament by responsible statesmen. In every measure hither
brought forward, as disendowment means drastic spoliation,
disestablishment stands for ruthless dismemberment. By dis
dowment it is proposed to deprive the Church of the whole of
income, with the exception of 19,672*l.*, which, if divided equa
between its 1864 places of worship, would yield just 10*l.* to eac
On the death of their present incumbents, hundreds of pc
parishes which are unable to maintain any resident minister
religion, would be left absolutely penniless. By disestablishme
it threatens, against the will and desire of Churchmen, to cut
the one Church into pieces, severing four whole Welsh dioce
from the rest of the Church of England, and forcing the divid
portion into a condition of isolation. This is to subject a loy
hard-working, and beneficent institution to the treatment met
out in olden days to notorious criminals and traitors, who w
condemned to quartering and forfeiture of goods.

It cannot be maintained that there is sufficient evidence
prove that Wales as a whole desires disestablishment. It
true there is a preponderating majority of Welsh members, wh
it is understood, are prepared to support it in the House
Commons. But in the constituencies the subject was kept large
out of sight at recent elections, being almost wholly overshadov
by other issues. There is, indeed, a class of voters by whom it
persistently demanded; another class, by which it
enthusiastically opposed; whilst there is a third cla
not an inconsiderable one, which is against disestablis
ment, but is attracted to the Liberal party by oth
items in its programme. A man in the street, at the l
General Election, was heard to announce with a fierce voice th
he intended to vote for the Liberal candidate 'because lords a
rich men ought to be taxed for the benefit of the working-class a
the poor.' 'And you also want disestablishment?' he was aske
In calm and earnest tones he answered, 'No; the Church is doi

good work.' He expressed the feeling entertained towards the Church by a large number of voters who yet supported Liberal candidates. Not until, by means of the Referendum, the question is submitted to a single issue, disentangled from party considerations, involving neither change of Government nor the loss of a seat in Parliament to any member, can the views of Wales be fairly ascertained. The clergy have thought it their duty to devote themselves to the calls of their sacred office, and generally to eschew party politics. It is possible that the Church may thereby have lost political strength for a time, but it is certain that it has gained immensely in spiritual power and influence. It is admitted, on all hands, that the clergy are everywhere highly respected for their work's sake, and the Church looked up to as a real home of religion. Liberationists have discovered that they may no longer disparage the Church or revile its ministers without arousing the resentment and indignation of the audiences which they address.

Disestablishment being a great national question, Churchmen, as British citizens, have a right to object to its being treated as if it were a mere local matter. Such partial legislation would be as strange and novel a procedure as granting Tariff Reform to those towns and districts which have returned to Parliament a majority of members in its favour, leaving the rest of the country subject to Free Trade laws. To make disestablishment a matter of local option, as the late Dr. Vaughan, Dean of Llandaff, once observed, 'would turn the stream of history backwards and land us in the Heptarchy.'

It will be generally admitted that 'it would be a disaster to the whole of religion if any denomination were crippled in its resources.' To deprive the Church of its slender means would necessarily weaken its efforts on behalf of religious education, at a time when religion, in many circles, is losing its hold upon the young. It would also curtail its excellent system of pastoral work, which needs continual expansion to cope with the growing tendency to neglect public worship. The established position of the Church in no way hinders its growth, for, as has been pointed out, its communicants largely increase in number year after year; nor does its small patrimony check the liberality of its members, for the voluntary contributions exceed the endowments. On the other hand, Nonconformists have to mourn over a serious diminution of membership. Wales in future will want its Church strengthened, not crippled. The quiet, elevating, but often unrecognised influence of its cathedrals, as homes of ideals, and of its parish churches as examples of reverence in public worship, may not be withdrawn or impaired without loss even to Nonconformity. An act which Churchmen would regard as unjust and

cruel, perpetrated at the instigation of Nonconformists, could not fail to create mutual resentment; and would frustrate the hope now existing for that religious unity which is felt to be an urgent spiritual necessity. Nothing but harm could arise from placing the Church in a less advantageous position to uphold the standard of a definite Christian creed, when the elimination of all that is distinctively Christian is seriously threatened. It needs and deserves all possible support in its efforts to foster the virtues of truthfulness, honesty, straightforwardness, moral courage, and purity in an age of growing laxity. The impoverishment and humiliation of the venerable spiritual mother of Wales, the discouragement of its ministers and workers, and the reduction of their number, would inflict on the country a grievous injury from which it would take many generations to recover.

GRIFFITH ROBERTS.

The Deanery, Bangor.

READERS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

When the Napoleonic wars were ended by the decisive victory of Waterloo, England found herself at peace abroad, but the struggle through which she had passed left behind an aftermath of industrial depression and civil discontent.

In 1832 a second great battle, the battle of Reform, was won by the middle classes. It is due to their initiative and agitation that the people received a share in the government of the country and asserted their right to participate in education and culture. Radical and sweeping changes took place in every department of social life. England, as we all know, was in a state of turmoil for the ten years preceding and for the ten years succeeding the Reform Acts, but, fortunately, the Revolution was not marked by those violent scenes of bloodshed which, by the havoc they cause, retard progress. Here and there a mill was destroyed, a haystack burnt, a mansion levelled to the ground, but the 'pale terror' of the days of the French Revolution did not agitate the country side; famishing men with sallow faces were unseen, frenzied mobs did not work their senseless devastations on homestead and town. Through their spokesmen, however, the people poured out their multitudinous grievances unceasingly, and though at first they failed in their attempts to get a sympathetic hearing, these men returned with persistence to their task, demanding with vehemence the surrender of privileges and the recognition of the people's right to citizenship.

The political history of the time, however, does not concern us here, but it explains in part how it was that education was at such a low ebb. Popular enlightenment may be said hardly to have existed at all; the peasantry were amazingly ignorant. No one cared very much about the state of learning, nor did the Legislature concern itself with educational schemes. There was no education question either in Parliament or out of it. No enthusiast had arisen to bring these important matters before the public, and no orator as yet gathered crowds to listen to the new message.

There were, however, countless signs of renaissance and regeneration. The middle classes were determined to remain

no longer in a state of stagnation; neither rebuffs nor threats could deter them from their endeavours to overcome the difficulties which faced them on every hand. This impelling force was so formidable that Lord Brougham, who had as early as 1820, both inside and outside Parliament, championed the cause of the untaught, moved a series of resolutions in 1835 in the House of Lords on the subject of National Education which paved the way to the formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. A year previously (in 1834) a small grant had been thrown to the educationalists, as a first sop to the prevailing clamour.

The struggle was severe; prejudice and narrow-mindedness cropped up in many unexpected places, but the retrograde minority, who were, strange to say, the cultured classes, could not resist the tremendous pressure brought to bear.

The purely educational forces, which were driving the men in authority to turn their attention to these matters, received further impetus and support from the spirit of restlessness and curiosity which pervaded society. This spirit sent many vigorous and energetic men to explore and travel, and the accounts of their journeys roused the imagination and awoke a desire to know more of other countries. Geographical discovery made a real advance between 1820 and 1830.

Major Rennell, the Surveyor-General of the East India Company, attained to the first rank among English geographers; Dr. E. D. Clarke, after a year's preliminary touring through England, traversed Scandinavia, Russia, Greece, and the Holy Land, and returned with entertaining tales and invaluable information on the manners, customs, and antiquities of these countries; Charles Sturt and Livingstone Mitchell cut their way through unknown Australia, crossing almost impenetrable forests and mounting

> 'Up along the hostile mountains, where the hair-poised snow-slide shivers—
> Down and through the big fat marshes that the virgin ore-bed stains,
> Till [they] heard the mile-wide mutterings of unimagined rivers,
> And beyond the nameless timber saw illimitable plains!'

It was the age of Belzoni, the Italian explorer of Africa, who published a book in England in 1821 on his discoveries in Egypt and Nubia; of Stamford Raffles, East Indian administrator; of Laing and Salt, African travellers and explorers. These were men who had gone to seek knowledge rather than adventure, and who, by their stirring writings, gave their countrymen new ideas on colonisation, and new pictures of countries to be won, and seas to be conquered. Their exploits were talked of in drawing-rooms and clubs, and the stories of their deeds

filtered through to the people, stimulating everywhere a national spirit of inquiry.

In science progress had been even more rapid. The first meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science was held in 1831. Already the first steam vessel had been successfully launched; the railways had begun to run, and prizes had been offered for the engine which could cover a mile in the shortest time. It seems strange, but it is nevertheless true, that in spite of the prevailing turmoil, and the constant occurrence of industrial riots, trade continued to extend rapidly. The most notable evidence of this expansion was the construction and opening of the Saint Katharine Docks, on which over a million and a half were spent. The exports and imports increased yearly both in value and in quantity. Factories sprang up in all parts of the Kingdom, and as higher prices were obtained by the manufacturers, there was a corresponding rise in wages, and therefore in the comforts and the demands of the labouring classes.

How the literature of the country was affected by the altering conditions is a most interesting subject for investigation. In 1832 most of the great writers of the early nineteenth century—Shelley, Keats, Byron, and Scott—were dead, and a temporary lull in literary activity pervaded the country. Tennyson, it is true, published a volume of verse in 1832, which contained some of his noblest poems; but it was either not read at all, or when it was read was abused.

There were still a few of the older representatives of a past generation left. Leigh Hunt, that republican at heart, who had been stirred in his younger days to join the revolutionary forces in Spain as an outlet for his impetuous and fiery spirit, was still writing. Southey, whose opinions were becoming more and more conservative, was still a constant contributor to the *Quarterly Review*. Tom Moore, brilliant talker and advanced Liberal, was still haunting the drawing-rooms of the wealthy and high-born. Petted and admired by a large circle of friends, he had ceased to inveigh against the narrowness of his hosts.

On the other hand, newspapers were rapidly multiplying, and in 1830 the great Press campaign was in full swing. Countless meetings were held under distinguished patronage to urge the Government to abolish the taxes on knowledge—that is, the taxes on newspapers and on imported foreign books. 'If the Press were only free it would be honest,' everyone said. How honest it has become since it gained its wished-for freedom we know! But be that as it may, the taxes on knowledge in the thirties were a serious hindrance to culture and education. Progressive America was even then in this respect in advance of the old

country. Newspapers were conveyed more cheaply from town to town and they were also far more numerous.

The newspaper was the earliest means of furnishing instruction to the people by its discussions of political and social questions, and it also spread knowledge more quickly than could be done by books. All sorts of odd pieces of information were, and indeed are, given through the medium of the daily or weekly papers, so that their influence cannot be overrated. They are capable of being made the most powerful engines for culture or the contrary.

The agitators for the abolition of these taxes on knowledge were keenly alive to the great uses to which the Press, as an instrument of education, could be put, and they held a high ideal in front of them. It is not their fault that the freedom of the Press has in so many cases been turned to evil account. They imagined that the people would become emancipated from superstition and that diffusion of truth and knowledge would ensue. Opposition was naturally severe. The *Times* of the day was in the forefront of those who objected to change. Of this great daily it was said that 'it could not afford to advocate fundamental truths of the highest importance to society when those truths are in opposition to the notions on which the superstition of Europe has been established and is now maintained.'

Among the many papers which had fitful lives during the period of struggle, one of the most interesting was the *Voice of the People*, started by the working-men of Manchester and edited by a cotton-spinner called Detrosier. Detrosier was a self-educated man of considerable ability, who by hard work and application had forced first his comrades in the mill and then the labouring classes generally to listen to him. Quick to see their limitations, he pointed out the disadvantages under which they were working, and strove to make them understand more clearly the benefits which were to be obtained from education. This pioneer of progress was one of the foremost in the nineteenth century to stir up his fellow-labourers to a sense of their ignorance and to a consciousness of the power which greater knowledge brings. Detrosier and his paper were, in fact, as the *Examiner* of the day says, an expression of the people's discontent regarding the mental food at their disposal, and of their craving for means to supplement the deficiency. It was the intention of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge to meet this want, but it failed in its object, and its failure in this respect was one of the causes of the founding of the *Voice of the People*.

It is one of the most regrettable things in English life that the scholar is so seldom able to impart his knowledge in a manner simple enough for the people to understand.

Detrosier was conscious that in the first place the working-man had not learned the elements of political science and history, and that his lack of such knowledge was a serious hindrance to his progress and materially helped to keep him so long in a condition of dependence, unable to think or act for himself. The working-man seemed neither to know nor to care how he was governed, nor why he paid taxes, nor had he any idea of the principles of political economy. It was this condition of things which Detrosier set himself to change, but his life was brief and ended at the age of thirty-four. His attempt to establish a paper on a permanent basis had failed, but the *Voice of the People* is, nevertheless, one of the signs of the times which cannot be ignored. The theme of all its leading articles was 'Enlighten the people,' and the burden of its attacks was levelled against the rich who had so long kept the 'odds of knowledge' in their own power.

Simultaneously with this outcry against the taxing of knowledge, of which the taxing of newspapers and all foreign books was the most conspicuous, came the general impulse to found parochial and other libraries. Not only did the Library movement begin at this date, but most of the districts of London started literary and scientific Institutions. Such Institutions as the Mechanics' Institute and the Literary and Scientific Institutions of Marylebone and Westminster made a beginning between 1824 and 1832.

The reading public began to increase by leaps and bounds. 'There were,' said Sydney Smith in 1820, 'four or five hundred thousand readers more than there were thirty years ago among the lower orders.'

Greville, unable to ignore the phenomena which were happening under his very windows, alludes now and again in his Memoirs to the spirit of the working-classes: 'The desire for instruction and knowledge seems very general among the lower orders. Eden (then Vicar of Battersea), with some others, has established evening lectures upon various subjects, which are crowded by anxious and attentive listeners of all ages and callings, who frequently hurry from their daily occupations, impatient to profit by the instruction which Eden and his curates, and often some of the better informed inhabitants of the place, are in the habit of dispensing.'

The publishers, who have always been rather conservative and inclined to avoid taking risks, were also carried along by the same stream, and recognised that they too must move with the times.

The first genuine demand for cheap publications began during these years of Reform. Memoirs and newspapers of that period abound in references to enterprises to which benevolent citizens

contributed money and on which publishers spent capital. Some succeeded; others failed. None seem to have been successes in the correct acceptation of the word, as Dent's *Everyman's Library* is to-day.

Mr. Joseph Hume, a well-known and enthusiastic Radical of the day, who railed against Test Acts, stormed against the barbarous treatment meted out to soldiers and sailors in the Army and Navy, and championed every conceivable grievance, took a very prominent part in making arrangements for publishing elementary and popular treatises on a variety of subjects. His enthusiasm fascinated many other well-known citizens. The *People's Encyclopædia* owes its origin to his determined philanthropy. Rich and influential individuals were induced to subscribe to this undertaking, and to do this not for the sake of gain, but for the sake of the people, an unheard-of thing in these days, when books stand or fall on their merits. It was in part due to Hume's zeal that the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, to which I alluded above, was founded and finally incorporated in 1832. This Society, which was inaugurated in 1825, had the distinction of having Lord Brougham as one of its promoters; and Miss Martineau tells us that it raised the standard of popular requirement in literature and thereby conferred important benefits.

The first works which it issued came out in 1827, but the support which it at first received did not continue and had almost vanished by 1832. Though its objects and aims were commendable, the simplicity necessary for its success among the masses was lamentably absent. The books were far above the heads of the people; the scientific treatises were written by the learned without any thought that the people were to read them, and so ultimately what promised well ended in failure.

As each succeeding volume appeared the disappointment became greater. The people looked for political and historical knowledge, something to guide them in dealing with the many intricate questions which were daily being discussed at the street corners.

The publishers, with their professional flair for what is required and for what will sell, stepped into the breach and made a better attempt than the amateur Society had done to diffuse knowledge. The Scotch firm of Constable was the first to arrange for the issue of a series of books which would give the reader what he wanted at a low cost. At any rate, Buckingham, in his Memoirs, gives the priority to Scott's Edinburgh publisher, who, he says, in 1830 made the 'first effort to bring good books within the reach of the thousands to whom they had hitherto been inaccessible.' The books were cheap, but still not cheap enough, and much more

would have been achieved if there had been a great statesman-publisher among the leaders of that trade.

To the success of Constable's *Miscellany* the world is, however, indebted for the various undertakings of the same nature which followed, and for the facilities now afforded to the humblest student for cultivating his taste and increasing his knowledge.

In the *Examiner* for 1833 an interesting speech by Mr. C. Knight on cheap publications is reported, where, after the usual remarks on the unsatisfactory supply of good cheap literature, he describes what the people themselves had done in this direction and how he collected all the penny and twopenny sheets published in London on a given day. Such publications were in a perpetual state of fluctuation. New ones came out one day and disappeared the next, and sometimes in such quantities that they formed a thick volume when bound together. Of forty or fifty of such sheets, many, it is true, were light and amusing, but a large number were instructive.

Before touching on books that were read, one other innovation in the literary productions of the period needs a passing mention. I refer to the appearance and extension of periodical literature. Lord Lytton dates the deterioration of what he calls 'graver letters' from the publication of the *Edinburgh* (1802) and the *Quarterly* (1809).

'Instead of writing volumes, authors began pretty generally to write articles, and a literary excrescence monopolised the nourishment that should have extended to the whole body: hence talent, however great, however exquisite; knowledge, however enlarged, were directed to fugitive purposes. Debar me imaginative writings, and I could more easily close my catalogue of great works than begin it.'

The best literary men, he says, spent their time reviewing books of little value, or wrote articles on current topics suggested by some ephemeral production, and were thus led away from their legitimate work. Well paid for these contributions, they rapidly surveyed a number of subjects with which they were themselves indifferently acquainted. On the public this innovation seemed to him then to have been distinctly harmful.

In our own day even a larger number of readers than formerly are content with a cursory glance at the reviews and periodicals, and would be 'bored' with greater detail. Sometimes, no doubt, the review contains all that is worth reading. The good and evil attending this new departure do not, however, come within the scope of this article, but might well be treated separately.

When we turn to the books that were read, our difficulties are great, for the sources of our information are extremely limited.

I have looked through many of the biographies and memoirs of the reign of William the Fourth and those of Victoria which deal with the early years of her reign. At the outset I encountered one great difficulty: the memoirs and biographies are chiefly those of the aristocratic and bureaucratic classes. There are but few biographies of the men or women of the middle classes and none of the lower classes, so that I have had to draw my conclusions from sources not wholly satisfactory.

The thirties mark an epoch of change in the history of society, and reading as well as other things underwent modification. The wives and daughters of the squires, who fifty years earlier stayed at home and read their Bibles and Richardson's lengthy novels, now began to go to town with their husbands and fathers. But the difference was less marked than between the beginning of the nineteenth century and our own day. Men and women read less then and read slower and more thoughtfully. Communication was not so easy and the long evenings were not so filled with lectures, meetings, balls, and concerts as they are now.

Fanny in *Mansfield Park* spent hours in reading to her mother, and her pleasure in good literature was extreme. Lady Blessington would often while away the evening hours listening to some friend reading poetry or history, and Lady Cork would even essay to entertain her guests with passages from dramatic authors. The actual topics of conversation appear to have been different. Now, social and political questions interspersed with anecdote almost monopolise the talk of the dinner-table and the drawing-room; then, literary questions seem to have prevailed. Social circles have widened. The world is more curious than formerly about the private life of the individual, it wants to know every particular: what the man eats, how he spends his days at home, if he is irritable with his servants, what books are on the table beside his bed. There was more intimacy between friends and less inquisitiveness about strangers. Books were read from cover to cover, and at social gatherings long discussions on the last notable work of an author enlivened conversation. Whether the old régime were better is immaterial. That it can never recur is almost a certainty, for as Leslie Stephen writes:

> A good talker, even more than a good orator, implies a good audience. Modern society is too vast and too restless to give a conversationalist a fair chance. For the formation of great proficiency in the art, friends should meet often, sit long, and be thoroughly at ease. A modern audience generally breaks up before it is well warmed through, and includes enough strangers to break the magic circle of social electricity.

In turning over the pages of Sydney Smith, Moore, Greville, and others, and contrasting them with contemporary autobio-

raphies, one realises what great changes have taken place—
hanges which I am endeavouring to indicate.

The merits of Coleridge, Crabbe, Wordsworth, and others,
ere brought up for judgment at Holland House, which took the
ad in literary criticism, but was only one of many similar circles.
he general conversation seems constantly to have been confined
estimates of the value of some book or the place of an author in
terary history, and everyone seems to have shared in these
npromptu debates.

In these days the hours dedicated to reading by most of us are
w, the pages which are skipped are many. Greville and his
ntemporaries read perhaps not always enough to refute an argu-
ent, but certainly enough to follow the drift of the evidence.
reville laments in his Memoirs that although he was not alto-
ether ignorant of the poets which formed the subject of conversa-
on, he yet had not sufficient familiarity with them to allow him
join in the discussion. Mark you, he does not lament that he
ad not read them. He merely observes : 'A painful sense came
er me of the difference between one who has superficially read
d one who has studied.'

Books are poured out nowadays in such intolerable numbers
at the reader has no sooner begun to love and appreciate a
rticular writer than another takes his place. But Elinor in
ense and Sensibility loved Thomson, Cowper, and Scott so
uch that she would read them 'all over and over again, she
ould buy up every copy to prevent their falling into unworthy
nds.'

We glance through books rapidly, and form a hasty judgment,
uch like that of Mr. Thorpe in *Northanger Abbey* speaking
Camilla : 'I took up the first volume once and looked it
er, but I soon found it would not do ; indeed, I guessed what
rt of stuff it must be before I saw it.'

The good to be got from reading a book, a good that cannot
obtained by rapid reading, is not the facts that it gives but
he resonance which it awakens in our minds.'

Novels, with scarcely any exception, reflect society in some
y or other, and thus form an excellent historical guide to the
cial life of the day in which they are written. We should
erefore always consult them when we are studying the social
story of any period. Even the minor novelists have much to
ll us of the way in which people lived and what they thought.
ow there is hardly a single novelist writing between 1820 and
40 who does not in some measure reflect the new ideas of his
nes. Some, like Godwin and Ward, directly attacked the
isting conditions in their romances.

Fiction then, as now, was more read, and the output was

larger than that of any other class of book. Jane Austen says that 'the person, be it a gentleman or lady, who has not pleasure in a good novel must be intolerably stupid.'

Of the men who were writing, many who were then popular are now buried in oblivion. The works of these are perhaps more interesting to call to mind than those who have more or less survived the test of time, because though now forgotten they were read as much as the more celebrated. Lord Lytton, writing to Lady Blessington, mentions Leitch Ritchie's *Magician* as being full of wild and vigorous power, and yet you will not find his name mentioned in Smith's *Student's English Literature* nor in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*. Sydney Smith presses on the attention of his friend Francis Jeffrey the novels of Thomas Henry Lister, and, writing in 1826, assures him that *Granby* is a novel of great merit.

It would be easy to give other instances of this kind, but a catalogue of these now unknown novels would become wearisome. Of the better-known novelists who were popular and to whom allusion is constantly made, Ward, Cooper, Hook, Warren and others occur to our minds; they are so well known that the mere mention of their names is enough; but I rather doubt whether the present generation reads many of them. The novels suited their time, and dealt with men and matters in which the public were interested. The reader had begun to make his tastes known; the author who wanted to make money could no longer ignore him and write simply for the love of writing. We see indications of this change creeping in upon Lady Blessington. When sending two of her novels to W. S. Landor she apologises for them:

> I fear they will not interest you, for they are written on the everyday business of life. I wrote because I wanted money; and was obliged to select subjects that would command it for my publisher. None but ephemeral ones will now catch the attention of the readers.

Others who flourished a few decades earlier still continued to be favourites, and the heroes and heroines in the novels of the day delight in Scott, Mrs. Radcliffe, and Mrs. Inchbald. Catherine, in *Northanger Abbey*, had read all Mrs. Radcliffe's, and was so fascinated with the *Mysteries of Udolpho* that when she had once begun it 'she could not lay it down again, but finished it in two days, her hair standing on end the whole time.'

In real life we surprise Miss Mitford, then a woman of thirty, sauntering through the fields and whiling hours away with her 'haycock companion,' Mrs. Bennet's *Beggar Girl*, a five-volume novel, absorbed by its invention and romance. 'It is one of the best I have ever met with,' she writes to an intimate friend.

The women who wrote in the early part of the nineteenth ntury enjoyed a popularity as great as the women writers of -day, and do not seem to have been less numerous. Mrs. Meeke, ho died in 1816, was one of Macaulay's favourite writers of ction. Harriet and Sophia Lee, two sisters, who, in spite of ie duties involved in keeping a girls' school, found time to write vels and plays, continued long after their death (in 1824 and 351 respectively) to please the reader, and Anne Marsh Caldwell aintained for twenty-six years—from 1834 to 1860—the position one of our most admired novelists. Her husband, who was a ank director, became bankrupt, and she then gained a livelihood y her pen.

Jane Porter, who is probably better known, wrote *Thaddeus f Warsaw*, which went through fourteen editions, and *Scottish hiefs*, twelve editions. The former was translated into German nd attracted the attention of the King of Würtemberg, and btained honours for the author. We must also not omit the nportant names of Mrs. Gore and Frances Trollope. The former, hose novels were sarcastic and violent tirades against fashionable ciety, was then in the height of her glory, that is, in 1840. From a letter to a friend we see what position she had taken mong novelists : 'You are very kind to like my new book. Till ou praised it, I was in despair. It sells,' though she adds, 'I vas convinced of its utter worthlessness.'

Poetry was in much the same plight as prose. The minor poets vho aroused enthusiasm were gone and their poems with them. Have you read *Zophiël*, by Mrs. Brooks? Why, the London Library only purchased a copy a few weeks ago, and yet one of he greatest critics of the day, Southey, said of her : 'I do not now any poet whose diction is naturally so good as Mrs. Brooks's,' ind of her poem he adds : 'I have never seen a more passionate work, rarely one so imaginative and original. There is a song in he last canto, which in its kind is as good as Sappho's famous ode as been thought to be.' And Mrs. Hemans has almost passed out of our memory. The few who hold her dear, picture her as a ovable old lady, sitting at her desk or leaning back in her armchair composing hymns and mediocre verses. But those who lived when she wrote talked of her as 'a child of song—a complete mistress of the lyre,' who possessed the key to their hearts, and were convinced that it would require another age to give birth to another Felicia Hemans.

As for Robert Montgomery, little short of eighty or ninety thousand (see Wm. Jerdan's *Autobiography*, vol. 4, p. 312, 1853) volumes of his verse were circulated throughout England in various forms; but no one would read him now, though everyone will remember Macaulay's scathing criticism.

There were also then, as now, poets who command a few ardent admirers, of whom Henry Taylor, the author of *Philip van Artevelde*, was one. His sale was small, and his circle of readers equally limited. Wordsworth even had not yet made his way to favour, and was only popular with a select few.

In this rapid survey of what the people of England were reading, it is impossible to pass over without mention the great group of books dealing with geography and travel. A mere glance at the English Catalogue for 1814-41 would convince anyone of this fact. England's empire had become colonial and world-wide, and the desire to know, if only from books, something of the countries which formed part of the whole was legitimate and natural. Strange to say, in the fiction of the thirties, I have not come across either a hero or a heroine interrupted in the library over a book of travel, but nevertheless the biographies and memoirs of the time are a striking testimony to the amount of this kind of literature which was read. Sydney Smith's letters are a veritable guide to the descriptive literature which the publishers sent out. He advises Lord Grey to read Bradling's *Travels in America*, Golovnin's *Narrative of My Captivity in Japan*, Lady Grey to read *Eothen* and Basil Hall's *Travels*. W. S. Landor commends Beckford's *Travels* to Lady Blessington. There is a general keenness to buy and possess the latest narrative of the lands beyond the seas. Theology, too, has never lacked readers. Revolutions have never seemed much to interfere with those who are devoted to this study. I find in a letter of J. Jebb to A. Knox, dated 1831, the following passage in proof of this: 'Even in these times, which seem to prohibit everything but revolutionary politics, the sale of my *Practical Theology* and of Dr. Townson's books is quite to the publisher's satisfaction. Townson's works, which have been sold for six shillings a copy, have, in consequence, reached more than their original price, and are nearly out of print.'

Sydney Smith is found consoling himself with Doddridge's *Exposition*, to say nothing of a widely read book, *The Dissenter Tripped Up*.

Many more books could be cited if an approach to completeness were aimed at, but it is only possible to give a general purview of the subject.

A word or two of the manner and extent of Miss Mitford's reading may, however, be suggestive. Miss Mitford was an intelligent woman and an omnivorous reader. She belonged to the middle classes, and we may take her as a typical example of the more intelligent reading public of this period. The books she read were the books to which her class had access, and, as far as she was able, she kept up with the literature published in her

day. Her reading was desultory, which she considered more profitable because it gave her a wider general education. She 'followed reading,' she says, 'for its own sake as a pursuit and gratification without any definite object,' and made lists of books she wanted to read. She was not always successful in obtaining those of which she had taken a note. Her tastes were varied; she seems to have had a peculiar fondness for reading trials. 'I have a passion for trials,' she writes to a friend. In her letters she tells her correspondents what she thinks good or bad; what she enjoys and what to her is of doubtful merit. In one letter she grows enthusiastic over Mills's *History of the Crusades*, and falls in love with Saladin; and in another she gives long lists of 'respectable new books' which she has been reading, such as Ware's *Palmyra*, Michael Scott's *Tom Cringle's Log*, Hazlitt's *View of the Stage*, Peacock's *Nightmare Abbey*, Forsythe's *Italy*, Dr. Clarke's *Travels*, and adds a word of praise or blame.

Then again she gets quite 'sick of new books,' and takes to reading old ones: Milton's *Prose Works*, Bolingbroke's *Political Works*, Shakespeare and such like. Anyone pursuing this subject further would find a mine of material in Miss Mitford's correspondence.

The beginnings of other great changes in the choice of books which were read and studied may be traced to this new era. Philosophy has always had its serious devotees, but they have been few in number. The study of ancient and medieval metaphysics is one of the most notable features in the present-day revival; in 1830 these branches did not occupy men's minds in any considerable degree. With regard to the great literature of the past the contrast seems even more striking. With the exception of a few of the better-known poets, the large mass of pre-Elizabethan and Elizabethan authors were more or less left unread. Nowadays every minor poet or prose-writer is reprinted, and, even if not read by the general public, some gem, perhaps the only gem, is quoted, or inserted in an anthology, and his name at least becomes known. Some attain a position, merely temporary perhaps, which they never held before in English literature.

Readers in bygone ages were counted by tens; they loved the books they read, and handled them with reverence and care. They seem now to have deteriorated, and scarcely to love books in the same way as their ancestors loved them; too often they handle them as bricks and buy them as furniture; they even mutilate them. Through all changes book-lovers have always remained lovers of books, though some of them in our day have degenerated into bibliomaniacs. Librarians in past centuries in the palaces of the Burgundian dukes were the keepers of jewels and ornaments of gold, and the books they guarded were among

their most precious possessions. For a time librarians descended from keepers of gold and silver to the rank of footmen and butlers, and it is only in these latter days that they have begun to take their proper place in the greatest of all aristocracies, the aristocracy of letters.

The outward and visible signs of the expansion and progress in trade, and of literary and political development, are first and foremost the libraries.

Disraeli, writing as one of those who condemn the movements of their own day, was inclined, in *Vivian Grey* (1826), to regard libraries as fungus productions of an artificial society. According to him a fall of stocks was the thing which affected

> the literature of the present day—the mere creature of our imaginary wealth. Everybody being very rich, has afforded to be very literary—books being considered a luxury, almost as elegant and necessary as ottomans, bonbons, and pier-glasses. Consols at 100 were the origin of all book societies.

Consols at 100, however, have done a great deal for the libraries and literary institutions of England, and so for society in general.

Historians and autobiographers are as a rule more or less apt to be pessimistic about their own century and their own generation, and are full of regret for the things which have passed away. Who can read of the French *salons*, of Holland House, of those literary coteries about which the memoirs of the early nineteenth century tell so much, of those hours of easy, peaceful reading at home in which men and women delighted, without some pang that these things no longer exist?

But the compensations are probably much greater than we imagine. Knowledge is now within the reach of everyone, and thousands to-day find pleasure in books and reading, advantages which they would formerly have disregarded. The book-lover now lives hidden in inaccessible corners, and those who enjoy what is good in literature read undisturbed and unknown in unsuspected places. The country abounds in literary societies, which, while not perhaps of the same high order as the small circles of former days, are doing much useful work. We are in the midst of change both in the literary and in the political world, and the remodelling of society has only just begun.

C. HAGBERG WRIGHT.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AND OUR IMPERIAL COMMUNICATIONS

A FEW days ago I was startled to receive the lugubrious Latin composition printed below. It is rather less laudatory in tone than we expect such memorials to be; but I feel justified in giving it in order that the gentlemen controlling the various cable companies may take measure of the feeling, not merely of this age, but of the centuries which come after it, on the subject of high cable tariffs. We have exhausted English invective on them; it may be as well to try Latin. They may snap their fingers at contemporary opinion, but the boldest may well shrink from the prospective execrations of ruined traders whose markets have been appropriated by the foreigner, and heart-broken parents whose children have forgotten them.

EPITAPH ON A CABLE KING.

HIC JACET X. Y.
REX, CUJUS JUSSU FULMEN SUBJECTUM
PULSAVIT UBIQUE VERBIS;
CUI PROFUERUNT COELUM ET TERRA;
PROMETHEUS, QUI IGNES JOVIS
AD OVA SUA PARANDA RAPUIT;
TYRANNUS, QUI COLONIAS DE PATRIÂ,
FILIOS FILIASQUE MATRIBUS,
PLUS QUAM INGENS AEQUOR
MONTES ET RIVI
SEPARAVIT;
QUI VOCES AMORIS ET FORI
AD SILENTIUM DUXIT.
TACE, VIATOR!

This cannot be dismissed as mere grumbling. Juvenal would have put it more brilliantly. But our epitaphist is evidently labouring under a keen sense of injustice.

Every Englishman values, and fails not on occasions to exercise, his privilege of grumbling. I have availed myself of this birthright, as regards the shortcomings of our postal and telegraphic service, with some freedom in the past; many times through the medium of this Review. But I do not think that on

any previous occasion I, or rather the public, have had such grave and substantial grounds of complaint as in the present instance.

I feel bound to express the most profound disappointment with the results of the late Imperial Conference. We saw the wisest men of the Empire, some of whom had travelled from the other side of the earth, presided over by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, assembled in solemn conclave to consider our Imperial affairs. Much of their eloquence was published, much was suppressed. Some of the suggestions laid before them were, to minds of the imperialistic type, remarkable for breadth and practical, far-seeing sagacity. These ideas were, I believe, without exception frowned upon by the Home Government, and obsequiously rejected by the majority of the delegates.

Many of us keenly regret the futility of the discussions on our Imperial communications. The importance of the subject cannot be overestimated, although so many of our leading statesmen systematically minimise it. What Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood and the action of the heart in the human frame was to physiology, the establishment of the most unimpeded, swift, cheap and universal communication, both by pen and wire, between the Imperial Metropolis and every part of the King's dominions and throughout the Empire, is to our Imperial economy. While our distinguished counsellors were arranging their quotas of men and subsidies, of regiments and warships, for the common defence, there remains the grim truth that not one cablegram in a hundred is of a social or personal nature.

The Most Vital Need of the Empire

The British Empire undoubtedly has more vitality than any empire ever formed in the history of the world. It includes not merely Great Britain and Ireland, commonly called the United Kingdom, but sixty free, vigorous and extensive Colonies and Dependencies. It is incomparably stronger than the vast Roman Empire, owing to the fact that it has means of communication which were wanting to that dominion. The aim of postal reformers is to make such communication practically perfect and instantaneous with every part of our planet. We are engaged to-day in completing this work.

More than twelve years ago we established Imperial Penny Postage, the last link of which was completed only two months ago. We further strengthened our position by arranging for penny postage to and from the United States of America, thereby establishing the cheapest and freest communication by post with all parts of the Anglo-Saxon world.

To-day we are engaged in efforts to embrace the whole earth in this universal penny postage system. We have always held that

people who are in constant and friendly correspondence with each other are less likely to quarrel than those who are, by high charges, kept in savage mental isolation.

Some of the most trusted statesmen of the Empire have already come to the conclusion that we shall never see a perfectly developed unassailable British Empire until we annihilate time and distance in communicating with every part of it, and make it as easy to speak from London to the inhabitants of New Zealand as to those of Ireland.

Let me once more advert to the late Imperial Conference, held in London with the express object of devising means of further strengthening the British Empire. Some of us dared to hope that the first (and greatest) action taken by it would be to bring about instantaneous and cheap telegraphic communication with every part of the Empire. At the Conference sat the Prime Ministers of England, Canada, Africa, Australia and Newfoundland. This dignified consultation, I repeat, ended in a fiasco—not one resolution of importance was carried; the only proceeding that won applause was that already referred to of the Mother Country telling her children, in strict confidence, or to be precise, telling Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Africa our secret arrangements for defending the Empire against all enemies; and—shall I say?—handing round copies of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty nearly a month before copies reached the Press. What a touching burst of confidence!

A Warning and a Programme

During the Conference I addressed the following memorandum to the President and members:

To the President and Members of the Imperial Conference.

Gentlemen,—I need not say there is only one subject on which I should venture to address you; but it is one which from my point of view is of supreme importance—I mean that of our Imperial telegraphic communications.

You will deliberate on more dazzling proposals for unifying our fleets, armies, and tariffs, and so forth. My suggestion is directed to what would seem the obviously preliminary operation of unifying the British races by means of our sympathies. I would weave the web of our Imperial future by the interlacing of innumerable threads of the individual, personal interests and affections of all the British peoples.

To attempt to league the nations which comprise our British Empire, now sundered by wide oceans, into one harmonious federation, without providing for the freest, fullest and cheapest intercommunication among them, is childish.

I venture to urge that it is dangerous to postpone any longer the grant of a cheap, popular cable service at a uniform rate to the whole Empire.

Let me summarise the points I am desirous of placing before the Imperial Conference in connexion with this great subject:

(1) We want to secure for our countrymen cheap and perfect communication by telegraph with all parts of the Empire.

(2) The electric telegraph has annihilated time and space, and enabled us to crowd the operations of a year into the space of a few hours.

(3) The cables of the world are now in the hands of monopolists or 'cable rings.' It is advisable at all costs to put an immediate end to all cable monopolies. We ask that they be bought out at the market price of the day by the Governments of the civilised world.

(4) The people of England now pay four to five millions sterling annually for cable communication, yet the charges are so high that only one in a hundred messages is a social or family message. The cables, I repeat, are now for the millionaires, and not for the millions. The present high cable telegraph rates are prohibitory to the masses of the people.

(5) The British and Colonial Governments (of over sixty Colonies and Dependencies) now pay nearly a quarter of a million sterling every year for official cable messages. This sum would go far towards the interest in purchasing the cables from the companies.

(6) We ask the civilised Governments of the world to abolish political frontiers for telegraph purposes. To show what can be done it is pointed out that in Australia a message is sent 7000 miles, at a penny per word, across the territories of six Governments and States. Telegrams from London passing through Germany to India and Australia are charged 3*d.* a word by Germany; the local rate is only ½*d.* a word.

(7) A land telegraph line can be constructed throughout Europe and Asia at a cost of from 25*l.* to 30*l.* per mile, whereas a cable costs from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per mile. A land line can carry ninety words a minute, and a cable only about thirty words per minute.

(8) A glance at the map will show that Europe, Asia and Africa (and even, with short sea gaps, Australia) can be linked up, and connected by international land lines, by arrangements with the various Governments.

To show the cheapness of land lines to-day, I can send a message from London *viâ* St. Petersburg to Vladivostock—8000 to 9000 miles distant—for 5¼*d.* per word, whereas we pay 2*s.* for one word to India, which is half the distance. In Australia the charge for a telegraph message from Broome, Western Australia, to Cape York, Queensland—7500 miles—is at the rate of sixteen words for one shilling.

To-day we telegraph direct by land, without a single repetition, from London to Karachi (India).

You are probably aware that there are at least sixteen wires to America. The carrying capacity of these is 320 million words a year, yet only twenty to twenty-one million words are transmitted.

It is alleged that nine or ten of the wires between Europe and America are kept idle by the cable ring.

We should always bear in mind that to-day we are paying for all the plundering and blundering of past years in cable construction. If all the cables of the world were demolished, it is alleged that we could reconstruct them at half the cost.

I should like to illustrate the subject of this letter by stating that at a dinner in London the night before my departure for South America I was outlining my plan for perfect Imperial communications—telegraphing twelve words for a shilling all over the Empire.

A great expert said I should only have one difficulty to encounter, and it was insurmountable—it was *vested interests.*

Seventeen days afterwards I landed at Rio de Janeiro, the capital of a

most prosperous and progressive country. There I was shown the finest and noblest street in the world, a mile in length, and adorned by noble buildings, great banking houses and warehouses which excite the wonder and admiration of every visitor. The story of the construction of this street is briefly told: A great public man and leading citizen, the Mayor, drew the plan of the magnificent avenue without the slightest reference to the vested interests represented by old and antiquated buildings intercepting the way. He called for the rateable value and the profits or income derived by the owners—he gave the latter three weeks' notice to clear out, paying them their own valuation with 20 per cent. added. Assassination societies were formed to murder the Mayor, and revolutionary parties assembled to prevent the work. The Mayor found it convenient to take a holiday. But the street was completed, and proved a great blessing to Rio—a city now of one million inhabitants.

The cable companies, according to the late Sir James Anderson, could be bought out at a reasonable figure and rates reduced by 50 per cent.

The British Government and other Governments are slowly acquiring cables. The cables to France, Holland, Germany, and Norway have passed into their hands.

The friends of the cable companies put forth the plea that it would be wicked to interfere with vested interests, and that the cable companies are most reasonable. In my pamphlets I have utterly demolished these arguments, and I have shown that the companies devote their energies to cater for millionaires in place of the millions. The attempt to bamboozle the public by arranging for half rates for non-code words may succeed for a little time. But at all times the name and address will take up several words, and often cost a guinea.

Cables to all parts of the British Empire would only mean a few thousand tons of copper wire, even if land lines are ignored on the plea that for strategetic purposes we must have cables. We are not at war twice in a century, and it is known that all cables will be destroyed in war time. Fortunately, wireless messages will then be brought into operation.

Owing to illness, I am unable to address you at greater length, but I am convinced that these views of an old worker in postal and telegraph reforms will not be the less indulgently considered by you.

I am, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

J. Henniker Heaton.

London, 26th May 1911.

An Illusory Concession

Vested interests proved too strong for the nobler and more patriotic ideal of cheap Imperial telegraphic communication, and the end of the matter was that a doughty resolution was passed that if the cable companies and cable rings did not reduce their charges within a reasonable time, the Governments of England and the Colonies would construct cables of their own against the cable rings.

At the moment when this resolution was passed, the British Government perfectly well knew that a proposition was to be carried into effect for sending cables to the distant parts of the Empire uncoded at half rates. Now, everyone who understands the subject knows that half rates to Australia, New Zealand,

Africa, and even Canada will be utterly unsatisfactory, even if the messages consist of uncoded words; 1*s*. 6*d*. a word to Australia instead of 3*s*. will only benefit the great merchants—in other words, the millionaires.

The cable companies themselves give instances of the economy effected by a coded message; as when in a message to Australia 189 'plain language' words were represented by five code words, and the nominal rate of 4*s*. a word was equivalent to a real rate of 1¼*d*. a word. From this it is clear that merchants will still adhere to their coded words, and the general public will be prevented from using the cables to all parts of the Empire because the rates are too high.

The Antipodean Attitude

In telegraphing to me the other day warm congratulations on establishing Penny Postage in Australia, and from Australia to England, the distinguished Postmaster-General of Australia sent me the following interesting information:

Commonwealth of Australia,
Postmaster-General:
Melbourne, 1st May 1911.

Dear Henniker Heaton,—To-day, as you are aware, penny postage is established within the Commonwealth of Australia, and, so far as Australia is concerned, with the British Empire; I am more than delighted that we should have been able to bring this about. Your advocacy of the great principle of penny postage has played no small part in this achievement. I offer my congratulations.

I hope you will continue to fight strenuously for a national cable across the Atlantic, so that Australia and England may have the advantage that will accrue from a national service, and, having obtained that, that you will not rest until the price of messages is such as to be within the reach of the average householder.

Cheap cable communications between Australia and the Motherland will do wonders towards cementing the bond of union.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Josiah Thomas, Postmaster-General.

The Hon. Josiah Thomas added that personally he thought the day was not far distant when cable messages might be sent to England for 3*d*. per word. If that could only be done, he says, it would, in his opinion, draw the Mother Country and the Commonwealth closer than all the reciprocity arrangements in the world.

An Alternative Course

I will now beg my fellow-subjects, through this Review, to note how easily we may have penny-a-word telegrams from any one point to any other within the British Empire.

If you look on a general map you will find that the world is divided into two sections, or three at most. We may treat

Europe, Asia and Africa as one section, being all connected by land; America as another; and all the islands as a third. If we construct land lines throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, and land lines throughout America, with wireless services and cables thence to all the islands, we shall achieve our object. But some twenty-five years ago two powerful cable rings built up a complete system of cable communication which has embarrassed our work very considerably. As explained in my letter to the Imperial Conference, land lines can be constructed for 25*l*. to 30*l*. a mile, whereas cables cost from 200*l*. to 300*l*. a mile. I believe that if by some accident all the cables of the world were destroyed we could relay them to-morrow at less than half cost. Some of my friends, such as Sir Edward Sassoon and Lord Blyth, are, for the moment, for less drastic measures. But I am forced by a sense of duty to emphasise the fact that land lines will help us enormously in establishing cheap communication, not only throughout the Empire, but throughout the world.

I am specially anxious to point out that it is only 3700 miles by land to India, and that when the cable rings who had cables to India saw the danger of their monopoly being destroyed, they at once obtained control of the land lines to that Empire. The Eastern Telegraph Cable Company joined or formed the Indo-European Telegraph Company, taking themselves 80 per cent. of the profits, giving the Indo-European Company 12 per cent. of the profits, and the Indian Government 8 per cent. of the profits—total 100 per cent. The way they formed this 'land line' communication is so extraordinary that people in their senses will wonder how the British Government or any Government could have agreed to their propositions. They did it in this manner: They leased from the British Government a land line from London to Lowestoft; they leased from the British Government a cable from Lowestoft (England) to Germany. They leased from the German Government one of their land lines to the Russian Frontier; they leased from the Russian Government a land line to the Persian Frontier, and induced the Indian Government to construct a line to Teheran from Karachi. The German Government, charging for local messages ½*d*. per word, received more than double the local charge for our messages to India. The result was that we are paying to India 2*s*. a word, 3700 miles by land, solely because it is 2*s*. a word by cable 6000 miles! I have already pointed out that from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock—6000 miles—by land only 2½*d*. a word is charged by the Russian Government. This outrageous Anglo-Indian arrangement, utterly opposed to any sense of fairness, to all intelligence, exists to-day for the mere purpose of protecting the cable company's shares in the service from London to Bombay.

Official Apathy

I have appealed in vain to more than one Postmaster-General of this country to call a meeting of the Postmasters-General of Europe, not only to abolish political frontiers but to arrange a perfect system of cable communication for the people of Europe, Asia and Africa by mutual understanding. The 'Lords of Silence'—the directors of the cable companies—hold in their hands the vital telegraphic communications of the British Empire. The facts of the case, as illustrated above, arouse increasing indignation among all sensible men.

In a sufficiently clever manner the companies seek to divert this feeling by urging patriotism, saying that they are British institutions, and they dignify their action by talking about strategic purposes in case of war. Yet Sir James Anderson, Director of the Eastern Telegraph Company, said it is all nonsense to talk about strategic purposes, as every foreign Government has the means of cable cutting. Since then wireless telegraphy has entirely met the danger; and it has already been observed that we only have war with a foreign nation once or twice in a century, and then of course all telegraphic communication is interrupted.

Our Past Postmasters-General

Many Postmasters-General have come and gone during my twenty-six years of Parliamentary life. All have been men of high honour and reputation, who have left their mark for good on the public service with some liberal and progressive action. But we have never had an Imperial Postmaster-General.

Not long since I made an urgent appeal to one of the most active and astute of these statesmen. I begged him to call a meeting of the Postmasters-General of Europe with a view to establishing international lines of telegraphic communication throughout Europe, Asia and Africa, complete, at the service of all, like the Pullman cars running from Paris to Pekin. I asked him to arrange at this conference for the provision of international land lines from London to Hong Kong; from Calais *viâ* Constantinople to Cairo and the Cape of Good Hope; from Calais to Calcutta *viâ* Fao and Karachi; from Calcutta *viâ* Burmah down the Malay Straits territory to Singapore; and thence, by a few stepping-stones, to Australia.

The Conference would have laid before it such facts as these: That the charge for a land telegraph message from Broome, Western Australia, to Cape York, Queensland, 7500 miles, through States ruled by five Governments, is for sixteen words one shilling; that the charge for a similar telegram, *half the dis-*

tance—that is, from England to India—also by land, is 32s.; that the charge for a message from St. Petersburg to Vladivostock, 6000 miles, is but 2d. or 2½d. per word—a fact which encourages one to hope eventually for telegrams from London to China at 2d. a word, or from London to the Cape for 2d. a word, although my ideal was and is twelve words for a shilling.

The first step is to get a declaration that political frontiers shall be abolished for telegraph purposes, and that no tax or toll shall be levied on communications passing from one country to another.

I have said little of the telegraph lines to America, but this subject is very fully explained in previous numbers of this Review.

Now the question is whether the people of the British Empire are going to be bluffed by the capitalists who control the cable companies. Australia, New Zealand and Africa are amazed and indignant at the present position of affairs. I am almost afraid that we shall have to wait the advent of a Labour Ministry before we can smash the cable kings; yet we should annually save thousands and thousands of hours and millions of money by cheap cable communication.

Let me quote my letter to the Postmasters-General of the Empire:

At present the bulk of our trading negotiations are conducted in writing just as they were between Assyria and Egypt thousands of years ago. There is a lamentable waste of time at every stage of the proceedings. We do business at a rate which might have been tolerable in patriarchal days, but which obviously leaves out of sight our slender span of life—seventy years. My property is in Australia. It takes me three months to write to that country and get a reply to my letter. This is too much out of my span of seventy years. Yet the human race for two generations has been in possession of means of instantaneous communication of thought, so perfect, so unerring, so docile and so plentifully found in Nature that it would tax angelic intelligence to improve upon it. This means is, for all but the most urgent concerns, as utterly ignored and neglected as if we were living in the days of the Pharaohs. Even when it is employed, each country sets a new tax on the passing telegram, as it would upon luxuries or dangerous commodities. The flash of the message instantly passes over the face of Europe from one end to the other; yet it has to pay toll more than once on its way to the various foreign Governments. It seems to me it would be as reasonable to tax a sunbeam.

Let it be clearly understood that my hostility is not against capital, but against the tyranny of capital. There is no one so ignorant or foolish as to deny the debt which mankind owes to the cable companies for their spirited enterprise in facing many risks in the development of telegraphic communication. Those who carried out that great work deserve our gratitude and financial reward. I would not deprive them of one farthing of what they are justly entitled to; if they are to be bought out, I would not haggle with them over the price, even though I might think it was based on an ungenerous tariff. I hold, however, that the policy of the cable companies has been ungenerous to the public and unwise in their own interests.

It is in the interests of all that I have advocated, in and out of Parliament, what I will call a cable post for the millions. It will come—it must come soon—and England's children, though the great deep lies between them and the old land, will be able to send messages home at nominal rates. Nature has interposed the wild watery wastes, but she has also supplied the marvellous force that can bear our thoughts across them from one hemisphere to another.

Cheap cabling is the key to all the really momentous problems that confront our statesmen and merchants. It annihilates distance, abolishes delay, bridges the ocean, laughs at the storm, creates trade, nourishes individual and racial sympathies, multiplies our strength, and, in the event of war or threatened war, enables us to mass our collective resources at the menaced point. The Post Office is the machinery of thought; but electricity is thought itself displayed in action; the living fire that makes the massive wheel turn. And here I wish to show how much in this way rests on the Post Office. For a quarter of a century I watched the growth of the immense cable monopoly—a monopoly which naturally in purblind fashion defeats its own ends—a cable monopoly with enormously high rates to our Colonies and Dependencies; yet not one word has been spoken by a British Postmaster-General in favour of reducing those excessive charges. I have sat at State cable conferences side by side with representatives of the Government of Great Britain, and not one attempt was made by them to lessen the cost of cabling. Yet we must remember that the Postmaster-General has absolute control over the cables in his hands, because he holds the landing rights and inland transmission for Great Britain, without which not a single cable message could be sent by the monopolist companies.

We do not wish to see our great Empire, which has been raised stone by stone, by English hands and by British valour in the old days, broken up into isolated fragments. Its magnitude should give us those majestic inspirations which bring to the daily task the grandeur of past success. The Empire gets bigger, but what of cohesion? The records of the past show clearly enough that when divergent sympathies and interests are at work the greatest empire falls. And who will deny that there are already centrifugal forces at work within the British Empire which need the gravest attention of our statesmen? Fortunately we have within our reach, in the postal and cable services, the means of intensifying and perpetuating the sympathy that is the basis of union—means that would probably have enabled Mahomet or Napoleon to subjugate the world.

At present the girdling wire is of no use whatever to the great bulk of the subjects of his Majesty the King. They might be living in another planet for all the use that they can make of the great invention. If a labourer in England wished to discover at once whether his son in South Africa had perished in some awful mining disaster, he could only do so at the cost of a fortnight or three weeks' pay. The leopard, the lion, and the wolf in the path of Dante at the Mount Delectable did not more effectually bar the route than do the monopolist companies to the millions whose happiness it would be to keep in touch with distant friends. To cable for money on the part of a member of a family abroad who needs immediate assistance is practically impossible; the address alone (for there would, of course, be no registered address) would cost too much. His people at home are mulcted of a large sum to help him; they may be hard pressed to do it at all; and finally, the post will take from six weeks to three months to carry his appeal and bring the response. Three months! Charles Lamb called it 'writing for posterity.'

Universal Penny Postage

It is very difficult to have and enjoy Imperial penny postage without making it universal, from the fact that most of our letters to our Colonies and Dependencies pass through foreign countries. Accordingly, when Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand, agreed to penny postage between Great Britain and New Zealand, he announced that he would also like to see it established to every part of the civilised world.

To-day we have the extraordinary spectacle of letters being sent from New Zealand to Italy at 1*d*. per letter postage, and from England to Italy at 2½*d*. per letter postage. Sir Joseph Ward informs me that he has now made an arrangement with France for penny postage from New Zealand to France.

Anglo-Saxon Penny Postage

On the 1st of May last there were general rejoicings in Australia at the inauguration of penny postage, not only throughout the island continent but to the Mother Country.

For seventeen years active correspondence has been in progress with the Prime Ministers of Australia and others on this question. In *The Times* of the 27th and 28th of March 1905, much of this correspondence was published, on the conclusion of a treaty (suggested by me) that the rate of postage from the United Kingdom to Australia should be 1*d*., and the Australian postage to England should for a time be the inland rate of 2*d*. To Lord Stanley and Mr. Austen Chamberlain much credit is due for bringing about this arrangement.

On the 1st of April last Rhodesia likewise established penny postage from that Colony to Great Britain.

I repeat, on the 1st of May last the Commonwealth of Australia, with a population of about four millions, and at a cost estimated at 450,000*l*., agreed to establish penny postage throughout the island continent, and thus make penny postage universal throughout the English-speaking world; the United States having agreed to it three years ago, on the 3rd of June 1908, the measure taking effect on the 1st of October 1908.

Why Keep up Postal Frontiers?

The most glorious way of celebrating the Coronation of his Majesty the King would have been to proclaim universal penny postage; it would have given universal satisfaction.

To-day, half the letters sent from the United Kingdom abroad bear penny stamps only. The total cost of establishing universal penny postage would be no more for the forty-two million people in

Great Britain than that undertaken by the youthful Commonwealth of Australia with only four million people.

That fearless Imperial leader the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Sir Joseph Ward, actually proposed in the Imperial Conference a resolution in the direction indicated. In this connexion I beg to append a telegram which was sent to me eleven years ago:

General Post Office, Wellington, New Zealand.

HENNIKER HEATON, House of Commons, London.

I have much pleasure in informing you that New Zealand will introduce universal penny postage from the 1st of January 1900 as a befitting commemoration of the new century, and adding another link to the chain of Empire.

J. G. WARD, Postmaster-General.

This is by no means the first time that New Zealand has led the way, and we shall never forget her promptitude in telegraphing the offer of a Dreadnought at a crisis in our history.

It is not for me to attempt to dwell on the glorious results that will be forthcoming from the establishment of a world-wide penny post.

But here is one little pregnant fact:

My friend Lord Blyth has shown me a letter under the penny rate which brought an order for one hundred pounds' worth of goods.

I may mention that to-day in all the principal countries in the world the Post Office yields a large profit. For instance:

In Germany	a profit of	76,000,000	francs a year
In Australia	"	5,000,000	"
In Belgium	"	13,000,000	"
In Spain	"	16,000.000	"
In France	"	73,000,000	"
In Great Britain	"	120,000,000	"
In Italy	"	4,000,000	"
In Japan	"	12,000,000	"
In Ireland	"	5,000,000	"
In Russia	"	18,000,000	"
In Portugal	"	2,500,000	"
In Sweden	"	2,000,000	"
In Turkey	"	5,000,000	"
In U.S. of America	"	25,000,000	"

I have already stated that half the letters sent abroad from the United Kingdom bear the penny stamp. The total number according to the latest statistics of the Berne International Bureau is 129 millions; it is now probably 140 millions. So that seventy millions bear the penny stamp.

A 'SHOCKING EXAMPLE'

At the Imperial Conference the Postmaster-General of England said that Imperial penny postage involved the

United Kingdom, in a considerable loss. To the United States alone the loss was 136,000*l.* in a year, although that has been recouped at the rate of 10,000*l.* a year. He further said the loss on establishing universal penny postage would be 450,000*l.* a year, and in view of the heavy expenditure which Great Britain was now incurring with social reforms and other purposes of finance, he regretted the Government could not agree to the proposal. My answer to this statement is that the loss on penny postage to America does not approach 136,000*l.* a year. My right honourable friend, who has done so much to remove anomalies, ought not to depend solely on the reports of his official advisers, for all his predecessors from the days of Rowland Hill were misled by similarly one-sided statistics, and in every case the official figures were proved to be entirely wrong.

The alleged loss of 136,000*l.* on the American service is utterly misleading. We handle 3,000,000,000 letters in England, and we only send 18,000,000 letters to America. It is only a drop in the ocean.

Against 600,000 lb. weight of letters we send to the United States 3,000,000 lb. weight of circulars, book packets and patterns. We pay to the steamship companies 3*s.* a lb. for the letters and only 3*d.* a lb. for the newspapers and circulars. Why? I defy any shipowner to tell the difference between a bag of letters and a bag of newspapers. We pay British steamships 3*s.* a lb. for conveying our letters to America, but we only pay 1*s.* 8*d.* a lb. to German-American steamships for conveying our letters to America—that is 50,000*l.* additional to the British owner.

I gladly assent to the most liberal subsidising of our British mail steamers, but I strongly decline to join in the view that these subsidies should be wholly paid by British letter-writers, and treated as 'losses' in postal revenue, estimated on the high figures of the Postal officials.

Grounds for Confidence

I am confident, however, of the ultimate decision when I recall these facts: First, that of the 140 million letters sent from this country outward every year, seventy millions (one half) bear the penny stamp only. So there are only seventy millions left to be dealt with in undertaking this new departure of establishing a wide-world penny postage, so far as England is concerned.

I am rendered more than confident by the positive knowledge I possess that our present enlightened and far-seeing Postmaster-General has it in view to carry out universal penny postage by degrees—one step at a time. I know he is already most anxious to establish penny postage to France. I will venture to prophesy

that he will gradually extend penny postage, one or two steps at a time, to all parts of the world.

My view is that it had better be done at once; for the present arrangements excite laughter. We send through France every year to Australia, India and the East twenty million letters at the 1*d*. rate; to France itself we send about twelve million letters at the 2½*d*. rate. France, on the other hand, sends letters at the 10c. rate to China, the Society Islands, New Caledonia, etc., carried side by side with our letters to Australia and the East.

Germany displays an equal lack of the sense of humour. She carries letters from America *viâ* Southampton to Hamburg at 1*d*. each; and letters from Southampton to Hamburg at 2½*d*. each. It is like carrying passengers for 10*l*. from America to Germany *viâ* Southampton and for 25*l*. from Southampton to Hamburg.

The other day I made a proposal to the French Government to accept our letters at 1*d*. each, and asked them to reciprocate by establishing penny (10c.) postage to England when their finances admitted. I made a precisely similar proposal to Australia six years ago, and it was accepted, and Australia was only able to reciprocate in May last. Under the Postal Union each country keeps its own rates outward, and there can be no possible objection to France agreeing to this proposal except on the score of dignity.

A very interesting paying step would be to introduce without delay penny postage to and from Japan. The cost would not exceed 5000*l*. for the first year. We have already penny postage all round the world excepting to Japan. We have penny postage to Gibraltar, Malta, Egypt, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, China (but not Japan) *en route* to Vancouver, Canada, and San Francisco, United States, thence to Australia, New Zealand, and home *viâ* Africa. I earnestly commend this proposal of penny postage to Japan, though I have strong reasons for believing that the present sagacious Postmaster-General will not leave office without establishing universal penny postage.

J. Henniker Heaton.

SAINTS AND SOLDIERS IN SAVOY

'MADAME will surely pay for my burial?—if Madame insists upon my running——' The protest comes from an aged porter who is following us at quite a leisurely pace through the subterranean passage of the station at Dijon. It is obviously impossible to make him run, and scarcely worth trying to do so, since our train should have left Platform IV already some minutes ago. It is of no consequence what has detained us on this our first visit to Dijon. Perhaps it was those strange *Pleureurs* who creep in and out of the tombs of Philippe le Hardi and of his son, Jean Sans Peur, who with their cowls lowered, their eyes cast down, symbols of inexpressible and dignified grief, have held us too long captive by their mysterious charm. Perhaps we have lingered to watch the goat-herd, clothed in skins and heralded by his weird cry, gathering his flock about him and unconcernedly pursuing his calling within a few yards of the tram lines and the traffic of one of the busiest streets of Europe. Whatever the cause, by the time we reach the station we have almost resigned ourselves to the possibility of having to spend another twelve hours among the treasures of past Burgundian magnificence. That this is unnecessary is due to no miracle worked in our favour, but to a simple historical or political fact which has escaped our notice. For to-day is the 3rd of September 1910, and the President of the French Republic is actually on his way to Savoy to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the annexation of that country to France. He has only just passed through Dijon, and so the ordinary express to Aix still waits in the station that it may not follow with disrespectful closeness upon the heels of the Presidential progress. Burying is apparently cheap in Burgundy, for a franc seems to cover our porter's gloomiest anticipations and leaves him wreathed in smiles and self congratulations, for is it not entirely due to his efforts that the ladies start at all? As a matter of fact we have twenty minutes to spare, and when at last we are off our pace is exceedingly slow and our halts many and prolonged, according to the speeches which our illustrious predecessor thinks it necessary to make at the wayside stations. All along the road these are gaily bedecked with flags and evergreens, and the realisation is forced

upon us that, whether willingly or no, we have thrust ourselves into the midst of a political *fête*.

It is late in the evening when we reach Annecy, to find a hotel covered with flags and an obsequious smiling landlord, who rejoices at the prospect of three days' festivities and congratulates *ces dames* on having chosen so propitious a moment for their visit. *Ces dames* do not confess their ignorance nor that their primary intention in coming to Annecy was to visit the haunts of that gentle saint Saint François de Sales, to whose memory the little town is so largely dedicated, with that of his friend, Mme. de Chantal; to renew their less pleasing impressions of the youth of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and to appreciate the quiet charm of a lake and countryside which has inspired the work of so many French writers up to the present day.

But the occasion seems to demand some rearrangement of our ideas. On the soft Sunday morning which follows our arrival, we awake to the discovery that Annecy for the moment, at all events, is a military centre. A Sabbath calm broods over the still waters of the lake, and on those mountains which have presented an impassable barrier to the Protestant spirit of Switzerland on the one hand, and on the other, by their inconvenient division of the kingdom of Sardinia, have thrown Savoy irresistibly into the arms of France and contributed largely to the matter of the present rejoicing. In the town itself, however, a deeply religious people have been forced to set aside their cherished observances, to forget alike their saints and their men of genius, and to decorate their town in honour of the representative of a Government in which the people, apart from the officials, take, it is to be feared, but little interest. They have however done their work very creditably. The President is not expected until to-morrow, but already we are very much *en fête*. All the streets leading from the station to the Préfecture are gay with streamers of flags, the tricolour alternating with the white cross or the red flag of Savoy, and the motto 'Nos cœurs vont où coulent nos rivières'—'Our hearts flow with our rivers'—very much in evidence. Every horse and carriage is decorated with the tricolour, every baby—and all the babies of Annecy are out to-day, loyal if indifferent citizens of the Republic—waves a tiny flag or has one fixed in his bonnet. All the world of Annecy seems to be swarming in the Rue Royale or gossiping under the ancient arcades of the stately town house of the de Sales family, almost Italian in character, where the Kings of Sardinia lodged in the seventeenth century.

In the picturesque narrow streets, along the canals with their wrought-iron balconies, tubs of flowering oleander, and occasional stone fountains, there is a hint that Italian workmanship has found its way across the Alps into a country which, too soft in

atmosphere to be Swiss, has yet little enough of Italy in its character. Here the people have had their own ideas of decoration. Flags are rare, but small fir-trees, brought down from the mountains, stand sentinel at every doorway, bearing a fine crop of paper roses, while strings of coloured-paper balls are festooned overhead from window to window across the narrow canal. In the Rue Ste. Claire is the ancient stone Evêché, with its heavy carvings where, as the guest of the President Favre, Saint François wrote his *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu*, and where were held the *séances* of the famous *Académie florimontane*, instituted by Favre twenty-eight years before Richelieu had founded the French Academy. Close by is the site of the house once occupied by Mme. de Warens, where Jean Jacques, in his impecunious and not too creditable youth, first found that asylum with his *Mamman* which was to lead him ultimately to Les Charmettes, the pleasant little house standing among the vines and chestnut trees on the sunny slope above Chambéry.

A little bridge spans the canal opposite the Evêché, leading to an old-world garden where two immense mallow-trees, covered with pink and white blossom, peep through the gate and put to shame their paper rivals in the street. We make our way back down comparatively deserted by-ways, until we come to the three-cornered turreted block of masonry which was once the old prison, and which stands on an island where the canals widen to the lake. Beyond the open *place* opposite the Hôtel de Ville stands the little church of the first Convent of the Visitation, which, until the Revolution, held the bodies of Saint François and of his friend, Ste. Jeanne de Chantal, the first Abbess. They have now been moved to more gorgeous tombs in the modern Church of the Visitation near the station. The original little building of chocolate brown, faced with white stone, with its neat spire, is suggestive of nothing so much as a box of German bricks carefully arranged to a given pattern. Certainly architecture was at a low ebb in Savoy in the seventeenth century.

Above, dominating and sheltering the little toy edifice and guarding the entrance to the town from the lake side, is the solid Castle with its many brown towers, belonging to an earlier and more splendid date—a landmark to all the country round. It is from the Castle that the troops come pouring down in the afternoon to salute the colours on the wide open space between our hotel and the lake. The autumn manœuvres are in progress and the town already swarms with red-and-blue uniforms, for the soldiers have come in to pay their respects to the President, and also to protect his person. Under the magnificent plane-trees of the Avenue du Paquier, which leads along the shore of the lake to the Préfecture where M. Fallières is to be lodged, a number

of booths and merry-go-rounds spring up like mushrooms as the day goes on. Those itinerant vendors who, with unerring fidelity, pursue every hint of a *fête* in the length and breadth of France—and these are few enough now, since the Government have forbidden the observance of religious festivals—swarm like flies. By evening the gaiety is in full swing, and the Sabbath calm of the town of St. Francis made hideous by the discordant sounds of the hurdy-gurdy, the intermittent cracks from the shooting galleries, and the raucous cries of the hawkers. A roulette board and a pack of cards, under the control of a loquacious young woman, is the centre of a constant little group of silent soldiers who wait with what patience they may until fortune favours them, and they are permitted to pocket a few coins or a small packet of tobacco, when they make way for other adventurous spirits. Family parties—fond fathers wheeling perambulators—are all out enjoying themselves in, however, a much more quiet and unemotional manner than would be the case in their sister country.

But the sound of drum and fife soon reminds us that the dominant note of this anniversary is to be military. Down from the Castle comes the band of the infantry regiment now quartered there, and, preceded by Chasseurs Alpinistes, carrying Chinese lanterns affixed to poles, they march briskly round the town, silencing the hurdy-gurdies with their martial tunes, and sweeping the crowds and the paraphernalia of the fair before them. It is a picturesque sight, for the Chasseurs are sturdy mountain soldiers clad in serviceable dark-blue uniforms, their *béret* embroidered with a yellow bugle, and they carry lightly on their backs all those cumbrous objects for road making and refreshment which, to the civilian mind, are connected only with the exigencies of a long march. The light of the Chinese lanterns flickers on their bronzed good-tempered faces, as they swing along with the easy vigour of a physique very superior to that of the little men in their loose red-and-blue uniforms who are playing so industriously behind them. The music grows alternately fainter and louder, the swinging lights appear and disappear in the darkness as they make the circuit of the town and so back to barracks, leaving like emptiness and silence behind them.

This is the more desirable, since with the first streak of dawn the following morning the town is roused from its sleep by a salvo of artillery and henceforward there is not much peace for anybody. At five o'clock the little train from the mountains steams casually through the streets and deposits its burden of holiday-makers on the shore of the lake exactly under our windows. Here also the fair has sprung into fresh activity—only the roulette board is absent, since the soldiers are too busy and the peasants too cautious to give it much custom at this hour of the morning.

soarse and insistent voice continues to proclaim almost without
pause, '*Deux sous à choisir*—it is a present which I make you
th the goodness which characterises all my actions.' What it is
which a present is being thus handsomely bestowed we cannot
;, but long after the owner of the voice has disappeared up the
eet he continues to assure us of the *deux sous à choisir* and *la*
nté qui me charactérise.

The incessant rumbling of a drum suggests the premature
:ival of the military, but it is apparently merely caused by
small boy turning the handle of a mysterious machine
der the shelter of a large scarlet umbrella. The medicine-
ın is an important feature of country fairs all the
rld over, but surely this dignified gentleman with his
ite linen suit, his smart umbrella, and the docile little
y must be a prince among his fellows for loquacity. His stall
covered with wooden menthol cases with one of which he is
aphically illustrating his address to the crowd of interested
lookers. 'Why wake with a headache? The result no doubt
a *coup de colère*, anxiety—what you will.' He grasps his head
both hands while a spasm of well-simulated anguish contracts
handsome countenance. 'Here,' waving the menthol, 'you
.'e *le bonheur, la joie et le soulagement*. Why have toothache?'
d now the menthol stick is swept round the inside of his mouth
all to see. 'I am forty-six—I have thirty-two teeth—see! I
.o speak to you.' And indeed it is plain that they are very fine
.ite teeth indeed. This pantomime, which naturally holds us
;hralled and envious, is followed by some dealings with an evil
rit in a glass bottle which savour agreeably of black magic, and
little boy winds up the drum again, thereby greatly enhancing
effect of mystery and doom.

But now the serious business of the day is approaching. The
lls must remove themselves further back under the plane-trees,
merry-go-rounds, itinerant vendors, and even the medicine-
n must be silent and inconspicuous. A squadron of dragoons
tters through the narrow paved streets scattering the crowds to
ht and left, foot soldiers line up in double rows all along the
ıte that the President is to take, and the Chasseurs Alpinistes
ɔear to be marching rapidly in all directions. No foot passengers
permitted to cross the street for an almost indefinite period,
having strolled out to see the fun, we find an impassable gulf
ɔd between us and our *déjeuner*—a predicament shared by the
ker's boy with our rolls. In spite of what appears to our insular
ıds to be mere arbitrary fuss, the soldiers who form the barrier
ween us and liberty are enjoying themselves in a manner which
ıld deeply outrage the decorous traditions of a British Tommy
duty. In a country where every citizen serves his time, the

short sturdy men in front of us naturally have many acquaintances among the ladies of the town, who form the bulk of the rather thin crowd which is collecting. They are probably all sweethearts, brothers, cousins, and they have much to relate over their shoulders to an interested audience. This they do quite calmly under the nose of their commanding officer. Little children are handed through to obtain a better view, and it is not until five minutes before the appointed hour that a nervous gentleman in plain clothes, who rides up and down eyeing us all alike with angry suspicion, murmurs an order which produces instantaneous silence and attention.

We haven't many more minutes to wait. Cannon are fired from the Castle above; the church bells are ringing, and the procession of fourteen shabby landaus, all carefully numbered as is the fashion in French processions, at length arrives. Mayors and deputies and all the local officials in evening dress, judges and lawyers in their quaint square caps and black gowns, and finally, in a smart barouche, the President himself, preceded by soldiers and followed by a handful of clattering dragoons. Monsieur Fallières has already done a hard day's work though it is not yet noon. He has left Chambéry soon after cock-crow, and made many speeches and received many deputations on the way. He permits himself, however, to show small traces of fatigue. Hat in hand he bows and smiles to right and left, a handsome impressive gentleman, whose cordiality of manner deserves a more enthusiastic response than is accorded him by the citizens of Annecy. They are certainly not an emotional people; nevertheless, after he has disappeared down the Avenue they hang about with a certain tenacity to see all that they can of their distinguished guest on the many philanthropic and other expeditions which have been arranged for him in the course of an arduous programme. Since it is impossible for M. Fallières to leave the Préfecture without passing our hotel, we see him more times than we can number, and though as the day goes on a sullen, steady rain is falling, and he is condemned at the close of it to pass two hours in a steamer making the tour of the lake, he maintains the same creditable dignified attitude. All day, with the briefest intervals, the patient little soldiers stand in a double line along the Avenue and the Place, with the band always ready to strike up as the President's carriage passes it at the corner, and behind him the dragoons, who give him five minutes' start, are always galloping in desperate jingling haste as if they were afraid to be outdistanced.

With all this, it is melancholy to hear that in Annecy, always a stronghold of the Church, this hard-worked servant of his country has not been particularly welcome. The beflagged and

decorated streets of the town beloved by Saint François de Sales conceal, it appears, a bitterness of spirit which seems a poor return for the infinite pains taken by the urbane courtly gentleman, who is now driving about in the downpour, unveiling monuments, visiting the sick in the hospitals, and otherwise endeavouring to win the hearts of a somewhat stubborn people. It is from a young woman in a humble china shop in the Rue Ste. Claire, well removed from official patronage, that we learn the true inner history from the people's point of view of this day of apparent rejoicing. The President, she explains to us, has been coldly received, the applause which Mesdames have heard was ordered by the officials, it was not spontaneous. Above all, the people resented the compulsory *sonneries des cloches*, the ringing of the church bells, which has been prohibited, as well as the processions, for the religious festivals. Only the officials have desired a visit from the representative of a Government which is obliging its subjects to bring up their children without faith. 'It is for the little ones we feel it, Mesdames,' she says, glancing pathetically at a fat three-year-old baby who has contrived to fit himself into a large market basket, and is smiling amiably at us through the handle. 'The little Joseph will never carry a banner or walk in procession; he will have no religious instruction.' This rather gloomy view of Joseph's future chances of salvation is interrupted by the subject of it, who, his round eyes fixed upon the visitors, has overbalanced himself and the basket, and requires immediate maternal consolation.

The Paris papers are full of the President's enthusiastic reception in Savoy, but the local papers and the Catholic organs are less assured. There is a note of resentment, echoing the views of our friend in the china shop, against a Government by which a strongly Catholic country considers itself to have been tricked. There is even a hint that at Annecy especial precautions have been taken to protect the President from possible assault from religious fanatics. For this reason no evergreen arches, such as adorned the streets of the more commercial Chambéry and of cosmopolitan Aix, were permitted in Annecy, no drooping garlands behind which it would be possible for an excitable zealot to hide himself. Happily, Monsieur Fallières is surrounded by officials to whom the occasion is naturally one of unmitigated satisfaction, and round the official circle is drawn a tight cordon of soldiers so that the people and their prejudices have not much say in the matter.

Fifty years ago Savoy had, by her own free will and consent, been finally united with France. The long-cherished dream of Napoleon the Third had been fulfilled, and Savoy and Nice added to his possessions as a reward for the services rendered by the

French troops against the Austrians in the campaign of 1859. The memorable meeting at Plombières took place in July 1858, when Napoleon and Cavour, two crafty conspirators, drove about for three hours in the neighbourhood trying to outwit one another, and arranging the future division of the States of Italy, to follow the Revolution so carefully planned by Victor Emmanuel's wily statesman. And the King of Sardinia acquiesced readily enough in the cession of that part of his kingdom which, lying north of the Alps, was already more French than Italian in geographical position, language, and sympathy. The day had long gone by when the imposing Castle at Chambéry had harboured the Dukes of Savoy. With the Court at Turin, and the interests of their sovereign centred on the southern side of the mountains, it was natural that his subjects in Savoy should unanimously prefer to become entirely French rather than belong to a small and unimportant dependency of Italy. Had they not fought side by side with the French soldiers in the glorious wars of the Revolution?

In these Republican days the Savoyard's memory does not carry him back much further than the French Revolution. He does not trouble himself to reflect that French influence might naturally be paramount in a country whose reigning house in the past has so freely intermarried with the sons and daughters of France. Some dim but grateful memory may remain of Henry the Fourth, who, having married his daughter to Victor Ammadeus the First, Duke of Savoy, was prepared to treat the little neighbouring State as a friend and ally. Louis the Fourteenth, on the other hand, regarded Savoy as a mere appanage, but was careful to consolidate French influence in the country by marrying his niece Anne Marie d'Orleans to Victor Ammadeus the Second, whose talent for dissimulation occasionally, however, baffled the astutest sovereign in Europe. It was their little daughter, Marie Adelaide de Savoie, who, as Duchesse de Bourgogne, was destined in her brief life to be the joy and consolation of the Roi Soleil. But of these royal personages of a past age and the far-reaching effects of their intermarriages, the Savoyard of to-day knows or cares, as we have said, but little. The Dukes of Savoy, who later became Kings of Sardinia, are no more than names to him. He may not even be aware that the House of Savoy, the cradle of the reigning house of Italy, had from the earliest times had a distinct idea of aggrandisement; that the question of Savoy annexing France had actually been mooted in the family circle, and scarcely as a jest! What he does know, however, is that from the earliest times, since it emerged into the light of history under Humbert aux Blanches Mains, his country has been the high road of invading armies from north to south, from south to north, of Europe. The troops of Charlemagne have devastated the fertile country as they marched

ough on their way to greater conquests, and the Saracens have vept it so perpetually that traces of them remain in the populaon and language to the present day. Now the invasion is only one ! tourists and pleasure-seekers going and coming between France id Italy or pausing to seek health from the waters at Aix, and y them, this quiet corner of Europe, with its still lakes and gged mountain ranges, its vine-covered slopes and smiling chards, through which they are rushed in express trains, seems be curiously neglected. But where there has once been ivasion there probably will be invasion again, so in this case nion is undoubtedly strength, and union with the nearest and iost powerful State, whose language is the same and whose istoms are the most familiar, is naturally preferred. But, we have said, the immediate history of Savoy dates ily from the French Revolution, when—the King of Sardinia ving ceased to fight for himself and retired into Piedmont—his ibjects north of the Alps threw in their lot with the French ldiers. It is not, therefore, unnatural that seventy years later iey should have unanimously welcomed their final reunion with ie country of their choice.

But if the Savoyard cares for the safety of his country he cares less for his religion. In 1848 when the question of annexation d first arisen, the Catholic conservatives, the most powerful rty in the State, had strenuously opposed the idea of allying ieir country with one which had declared itself the champion of volution. By 1860, however, matters had assumed a different pect. Five years previously Ratazzi, Minister of Justice in avour's Cabinet, had passed a Bill for closing all religious houses cepting those belonging to that Order which devoted itself to the irsing of the sick. In a Catholic country this was a calamity ot to be lightly endured. That their leap from the frying-pan ould ultimately land them in the fire could, perhaps, hardly have en foreseen when by universal consent the people of Savoy, the ronghold of Catholicism, became the subjects of Napoleon the hird, Emperor of the French.

But apart from a disappointment which has been slowly growg in bitterness, the *Alliance Catholique Savoisienne* has several tinct objections to the manner in which the anniversary of the inexation is being celebrated. Whether from deliberate design an amazing want of tact, the day chosen for the *fête* is also the iniversary of the downfall of Napoleon the Third, the man to hose efforts the annexation was entirely due. Again, the unveilg of a statue to Rousseau at Chambéry has given small satisfacon since Jean Jacques was no Savoyard, but a citizen of Geneva, id the Protestant Swiss spirit has from all time been the most imical of all others to the Catholic Savoyard; indeed, the dread of

being annexed by the neighbouring Swiss States was a powerful factor in the anxiety for the union with France. Now, however, a huge and hideous image of Jean Jacques dominates the tone of Chambéry, stepping jauntily down a sham rock, for ever mocking at the frowning solid Castle of the Dukes of Savoy, that cradle of kings and queens for whose destruction his teaching of free love and equality sowed so many good seeds. Finally, the opening of a school in Annecy itself in a convent from which the Capucins have lately been expelled, is not a measure likely to conciliate a devout people who still rear their crosses and shrines outside every village and at the summit of every hill.

The heavy rain which falls steadily as the evening approaches effectually quenches a laudable desire on the part of the towns-people to pocket their religious sensibilities and enjoy the festivities as good servants of the Republic. The elaborate fireworks in front of the Préfecture, the *feux de joie* on the mountain tops fizzle out after a feeble effort. The merry-making attendant on the fair becomes more and more subdued and presently the entire population is driven home by the downpour. We leave the patient soldiers still standing in double rows when we go to bed, and they are there again standing at attention at seven o'clock next morning (indeed, had we not heard them tramping through the mud, they might never have moved) when the President takes his departure. It is a damp and drizzling morning, and in the long line of closed motors which sweep past it is not possible to recognise that of M. Fallières who is thus allowed a brief period of seclusion, for even the band stationed at the corner omits to play, and the dragoons for the moment are not galloping. Market day has brought another instalment of peasants in from the neighbouring villages, who watch the Presidential departure from under the shelter of large umbrellas with a rather lethargic interest. In Annecy it has not been a very cheerful *fête* except to a handful of officials, who have contrived no doubt to grind their own axes, and to the gentlemen of the Press, who, following like the tail of a comet in the Presidential progress, have been treated with particular consideration, and have no doubt had an amusing experience. No sooner has the last motor whisked round the corner of the street than the word of command is passed for the troops to be disbanded. Even in such a depressing atmosphere, when the heavy overcoat necessarily conceals the brightness of the uniform, it is an interesting sight and also an object-lesson to see the large and well organised mass of military dispersed. First, the sturdy Alpinistes march off to the Castle yonder, the drum and fife band leading the way and contributing a false sensation of gaiety to the dripping surroundings. The dragoons clatter after them, a jingling plume-waving troop. Next the infantry, which

the best part of twenty-four hours has lined the streets, pulls together with an undoubted sigh of relief and tramps off ards the Champ de Mars by the lake side, and finally the illery with the bumping gun-carriages and empty wagons ppear in the rear of the infantry under the sodden plane-trees. soldiers will be among us for some time yet, as we are in the lst of the autumn manœuvres, but the French Government, h its officialdom and anti-clericalism, may for a time be happily otten. The gentle spirit of Saint François may once more d the narrow paved street on his way to visit Mme. de Chantal he Convent of the Visitation.

Annecy, the real Annecy, awakes and stretches herself to the ities of a drudging and pious existence, to which the sound of m and bugle are in these days a necessary but still intermittent mpaniment. The booths and merry-go-rounds, the itinerant dors and fortune-tellers have moved on, possibly in the wake ne President, and have made room for the market people, who e set up their stalls of vegetables and country produce under arcades of the Rue Ste. Claire. It is a rather dull market as tinental markets go, but perhaps the effort at noise and ry-making was all expended yesterday. An old man wanders tary across the Place followed by a sheep which occasionally bles at the bunch of carrots which he carries loosely in one d. The sheep has probably been brought into the town to be ., but either no satisfactory bargain has been arrived at, or the old man has thought better of parting with a faithful panion, for they return together to the country.

As the day goes on, the clouds lift and the sun shines once e with the mild radiance peculiar to the sunshine of Savoy on still green waters of the lake. The little piers at which the mer touches on its leisurely progress are still adorned with nants of yesterday's *fête*, faded beech boughs and Christmas s flowering abundantly with paper roses. Prompted, perhaps, desire to recapture our preconceived impressions of Savoy as untry of saints, of writers, and of poets, we have left the town Annecy to recover its outburst of militarism, and are on our to the shrine of another and an earlier saint than Saint Fran—to the Castle of Menthon of Saint Bernard. In the little vil- of Menthon, famous from the time of the Romans for its sulr baths and now basking idly among its hayfields and walnuts, such matters as President, Government, and even soldiers n to be wholly forgotten. The squat solid church, connected the priest's house across the street by a long wooden gallery, g which is trained a horizontal bough of wistaria from an ent tree in which the house is enveloped, is clearly the centre his little universe. Under the shadow of the church at a

circular stone fountain in the Place the washerwomen are gossiping at their work. At the corner, under a group of walnut-trees, the forge and the carpenter's shop seem to provide an attractive playground for the village boys. There are old brown chalets suggestive of Switzerland with pots of scarlet geraniums standing in rows along the balconies, and there are plain whitewashed houses with wistaria trained in a straight line between the windows of the two storeys. We climb on up the narrow lane where pink roses nod over the walls and pink hollyhocks stand in stiff array in the well-kept gardens. Presently we come to an old farmhouse half hidden among the walnut and chestnut trees, where a primitive threshing machine in the yard is an object of interest to half the village, its sleepy hum vibrating in the still afternoon air. And so on up a yet steeper path through the woods where the autumn hepatica hide themselves, until we emerge in the back yard of the château. Here a group of small cream-coloured cows standing knee deep in the mire are waiting to be milked, and a motor—an insolent anachronism—buzzes in front of a tenth-century archway. Perched high under the lime crags of La Tournette, with its *mansarde* roofs and many turrets, there is little left in the Renaissance Chateau except this ancient stone archway and entrance staircase of the actual fabric in which Saint Bernard was born. The saint's own room, however, still survives, and is now preserved as an oratory. The shy young footman who does the honours shows us a little bashfully the window from which Saint Bernard is said to have leapt, and so made his escape from a marriage of convenience arranged for him by his parents. He must have been a light and agile youth to survive such a leap without even a broken leg, but that he did so may be concluded from the fact that he made straight for the mountains, and founded the Great and Little Hospices of Saint Bernard which remain as monuments alike of his unworldliness and agility to the present day.

The château has always been the property of the Comtes de Menthon, and the present owner claims collateral descent from Saint Bernard. During the Revolution the château was besieged and the Count was driven out, but happily his successors have been able to buy back their picturesque and historically interesting property from the Republic. Here they now live in a frugal dignity, devoid apparently of all ostentation, well befitting a family of such ancient lineage which can number a real and canonised saint among its ancestors. Below the château the garden falls sheer away in terraces and vineyards where we have little difficulty in losing ourselves, since no officious gardener interferes with our explorations. The quiet of the afternoon is only broken by the distant hum of the threshing machine. The

dark jagged line of mountains across the lake is reflected in its placid waters. To the left is the wooded promontory of the Roc de Chève, the summit of which was chosen by Monsieur Taine for his last resting-place. Beyond, in its own quiet bay, lies the little town of Talloires, famous for its abbey and monastery, now converted into an hotel, and familiar to the readers of André Theuriet as the scene of more than one of his charming novels. How many names in literature are associated with these quiet shores, far from the beaten track of tourists, how many writers have here found their inspiration, beginning with the gentle saint of Annecy himself, whose simple language may interpret the message of his surroundings with no less truth and eloquence than the artificial sentiments of Jean Jacques' *Confessions*! That the town of St. Francis should be for ever connected in our minds with hurrying soldiers and martial music is but an accident of circumstance. Here in the country, on the slope of the mountain, we have surely caught the quiet and contemplative spirit of Savoy, which produced her saints, her geniuses, and her heroes, and is also no doubt responsible for a certain lymphatic quality in her less important sons to-day.

But even while these thoughts are shaping in our minds, the sound of a bugle ascending from the village is borne to our ears. To call it a bugle is perhaps too complimentary, for it proves to be nothing more than a toy trumpet supported by a primitive drum, beaten with all the vigour of youth and inexperience. There is the steady tramp of many small feet upon the road, and round the corner comes a regiment of little boys, marching two and two with real military precision. They are the boys we have seen playing in the forge and the carpenter's shop down in the village, and they have played to some purpose. Each of them wears a leather belt round his blouse, to which is suspended a wooden sword, and each boy carries a wooden gun over his shoulder. The commanding officer marches in front, and the drum and trumpet make music immediately behind him.

This is evidently no mere game. The boys are in deadly earnest, and they seem to range in age from eight to twelve, with one exception. He brings up the rear, and he wears a blue pinafore, and brandishes a stick above his curly head, the only weapon allowed to one of such tender years. But he works harder than any of them, for he must run all the way to keep up with the quick marching, and the hill is steep. Also he has to shout all the time, he is too young to be silent, and this breach of discipline calls down a sharp rebuke upon him from his superior officer. But he does not mind at all, for his heart as well as his lungs and his legs is in the business of serving his country, and discipline at four years old is of small importance. So this valiant

little company passes on its way up to the château, perhaps to be inspected by Monsieur le Comte, who is smoking his cigarette on the terrace, and should surely interest himself in so patriotic a movement. Let us hope there is some good woman there who will give a drink of milk to the last recruit.

For us there is, it seems, to be no escape from the military spirit of Savoy, and after all it is the best and the safest spirit in these days, if the most sacred traditions of a country are to be maintained.

Rose M. Bradley.

EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE BOY SCOUTS' TRAINING

THE HOBBLE-SKIRT IN EDUCATION

PLEASE don't think that I am approaching the subject of education with any idea of laying down the law. Far from it; I know no more about education than I do about dressmaking. Yet when I come to think of it, as an outsider, I see a certain family likeness between these two rather dissimilar institutions.

The latest development in dress is the 'hobble-skirt.' Presumably a lady's dress is designed with a view to being a graceful, pleasing, and at the same time comfortable species of drapery for the human form. I don't think that its best friend can say that the hobble-skirt boasts any one of these attributes. It is a form of dress in which the aims are entirely lost sight of, and almost the opposite is developed. The users of the article don't like it, the dressmakers even allow that it is not their ideal; why, then, is it worn? Because Fashion decrees it. That is enough. Fashion is evolved from the inner mind of some superior artist in dress who sits up in the clouds out of sight of ordinary men.

Our education is designed to make our rising generation into happy, prosperous citizens; judging from the well-stocked condition of our prisons and poor-houses, our army of unemployed, our strikes, our drink statistics, it is not exactly doing what we intended it to do. The users—the taxpayers and the employers of the made article—complain that the result of manufacture is not what they want; the makers, that is the schoolmasters and teachers, allow that what they teach is not exactly what they would like to teach; but then they have to adhere to system, or fashion, which is laid down for them by some unknown power above.

The taxpayer has to supply many millions every year for this education, which is supposed to turn out his children fitted to take their place in the world as happy, healthy and prosperous citizens. But in effect he has to supply many more millions in punishing or correcting them for bad citizenship in the direction of prisons, lunatic asylums, and poor relief.

Look at the returns and see what an enormous percentage of

our boys and girls are deformed, *from preventable causes*, causes which their mothers should have corrected had they only known something of their duties. Look at the thousands upon thousands of boys, and even girls, left at a loose end in our cities, nominally selling newspapers, taking charge of vans, acting as messengers, attending golf players, or doing nothing. Even when they are lucky enough to be in some sort of employment, nearly 50 per cent. of these employments do not teach them anything that will enable them to make their own living as men, or be anything but 'wasters' when they grow up.

Dr. Roberts writes: 'Anyone who has had any considerable experience of the products of our present educational system where the work of the schools has not been supplemented by good home training must have been staggered by the utter inefficiency and helplessness of both boys and girls when they are turned out at fourteen with their so-called education completed.'

Our immense army of unemployed, largely composed as it is of unemployable, is being daily recruited by these boys, who are handicapped by malformation, or by previous employment in 'Blind-alley' occupations, and so never get a fair start in life.

We see it, and we spend more money on alleviating their distress, but we don't do very much to prevent its recurrence among those following in their footsteps.

And yet as regards unemployment, there is plenty of work in the country for all of them and plenty of money. One hundred and eighty-nine million pounds are spent in drink and tobacco annually—enough, if spent on necessaries of life instead of on luxuries, to put all on a fairly prosperous footing; but there is no thrift or foresight among us. Our 4*l*. per head of population in the savings banks does not contrast very well with the far higher sums, up to 19*l*. per head, in other countries.

We have work for all if they were adapted to it, but they are not. Foreigners in their tens of thousands come to England to take up work which pays them, under the noses of the British out-of-works.

We have immense territories oversea crying out for men, and yet we cannot ship our surplus unemployed there because they say 'We want *men*, not "wasters"—manly fellows with some grit and energy, resourcefulness and self-reliance. Fellows who mean to make their way in spite of difficulties and hardships, not poor-spirited loafers who cannot do without their beer and football-betting, and who groan and go on strike directly any little difficulty arises.'

In England there were more occupants of poor-houses and more vagrants last year than ever before, and over two millions received poor relief.

And yet the material—in spirit and in limb—is not all bad to begin with.

The truth is that our education, improved though it has been of late years, does not yet carry out its main function, viz. that of fitting the men for successful careers.

What is the basis for a successful career? Is it education as we know the term?

Character-training Needed

If we take the career of any man who has made a big success of his life, do we find it was his school education which was primarily responsible for his getting on?

Many of our leading men had the most meagre education in the matter of the three R's, but that did not prevent them from carving out successful careers for themselves. The great point which in practically every case was at the bottom of their success was their own individual 'character.'

The energy and determination, the sense of honour, the self-reliance, the thought for others, the fortitude under difficulties, the cheery optimism—all these, and more which go to constitute 'character' are the prime factors for success in life; and yet there is no attempt to teach them in the schools which are supposed to prepare boys for success in life.

Sir Bartle Frere writes: 'The English are, I suppose, the stupidest race that ever were created, but their character has been a talisman which has thus far preserved them, and has been a more than efficient substitute for many sparkling qualities.'

Whether for the success of the individual or of the nation, character is equally essential. A nation does not gain its ascendency by the force of its armaments so much as by the force of its character. The character of a nation is the aggregate of the characters of the individuals who form the nation. If their character is allowed to atrophy the national character must of necessity go with it, and that nation must fall. The steady growth of civilisation and wealth tends to do away with character.

The antidote or remedy is to introduce character-training as an important part of the education of the modern child.

Sir Alfred Keogh, the Rector of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, says: 'A fault of our teaching system is the disregard of individuality.'

It seems to disregard the necessity for training the individual and developing his or her special abilities; it seems to disregard the individuality of the teacher, and to give very little scope for the employment of special personal qualities since it expects rigid adherence to a strict line of teaching.

The Difficulties of Teachers

Hamilton Fyfe in his article (in *The Daily Mail*, April 1911) on 'Whether present education is worth the money,' quotes various education authorities, who state that the results are not satisfactory—this, after allowing for exaggeration in similar complaints by the ordinary 'average man.'

It is easy to find fault—but he then goes into the reasons for shortcomings and ideas for improvement of the educational system.

'The cause is discouraging to discover, because difficult to remove. The cause is the tendency of all official systems—especially those controlled by a central authority—to become more official and less human in their working.'

'In education individuality of the teacher tells more than anything else.'

Our teachers have their personality repressed by being parts of a machine, and by their being trained by steam-roller methods.

Canon Barnett writes: 'Much of the unintelligence and want of interest shown by children in elementary schools is due to the fact that teachers have trusted to the rules for teaching which they have learnt, and not to the gift which is in themselves.'

Sir John Gorst: 'Teachers teach conscientiously that which they have been taught to teach, and nothing else.'

Mr. C. W. Robinson, of Newport, writes that teachers outside their schools have plenty of personality and individuality. The unsatisfactory results are not the fault of the teachers, but of the system of mechanical routine which 'is such that a class that may be interested in the domestic policy of the Peruvians is suddenly switched off at the chiming of a clock or the tinkle of the bell to investigate the properties of chlorine,' and the teacher is reduced to the position of schoolmaster's clerk.

New Methods for Old

Personally, from what I have seen of the Education Department and of its working in various districts, it deserves more praise than it at present gets. The question is so very complex; old methods die hard; education in most foreign countries is in the experimental stage and therefore not a reliable guide; new schemes are not blindly to be plunged into, since different localities require different handling. One great step has been accomplished, and that is that the aim of the training is now looked to when the steps are being devised, instead of the former and reverse procedure being adopted by which the steps were developed till the aim was lost sight of. This was the case up till recently at our universities, which naturally and really set the course for all other schools of

education to follow. The directors of studies there decreed that to train young men to be intelligent, well-informed leaders for their country a knowledge of the classics was essential as a step. Gradually the step became so developed that to get on at all at the university a man had to be a good classical scholar; there it became the end and aim of his training. When he was really well versed in Greek he was considered practically fitted to go into Parliament, or the diplomatic department, or any other form of public service.

In the Army we had the same sort of thing. We had, for instance, the sword exercise. A number of young soldiers were placed out in the barrack square, and standing in a most uncomfortable attitude, representing their attitude on horseback, they were taught to cut, thrust, and guard with their sword day after day, and week after week, until they could all do these movements in their correct sequence, all exactly together like clockwork, without any word of command from the instructor. The finishing touch was added when they could make their sword-blades give a peculiar whistle in the air which showed that they were cutting true. I may, now that I have left the service, give away a deep, dark secret on this head, namely, that the instructor in order to make sure that the inspecting officer should note the true cutting proficiency attained by the squad, taught us how to imitate the sound by a slight whistle through our teeth at the right moment.

Well, when a squad of men could cut the sword exercise exactly correctly, and in time, like one man, they were considered to be finished swordsmen, and were released from further attendance.

The aim of making the individual man into a clever fighter with his weapon had by years of traditional practice become entirely lost sight of in the development of the steps.

The old story is probably true of the Balaclava Dragoon, who in explaining how he had got wounded said, 'When I saw the Rooshian coming at me I attacked him with cut two, and instead of guarding with the third parry, as he should have done, he gave me point four. Silly fool! Of course I got wounded.'

A well-drilled man is not necessarily a good soldier, any more than a regular churchgoer is necessarily a good Christian, or a well-taught school-child a good citizen.

They may be perfect in the steps leading to the ultimate goal, but unless those steps lead right up to it they may very possibly never get there.

National Character Training Outside the Schools

The aim of our school training is presumably to start the rising generation on to the high road for becoming useful, prosperous citizens. Indeed, the schools have to do more than *start* them,

for there is no further education for the bulk of the children on passing out of the ordinary schools, except for the few who can be persuaded to attend continuation classes—there is no university finishing school for them, and no Sandhurst or Woolwich—and the schools ought really to put them well on their road to success in life. But as matters at present stand, when they have learn their three R's in the school, it cannot be pretended that they are equipped to go out into the world and become capable citizens without some further training in character—that is:

In individuality—i.e. manliness, health, and reliability.

In craftsmanship—i.e. trade or handicraft by which a career can be made.

In a citizen's duty to his country and to other people.

At present there is no practical general instruction in these. The lad is left to drift after leaving school. Some are induced to attend continuation schools or technical institutes, but a large number begin that drifting process, without energy or power to assert themselves, and they drift away for life.

They are never given a fair chance, largely through the fault of our system of education, which did not, up till recently, train them for the part they were to play in life, but which lost itself in the steps leading to that end.

Twenty-five years ago, Mr. (now Sir) William A. Smith realised the great need of some finishing education to save the lads thus thrust out into the world to sink or swim—and the rule was to sink. He recognised that in order to save them it was no good calling out further instructions as to how they ought to swim, but to hold out a plank to them which they could grasp to keep them afloat; in other words, that their further training must be an attractive one, which would appeal to them, since their effort must necessarily be a voluntary one. And thus he devised the 'Boys' Brigade,' with its drilled companies, its uniform, its bands, and camps. He attracted the boy, even the wildest hooligan, and then put discipline, smartness, self-respect and religious feeling into him.

And Sir William lives to see his organisation flourishing and doing a grand work for God and the nation in every part of our empire. It has also set the example for others to follow, and Boys' Brigades of many varieties to fill up many gaps have since arisen. The latest of these has been the Boy Scouts. This association having been able to gain hints from so many experiences of others, has been able to work on lines which have not only proved particularly attractive to the boys, but have also shown education possibilities in the direction of character-training which have been thought worthy of consideration by the education authorities.

Origin of Scouting for Boys

What was the origin of scouting for boys it is difficult to say—and numerous authors of it have told me how and when they invented the scheme: but its origin seems to me to be lost in the mists of antiquity.

There were certainly boy scouts in Ireland 1000 years ago, a junior corps of the Knights of the Red Branch sworn to chivalrous action and carrying ash staves in place of more military armament. The training of the Spartan youth, like that of the ancient British, the Zulus, and the Patagonians—the national training of the youth of all nations and all ages was the origin of that of the scouts.

Its more immediate revival lay in the training of recruits in the Army. Until we took to the human rather than the red tape form of training, we never got real enthusiasm and real efficiency in the rank and file, drilled we never so wisely.

A recruit joins with the idea of drawing good pay, of wearing a fine dress, and swaggering about the streets as a King's soldier, until the chance comes to him of adventure beyond the seas. But the real sometimes differs from the ideal. In practice it came about that after a few weeks in barracks he gradually became disillusioned, when he found that his soldiering consisted in wearing an ugly canvas suit, and practising a grinding routine of drill, and unromantic fatigue duties such as carrying coals and scrubbing floors. As their eyes opened to this a goodly proportion of our young men took the earliest opportunity of leaving so uncongenial a service.

But then came the era of teaching them on more up-to-date principles. As you teach a language nowadays—to talk first and learn the grammar later—so we teach them scouting and campaigning early in their career, and leave the goose-step to come in later. The result is keen and intelligent endeavour to learn for themselves, almost faster than their instructor can teach them, and the ultimate attainment of a genuine standard of all-round efficiency in the field.

It is this principle which is applied in the training of boy scouts. We approach the question from the boy's point of view, we give him a form of diversion which really appeals to him, and leads him on to learn for himself those things which we want him to know and to practise.

The Objects of the Boy Scout's Training

Before we arrange our steps of training we set up our aim. Over-civilisation appears to be destroying manliness, self-reliance and energetic endeavour, since it supplies all the needs of a man ready to his hand. If he wants water he has not to dig for it or

carry it himself, he merely turns on the tap; if he wants to go anywhere he does not have to walk or to tame a horse to carry him, he just takes a tram, a taxi, or a train: he puts his penny in the slot, other people do the rest. He has to earn his penny it is true, if he wants to ride, but if he prefers to sit still and do nothing nobody is going to bother him; quite the opposite, they will say 'Poor fellow!' and feed him. Where can we find an antidote to over-civilisationitis? We want to infuse character. Character is to be found among those men who still have to fight their way with nature, where difficulties and danger have to be faced at every turn with a stout heart and energetic determination, where a man has to rely upon himself if he means to come out successful, where a man can be trusted to carry out his work from a sense of duty though he be a thousand miles away from supervision. These men of our race are to be found in every corner of the globe, among our frontiersmen, explorers, missionaries, police, and prospectors—men whom we collectively term 'scouts.' These are the best types of manliness, and they are types which when held up to the boys command their whole-hearted admiration. And they appeal in their work and attributes not merely to one class of boy, but to every boy from gutter-snipe to castle-born, from cricketer to cripple. So it is not difficult to inoculate the rising generation with the scouting germ, and provided that it is directed into the right channel, it may be a medium for much good.

Our object then is to take the desired main points of character above alluded to—namely: (1) individuality; (2) craftsmanship, and (3) sense of public duty—as the aim of our training, and to inculcate these into the boys by steps which include details of the backwoodsman's life and attributes.

Scout Training

(1) *To develop individuality and personal character* we offer a badge and the title of 'Scout' to a boy between eleven and eighteen so soon as he can pass our tests in: cooking his own food; living in camp; finding his way by map, compass, or stars; signalling, tracking, observation and deduction; using his axe and oar; swimming; first aid to others; knowing how to look after his bodily health and development; cleanliness of body and thought; a sense of honour and duty, and his consequent self-effacement and obedience to others. And before he can get his badge each boy has to have at least one shilling in the savings bank.

(2) *To develop craftsmanship* we offer badges of proficiency to scouts who qualify themselves to pass our tests in various handicrafts or hobbies which will be of service to them in their careers, such as the work of a pioneer, electrician, engineer, carpenter,

interpreter, missioner, farmer, photographer, printer, clerk, or any other of some forty crafts upon our list. [Over 140,000 boys have already voluntarily gone in for and passed these tests.]

(3) *To develop the sense of public service and helpfulness to others* we bring in a good deal of the law of chivalry as practised by the knights of old. Individually each boy is expected to do a good turn to someone every day—the striking result is that each boy actually carries out this idea. The scouts are taught how to deal with every conceivable accident, and are held to be always on duty, whether in or out of uniform, to help the distressed. Collectively the troops of scouts specialise their work of public utility, some taking up fire-brigade duties, others those of missioners, seamen, coastguards, first-aiders, life-savers, and so on. The results in this direction have been successful beyond expectation.

I will not weary you with details, which can all be found in our handbook *Scouting for Boys*, but will merely content myself with giving you this brief survey of our general scheme, with the additional explanation that our teaching is almost entirely conveyed through games and competitions, which as far as possible link the subject to be taught with the actual practices of the backwoods. Thus, if we want the boys to learn rowing and boat discipline we do not start a laborious drill in the subject—we start a 'whale hunt.' The 'whale,' a log of wood, is set afloat equidistant from two goals. Two boats race for it, each with a harpooner in the bow. The first crew to stick the whale starts to row for its goal towing the whale astern; the opponents pursue, stick their harpoon into the whale, and pull for all they are worth for the opposite goal. Result, a tug of war in which the boat with the best discipline and the best rowers invariably wins. This induces a tremendous lot of private practice among the boys without any effort on the part of the instructor. This is only an instance of the general methods.

Then we do not resort to military drill for training the boys; it is not what they like when they have been at it a short time. The better it is carried out the worse it is for the development of individual initiative, and in the eyes of many parents it bears the taint of militarism.

We endeavour to develop the lad's sense of responsibility by trusting him and expecting a good deal of him, and—in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred—we get it. In the matter of religion we are entirely non-sectarian; we don't care by which of the several doors our bee gets into the great hive, so long as he gets there. Under these general principles of training we find that the boys work at their subject with enthusiasm—they learn it for themselves without having to have the teaching hammered into

them, which is the method of education which everyone would like to employ—especially when they have experience of its results.

OUTSIDE OPINIONS

Rather than inflict more of my personal opinions on my readers I will quote one or two better-known authorities on the subject as indicating educational possibilities which underlie the scheme.

The Moral Education League Journal says of scouting: 'It behoves all who are interested in moral education to examine closely a movement affecting our boys at a most critical time of their lives. Certain it is that it offers great educational possibilities, and affords already good training and discipline to thousands of boys.'

[That this fact is recognised elsewhere is plain from the many letters which I receive from parents asking me if I can recommend to them schools where a scout's training forms part of the curriculum.]

Dr. Garnett, in his recent lecture on 'The Educational Value of Scouting,' says that a principal merit of scouting is that it gets hold of a boy at the age of twelve or thirteen. The evening schools are closed to boys under fourteen, and working boys' clubs are generally averse to having school 'kids' as their members. Scouting takes boys over this gap.

Karl Pearson, in his book, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, p. 38, writes:

> What we as a nation seem to want at the present is Scouting. I take it the success of German technical education is just proportional to its efficiency in producing trained scouts. We have only just started our technical schools, but I sadly fear they are not putting sufficient stress on Scouting—on teaching how to observe or how to reason on observation as distinct from a knowledge of facts or from a training in art or handicraft.
>
> If you turn in almost any direction you will see this want of trained scouts. We want them in the diplomatic service to keep their hand on the pulse of other nations; we want them in new countries to tell us of minerals and food supplies; we want them, above all, in our trade to tell us what to make and how and where to send it; we want it in our commerce; shortly we want scouting in all branches of the national service.
>
> I do not underrate the importance of the equipment of a scout—he undoubtedly profits by technical knowledge—but I insist that the trained mind is the first thing . . . trained in reasoning and in reasoning on its observation.

The Views of Vanoc, by Arnold White. On p. 26-27 the author says:

> The Boy Scouts Movement is the result of 'taking in the signals of the mountain, veldt, and sea.' Its motto 'Be Prepared' is good for all time and all ages.

It is 'an available of education that England sorely needs.' It is more than medicine for the mind, more than exercise for the body. It gives self-reliance without conceit, teaches lads to be manly without being prigs, and imparts religion without cant.

A Schoolmaster writes:

In the Preparatory School we have found the Scout movement a very reat help in the development of a boy's character; it provides them with so many different interests.

Unfortunately the master who began the movement here among the younger boys in the school proper—J. L.—died very suddenly last January. He, I know, took up scouting because he thought it would have a good moral effect upon the young boys who were his especial care. He tested it thoroughly and found its effects most beneficial. Had he been alive now he would, I am certain, speak most strongly in its favour.

My own idea of scouting is a large one. While it is a most admirable form of recreation and if practised as such, I think that it could, with a very little modification, be developed into a sound system of education.

Knowledge is what we try to give our lads; knowledge is the equipment which the trained mind can find for itself, the training is the thing you have got to provide for it. 'I want my son to learn what will be useful to him in his profession in life' is what I have heard from one parent after another. 'I want my son to know how to observe and how to think' is the expression of a desire which I have not yet come across, and yet it is the more important one.

The Annual Report of the Education Committee of Southport states:

Of the boys leaving the school this year 5.2 per cent. belonged to that valuable organisation, the Boys' Brigade.

The Boy Scouts included forty-four boys leaving school, *i.e.* 11 per cent., and nineteen boys aged ten (6.4 per cent.). Membership of this institution confers very good physical and disciplinary benefits upon the boys, and every possible encouragement to join it should be given by those who can influence them.

A Schoolmaster writes:

The results, even after a month, are in some cases wonderful. Different boys want different treatment, of course; but in general they are much brighter, keener, and happier than before. They have lots of *esprit de corps* and proper pride, and without exaggeration I think I can say *no more potent factor for good has ever been known here.* I have devolved responsibility whenever possible, and this has 'brought out' some boys enormously. In three cases the headmasters have recently told me that they would not recognise the boys in question as the beings of a month ago. The matron says tidiness is twice as apparent as it was before; and the masters in general are intensely appreciative. The Chaplain preached a Scout Sermon recently, which had a very good effect in impressing the boys with the seriousness of their undertaking. The boys are not allowed to wear uniform till they have passed their Second Class test. I feel sure this is a useful stimulant.

I am convinced that the movement is easy to guide in schools. It is self-spreading after the first patrol has been trained. Apart from the utilitarian side, it fits boys splendidly for the public schools, and a Scoutmaster who is really sympathetic should be able to influence the boys a lot. Only make one observation which a month's work has proved—that 'Thorough' must be the watchword. Nothing appeals more to the boys than the belief that the Scoutmaster looks on it as a really serious matter.

From a Head Teacher in a Secondary school:

I write to express my gratification at a great and marked improvement in the general manner and bearing of the boys of the above school during the past few months. I attribute this entirely to the fact that a considerable number of my boys have joined the local Scout patrol.

The paper published by Miss J. H. Smith in the *Parents' Review* of the 9th of October 1910, goes on to give details of its working:

The 'educational value of scouting' has been proved to us in such an interesting and convincing way that it is quite unnecessary to say *why* we do scouting at the House of Education at Ambleside and in the Parents' Union School. *How* we carry it out will be the subject of this paper.

From another Schoolmaster I hear:

It is neither your idea as founder, nor does it, I assume, seem to you to be at all desirable, that such an agency should be *confined to the upper classes*; indeed, it is tremendously important that it should *not* be a 'class' matter. Neither in sport, nor in patriotism, nor in public service is there any class distinction; nor should there be, however much this is inevitable or even desirable in other departments and directions.

It is as essential that the sons of the upper classes should be trained to service and alertness, &c., as the lower. In these days of strong democratic tendency it is very important that enthusiasm should be aroused, based upon patriotism and a sense of public service that is above all questions of party politics. And, too, it is important that the upper classes should lead, not because of their *unearned influence*, but because they have the blessings of greater leisure, of education, and of training, and that they should be taught to place these (not in any spirit of patronage, but in a spirit of brotherhood, without stupid sentimentality) at the service of those who are less fortunate. The boy, like the man of the lower classes, needs this brotherhood and leadership if all is to go well. Therefore, anything that encourages the sense of service is of supreme importance in these days.

Much is being done for the poor boy, and the 'privileged' boy is in danger of being left behind; he must be as efficient, as 'wideawake,' and as keen as the boy of the working-man if he is to deserve to hold his position in the future as one of the governing class.

Preparatory schoolmasters will recognise that if this impulse is aroused at the preparatory school at the most important period of a boy's life, up to thirteen or fourteen, it would be likely to tell tremendously when he goes up to the public school, and in his future life and enthusiasm. Starting Scout Brigades in his own parish, and helping at its training as an officer, &c., &c.

Education committees are now considering how the principles
. the scout training may be best applied in detail in the curricu-
m of the evening continuation schools, and I have every reasor
hope that some practical steps in this direction will be seen ir
ext year's programme.

Nearly every foreign country also is making trial of the schem
. scouting for boys as an educative medium.

In conclusion I would not have it thought that I, an
utside amateur, should be presuming to lay down rules or
ıstructions for others. I don't want to prescribe to the mother
' my mother how best she may imbibe the contents of the ova of
ıe domestic hen. I merely lay a few facts and experiences before
ıy fellow-workers with boys, in the hope that they may consider
ıem, and either make trial of some of the ideas, or, better, give
.e the benefit of their advice or suggestions for their more
:actical application.

ROBERT BADEN-POWELL.

PUNISHMENT AND CRIME

There is no social fallacy so natural or so universal as that which attributes the origin and normal working of our institutions to a carefully thought-out plan on the part of our ancestors. A social contract was assumed by many of the earlier political writers, especially by Hobbes in his *Leviathan*, by Locke, and also by Rousseau, who brought the doctrine into high popularity. In the old controversy of intellect *versus* feeling, intellect is at first very generally considered to be the basis of our social institutions. Rousseau himself initiated the philosophy of feeling, which since his time has been assigned an ever-widening sphere in the interpretation of human motives. The theory of the social contract has now been long displaced by the conception of the social organism, popularised by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. The progress of sociology has everywhere established the fact that society rests, not upon cold intellectual arrangements, but upon sentiment and feeling. These are the true driving forces of social institutions; social institutions are the expression of the social sentiments, not of the abstract intellectual opinions of mankind.

Though no one, in these days, would attempt to deny this conclusion as a general principle, yet there are many who disregard it in their views about any one particular institution, and about none so often as that of Judicial Punishment. Why does judicial punishment exist? For what purpose was it originally founded? The answer seems obvious. Society must suppress crime if it is to escape disintegration. Crime can only be suppressed by means of punishment, and the prospect of punishment, which will deter others from the commission of anti-social acts. Deterrence, therefore, and the removal of the criminal from the power of again injuring society, are the objects which punishment was intended to achieve. That these are the objects which punishment actually does achieve is plain; but that society ever consciously instituted punishment with these ends in view, is a fallacy differing little from that of the *Contrat Social*. It is the fallacy of ascribing a social institution to an intellectual decision of our ancestors, and of supposing that the ends now served by that institution were the ends our ancestors had in view when they adopted it.

If, then, we may not look for an intelligent and purposive origin of punishment, we are driven back upon human emotions and sentiments for an explanation. In what sentiment did punishment take its origin? Sociology has not left the matter in doubt. Revenge for the infliction of an injury is the ultimate basis of all punishment. If someone gives me a blow, I am roused to anger and endeavour (if he is not very big) to hit him back. I am not influenced in so doing by the reflection that, if I make an example of him, I shall deter others from inflicting blows upon me when they feel inclined to do so. Doubtless when I sit down to think about it afterwards, this will appear a complete and sufficient moral sanction for retaliating. But it had not entered into my mind when I gave the blow back. The reception of a blow had simply roused in me a condition of pain and anger, which (without taking any thought at all) naturally relieved itself by the prompt infliction of equal, or if possible greater, pain on the body of my opponent. This is what we call revenge; and this primitive human sentiment is the sole basis of our great and complex institutions of judicial punishment. A criminal is a person who inflicts an injury upon society; society thereby is moved to anger, and proceeds to vent its wrath upon him.

This is not the place to set forth the proofs of the revenge theory. They will be found recounted at length in Dr. Westermarck's *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, one of the most interesting books of recent years. It will suffice to give a very brief sketch of the progress of ideas on punishment as society evolves. At first punishment is nothing more than the revenge of one individual upon another who has attacked him. As society becomes more integrated, the resentment is not confined to the injured individual, but is shared by his family or tribe. This vicarious resentment, visiting itself upon the offender, is the earliest germ of social punishment. As evolution proceeds, the infliction of the revenge falls more and more into the hands of society, and is taken out of those of the victimised individual. There grow up at the same time definite customs as to the extent of the revenge demanded by different offences—customs which with further progress become hardened into law. But all this time revenge has been the sole motive agent at work; at first, indeed, so little is any other consideration admitted that accidental injuries are punished in the same way as intentional injuries. In Parkyns's *Life in Abyssinia*,[1] for instance, we read the following:

A boy who had climbed a tree happened to fall down right on the head of his little comrade standing below. The comrade died immediately, and the

[1] Quoted in *Edinburgh Review* for October 1909.

unlucky climber was in consequence sentenced to be killed in the same way as he had killed the other boy; that is, the dead boy's brother should climb the tree in his turn, and tumble down on the other's head till he killed him.

If revenge in early times was the sole basis of punishment, it is equally true that even at the present day, the original sentiment is little modified by intellectual considerations. If we diminish the punishment for some criminal offence, we are mainly animated, not by the elevated principles of deterrence and reformation of which we talk so much, but by the fact that our sentiments have softened and our vindictive feelings are satisfied with a smaller degree of punishment than prevailed before. The criminal law at any time is a pure expression of the vindictive sentiments of the public; any change in these sentiments must be accompanied by a change in the law, which otherwise will fall into disuse. In the words of Sir Fitzjames Stephen: 'You cannot punish anything which public opinion, as expressed in the common practice of society, does not strenuously and unequivocally condemn. To try to do so is a sure way to produce gross hypocrisy and furious reaction.' In England the progressive moderation of sentiment has left the law as a rule slightly harsher than public opinion: but in countries where the judicial punishment is insufficient to satiate popular sentiment, vengeance upon the offender is apt to take the form of lynching.

From a consideration of what judicial punishment is, let us now turn to the other question, often confused with it, as to what judicial punishment *ought to be*, on the assumption that no such things as sentiments existed, and that we were at liberty to introduce a rationalist system rigidly calculated to secure the end in view. And we first have to answer the question, 'What is the end in view?' 'The protection of society,' is the general answer; but it has to be amplified by special answers as to how such protection is to be achieved. In the first place, it is clear that the criminal, once convicted, must be deprived of the power of inflicting any further injury upon society; that is to say, he must be bereft of his liberty, either permanently, or for such a period of time as may be deemed sufficient to allow of a change in his hostile attitude towards society. This first canon I shall refer to as the 'segregation of the criminal.' In the second place, a deterrent must be employed for the dissuasion of individuals from forbidden acts. The only deterrent that is practicable appears to be the infliction of bodily pains and discomforts on offenders. The segregation of the criminal must therefore be accompanied with various pains and penalties, the witnessing or hearing of which may serve as a warning to others. In the third place, advantage may be taken of the criminal's segregation to reform and build up his character, so that from being a dangerous, he

ecomes a useful, member of the community. And in the fourth ace, come the demands of humanity. The treatment of the :iminal must be as lenient and agreeable as it can be made onsistently with the first three canons. I wish especially to nphasise this last consideration. The criminal, after all, is, like ıe rest of us, a product of society; he is often the victim of a ıinted heredity, and nearly always of a bad upbringing. If it ere not for the necessity of deterring others, it would be right ıd proper to treat him with the highest consideration, to cater ıtirely for his amusements and comforts, and protect him from l pain. If those who are tempted to deny this proposition will ıdulge for a moment in introspection, they will find themselves ıimated by the sentiment of revenge which we agreed to omit the commencement of this rationalist analysis.

We arrive, therefore, at four canons, which I name in order of nportance: (1) Segregation, (2) Deterrence, (3) Reformation,) Humanity. I pass to a consideration of how the various ıodes of punishment now in use conform to the requirements of ese canons.

The extreme penalty of the law at present is capital punishıent. Much controversy has been aroused about it in recent mes; the allegation is freely made that the death penalty is a ılic of barbarism, and ought to be abolished. It is largely with view to finding a psychological solution to this problem that I ıve undertaken the present article. The first requirement of ınishment—segregation—is very effectively met by it. The iminal, by losing his life, is finally removed from society, and l possibility of his committing any further injuries is with- awn. The segregation, while thus more perfect than by any her mode, is brought about at low cost, and with little trouble society. No cell has to be provided for his habitation, no arders told off to watch him, no work created for him. We are equently told that murderers are often much less truly criminal ıan the majority of petty thieves and swindlers. Their crime as committed in a fit of passion, possibly with strong provoca- on; they have previously led blameless lives; and the sugges- on is made that their punishment should be lighter, rather than avier, than that of more vulgar offenders. The argument may ve some weight in favour of lenient treatment while in prison; ıt the demands of segregation for such a man are fully as urgent in the case of the most brutal ravisher or assassin. For a man ho has once been carried away to such an extent by a fit of pas- on is very likely to be carried away a second time—more likely, deed, for it is a well-known law of physiology that mental pro- sses which have once occurred render the way easier for a re- ırrence. The danger to life from such a person is considerable,

and he must be altogether removed from society. Capital punishment is the easiest and most certain method by which this can be effected.

I come now to my second canon—Deterrence. I am aware that it is often said that capital punishment does not truly act as a deterrent. I have noted also the coincidence that persons who make this statement are nearly always those who on grounds of humanity demand the abolition of capital punishment. The allegation, which thus bears on its face the appearance of being made to bolster up a case, may, I think, be conclusively refuted. Inductively, we have such facts as the recrudescence of assassination in France accompanying the suspension of the death penalty. A. Lacassagne, in his important book *Peine de Mort*, shows that homicides are rarest in those countries where capital punishment is most rigorously enforced. I do not want to press this, however, as the relation of cause and effect is proverbially difficult to trace in social affairs, and the apparent connexion may possibly be due to other conditions which remain obscure. I prefer to rely on syllogistic reasoning and the deductive method, which Mill represents in his *Logic* as the instrument of chief value in the study of social affairs. I have pointed out that the punishments inflicted by society are such as to afford adequate gratification to the vindictive sentiments against the criminal. The degree of the punishment is proportionate to the strength of the resentment. Now, there is no question that capital punishment is more potent to gratify the public revenge than any other form of punishment now in use. It is (in full harmony with public opinion) confined to the most callous and cold-blooded murders, in which public animosity is roused to its fullest extent. It is *not* employed for minor crimes, in which vindictive feelings are less powerful; though even then, in such cases as the wholesale ruin of poor people by some fraudulent company-promoter exciting our high indignation, we often hear it said that the offender deserves to be hanged. The fact that capital punishment is only invoked to meet the highest flights of public resentment is an unequivocal proof that popular sentiment regards it as the most terrible of all punishments. Whether popular sentiment on this matter is well grounded or not, is another question. I shall shortly endeavour to show that it is not; but in the meanwhile I am only concerned to note the attitude of popular sentiment, and to draw the obvious corollary that the punishment which popular sentiment regards as the most terrible is necessarily that which the public are most desirous to avoid, and therefore that which has the greatest deterrent effect.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the propaganda of the abolitionists themselves. Do they regard capital punishment

the most terrible of all penalties? If not, is it the case that ey wish to abolish it for the purpose of instituting another nishment, such as prolonged imprisonment, which appears them more terrible? They will hardly admit it. If, then, they ivocate abolition, simply because capital punishment appears to iem too horrible for our modern civilisation, we may surely infer at this is the punishment that they would themselves be least illing to face; and that is only another way of saying that it is ie punishment which has the greatest deterrent effect.

Let me not be misunderstood, however. I do not mean to y that for all men, and at all times, capital punishment must necessity be the strongest of all deterrents. Mankind are not l alike, and doubtless there are many who would much prefer suffer the death penalty than a long term of imprisonment. ome months ago a gentleman wrote to the *Times* to say that it d often been his duty to notify to condemned criminals the fact at they had been reprieved. In one case he got the blunt iswer, 'Thank yer for nothing; I'd rather be hanged.' Other ises of similar purport sometimes occur. But the good people ho bring out these exceptional instances appear to think that a neralisation may be founded upon them, and that capital inishment is shown to have no deterrent force. Nothing could more absurd. All that is shown is the infinite variety of iman nature, and that the same motives affect different people different ways. We have to legislate, and to supply deterrent otives, not for exceptional people, but for the general run of imanity around us. And I have already proved that the general in of humanity is more likely to be deterred by capital punishent than by any other means open to us. Probably the excepons are not really very numerous. When a prisoner is annoyed hearing of his reprieve, everybody is startled and surprised, id the fact is considered worthy of being chronicled in the *imes*. I venture to hazard the opinion that the large majority prisoners show relief when they hear of their reprieve, and that one would think this appearance of relief so remarkable as to ll for a letter to the *Times*.

There is one further class of criminal to whom I must allude the murderer by sudden impulse. Of him it may possibly be e that capital punishment is no deterrent; but it certainly is ually true that no other punishment would be any deterrent ther. The impulsive murderer does not stop to think; he iver reflects for a moment on any consequences of his action, iwever appalling; he is borne away by a momentary passion, rrying before it all remnants of common sense or regard for the ture. We have no reason for supposing that capital punishent would not be more likely to deter him than anything else.

On the contrary, we must suppose that if he stopped to think for a moment, he would be more affected by a punishment which appeals so powerfully and vividly to the imagination than by one less striking but more prolonged. At all events, the discussion as to the relative efficiency, for deterrence, of various punishments, cannot be affected by the case of one who is momentarily blind and deaf to any future punishment whatever.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion that Deterrence is more effectively achieved by capital punishment than by any other method; and that it satisfies the requirements of our second canon as completely and thoroughly as I have previously shown it does the first.

My third canon was Reformation of the criminal. Since capital punishment involves destruction of the criminal, there is no need to reform him, and the canon is irrelevant. Some naïve persons have suggested, indeed, that we ought to give the criminal time to reform and lead a better life, lest his soul should be eternally damned. To that I have two answers: (1) That it is not the business of the State to trouble itself as to what happens to the souls of the departed; its business is to regulate society for the benefit of the living. (2) That the height of a criminal's repentance is most likely to be reached shortly after he has been condemned to death, and the gravity of his offence thus strongly brought home to him. By executing him at this auspicious moment, he will be relieved of the danger of a moral relapse—alas! only too probable with human nature as it is—and his soul will in consequence be given the very best opportunity it is likely to have of getting into heaven.

The fourth canon—Humanity—brings me to the centre of the controversy that has raged round the whole subject. It is said that capital punishment is so horrible and barbarous that it ought to find no place in modern civilisation, and that no crime, however foul, can justify it. The support of it is no less purely one of sentiment, than the opposition to it is one of sentiment. In some minds compassion for the criminal is uppermost, while in other minds compassion for the victim and resentment against the criminal is uppermost. I shall now proceed to dismiss both sentiments from consideration, and to submit the humanitarian allegations to a dispassionate analysis. At the risk of being repellent, I shall seek to ensure dispassionateness by the employment of arithmetical symbols. These symbols must not be taken as accurate representations of the facts, but they serve to fix in our minds the leading points, which otherwise might evade us, with an accuracy as amply sufficient as the occasion calls for.

I have pointed out that the canon of Deterrence requires that the infliction of suffering should be a necessary part of all punish-

ent. We may therefore compare two punishments by estimat- the quantity of suffering inflicted by each. The alternative capital punishment is penal servitude for life, or at all events a very long period of years. We may therefore confine our mparison to these two punishments. Let us call the average ily quantity of suffering experienced by a convict in penal rvitude one unit of suffering, or one penal unit; so that in the urse of a year, a convict undergoes 365 penal units. Now let analyse the state of mind of the man condemned to death. he punishment may be considered in two parts—first, the suffer- g experienced during the actual moment of execution; second, e sensations of terror and gloomy foreboding which presumably l the period between the passing of the sentence and its con- mmation. Dealing first with the first part, it is agreed on all nds that death is practically painless, and, in addition, that e whole proceedings are exceedingly swift. From the moment at the executioner enters the condemned man's cell to the oment of death is stated to be not more than sixty seconds. e executioner, after binding the criminal, performs his work the scaffold with lightning rapidity. The criminal himself pears often to be so dazed as to be little capable of feeling the ffering with which he is credited. But however he may feel it, seems undeniable that the most excruciating mental suffering at is over in sixty seconds can only be as a featherweight in the lance compared with the protracted agony of many years' penal rvitude. I pass, therefore, to the more formidable side of pital punishment—the terrible anticipations of the last weeks life. We have to compare one day of anticipation with one y of penal servitude, and endeavour to estimate by how much agony of the former exceeds that of the latter. The waiting ticipation appeals so vividly to our minds, and is so forcibly lised, that we are apt to over-estimate its pain, in comparison th that of the less easily represented penal servitude. It seems obable that Fechner's laws of sensation may be applicable here. s theory states that sensation only increases in arithmetical pro- ession when the stimulus increases in geometrical progression.[1] hich, if we may draw the analogy, means that if a certain stimu- produces a certain quantity of pain, double that stimulus will oduce very much less than double the quantity of pain. So that, en the pain has already reached a tolerably high level, it will quire a very large increment of stimulus to produce a very small rement of pain. Now, the one penal unit *per diem* which rues to the convict in penal servitude is already a fairly high gree of pain. To a refined person, it must be such a degree as is

[1] 'The intensity of the sensation varies as the logarithm of the stimulus.'

not susceptible of a very large increase under any stimulus. The stimulus of anticipated death is far from being the worst of human inflictions. There is no physical pain attached to it; nor have I ever heard of a criminal going off his head on account of it. As a doloriferous agency, therefore, it must be concluded that the prospect of death, though considerably greater, is not immeasurably greater, than the combined physical and mental sufferings of penal servitude. And the quantity of suffering actually felt would be, under Fechner's law, very much less than proportional to the increase of the doloriferous agency. Seeing how much suffering is included in the one penal unit of penal servitude, it seems reasonable to suppose that anticipation of death would not be productive of more than two penal units, or double the amount of suffering. Much more than this could hardly be tolerated; yet we know that whatever suffering there is, *is* tolerated. Let me, however, place the case in the most unfavourable possible light for my own theory. Let me make the impossibly extravagant assumption that the criminal awaiting execution undergoes ten units of suffering *per diem*. Then if he has three weeks to wait, his total punishment is equal to 10 × 21, or 210 penal units. Suppose we allow for the minute of actual execution another ten units, the sum total of suffering is 220 units. This is equivalent to 220 days' penal servitude. So that, on the most favourable possible hypothesis, the actual amount of suffering inflicted by capital punishment is less than that undergone in eight months of penal servitude!

That the conclusion here established will be accepted by sentimentalists at large I do not for a moment imagine. Sentiment can only be shaken by sentiment; it is not touched by logical analysis: the two terms are incommensurable. Arguing with sentimentalists is like writing on water; and I shall here content myself with protesting against their claim to monopolise humanitarianism. I defend capital punishment on the express ground of humanity. I affirm that those who wish to abolish it, in favour of penal servitude, are enemies to humanity, and that their success would cause a large increase of suffering to the very persons on whom they lavish their pity. In Italy the death penalty has been replaced by *carcere duro*, which is characterised by Lacassagne as 'une peine atroce.' The fundamental virtue in sentiment is its driving energy; its fundamental vice is that it excludes intellectual analysis, and is liable, with the highest and most sincere professions, to bring about evils that a calmer mind could have easily foreseen.

If capital punishment is in reality so humane, it must now be shown why soft-hearted people protest so energetically against it. A false theory is more effectually demolished when the

'chological grounds for its tenure have been exposed. The
istence of the prejudice against capital punishment is due
the peculiarly vivid manner in which an execution appeals
the imagination—the very same element that constitutes it
strongly deterrent a force. We see the little whitewashed
amber, the trap-door and pit, the 'ugly lever'; and we
ncy to ourselves with terrible realism the moment when the
ndemned man, his head concealed in a white bag, is launched
o eternity as the bolt is released. The horrid apparition grips
e mind with a spastic clutch that paralyses the intellectual
culties. The essence of sympathy is to feel some part of the
in which we pity in another; and accordingly much pain must
excited in sympathetic minds by so horrible a vision. The
cking of oakum, the privation of liberty, etc., do not and can-
t appeal in anything like so forcible a manner to our imagina-
ons; we forget the bleeding fingers and fractured nails, the spirit
oken down by hardship and indignities; and the long years
nnot be grasped in our thoughts in any but a symbolical sense.
nd because the thought of capital punishment fills us with much
in, while the thought of penal servitude fills us with less pain,
e assume that the realities have corresponding relations. The
llacy is one with which all students of metaphysics are abun-
ntly familiar. What are only the laws of thought are taken
be the laws of things. Subjective relations are regarded as
quivalent to objective relations; and the universe is whittled
own to that evanescent appearance which can be contained in
e brain of a human being.

Yet another psychological fallacy is involved. The refined
nd sensitive person who declaims against the death penalty is
ot to assume that a murderer is a refined and sensitive person
ke himself. Cold-blooded murderers (and these alone are now
anged) have by the fact of their crime proved their callousness
nd lack of sensitiveness. Readers of Lombroso will not require
be informed of the almost incredible indifference to pain that
riminals exhibit. Men will endeavour to commit suicide (and
ucceed) by driving large spikes into their own heads with a
ammer; or by thrusting a white-hot iron rod some inches into
ne abdomen. Dr. Quinton, in his interesting little book on
rime and Criminals, records an instance of a prisoner who,
nerely to spite his gaoler, smashed his own thumb by putting
into the hinge of a jointed table, and forcibly raising
he flap. No one denies that criminals as a whole are charac-
erised by an astonishing lack of sensibility, both physical and
nental. Condemned men often spend their last night in com-
ortable sleep, and walk to the scaffold with no sign of trepida-
ion. The fallacy of reading into others the same motives and

feelings as animate ourselves is productive of endless mistakes in interpreting human character. The calmness of men on the point of execution has long bewildered the world, from the time of Plato onwards. We are, perhaps, less astonished at the coolness of Sokrates, since we are apt to regard philosophers as somewhat inhuman. Montaigne was struck by the indifference of condemned men. I quote, with modernised spelling, from Florio's translation of the essay 'That the taste of goods or evils doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them':

> One who was led to the gallows desired it might not be through such a street, for fear a merchant should set a sergeant on his back for an old debt. Another wished the hangman not to touch his throat, lest he should make him swoon with laughing, because he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should sup that night with our Saviour in heaven, 'Go thither yourself to supper, for I am used to fast anights.' Another upon the gibbet calling for drink, and the hangman drinking first, said he would not drink after him for fear he should take the pox of him. Every man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being upon the ladder ready to be thrown down, there was a wench presented unto him with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate), that if he would marry her his life should be saved, who, after he had a while beheld her, and perceiving that she halted, said hastily, '*Away, away, good hangman, make an end of thy business: she limps.*' The like is reported of a man in Denmark, who, being adjudged to have his head cut off, and being upon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it because the wench offered him was jaw-fallen, long-cheeked, and sharp-nosed.

Humanitarians may rest easy that no one in this country will be required to pass through the ordeal of execution unless he has previously qualified as regards lack of sensitiveness by the commission of a brutal act that would have been impossible to a sensitive man.

To sum up: we have found that all our four canons of punishment—Segregation, Deterrence, Reformation, and Humanity—are met by capital punishment in an almost ideal manner, and that its removal from the statute-book would be, from every point of view, a most profound and unfortunate mistake.

Whether any alteration should be made in the mode of carrying out the sentence is another matter. There seems no sufficient reason why so long a time should elapse between the pronouncement and the execution of the sentence. It would be reasonable to give effect to the law as soon as the final decision of the Home Office has been arrived at. A shortening of the period would probably not result in diminishing the deterrent effects, and certainty seems demanded by humanity. With regard to the actual instrument of execution, it is not a matter of very great importance, as all these in use among civilised people

instantaneous and painless.[a] It is a mistake to change any aditional custom, unless there is a solid reason for it; and death hanging has no apparent inferiority to other methods. erbert Spencer (who, unlike Mill, was opposed to capital inishment) has suggested in his *Facts and Comments* an interest- method of execution. His plan was to have a large table pported by a single leg in the centre, and so made as to be able revolve rapidly upon this central axis. The criminal was to laid on the table with his head at the centre and his feet at the riphery. The table now being caused to revolve, centrifugal rce would drive the blood rapidly out of the brain to the lower gions of the body. Faintness would be succeeded by insensility, which would soon become permanent as the rotation conued. If hanging is supposed to be painful, this simple method producing euthanasia might well be adopted.

For crimes short of murder, milder punishments than death ve to be employed. Imprisonment of one kind or other has be resorted to for segregating the criminal from society. The iprisonment must be rendered disagreeable, for purposes of derrence. In the laudable cult of humanity this fact is sometimes st sight of. Suffragettes and others, who have experienced ison life, have written in newspapers and reviews to complain what they consider the scandalous discomforts of prison life— w the heating arrangements are inadequate, the food nasty, the ds disagreeable, the ventilation bad, and so on. After all, the oduction of discomfort is the *raison d'être* of prisons. If the cells ere thoroughly warmed, the food sufficient, the beds comfortable, e prisoner would enjoy a life far superior to that of the poor but nest classes outside, who have to drudge for their livelihood d suffer all sorts of privations. Why should the law-abiding oletariat be mulcted in taxation to maintain anti-social blackards in comfort? There seems a general tendency to look ore upon prison as a reformatory for criminals than as a deternt. The success of a prison system is supposed to be estabhed when it has been shown that a large proportion of those nfined subsequently become honest men. That, no doubt, is an hievement much to be desired; but it is very far from being the e object of a prison system. I should say, rather, that that stem was most successful which most effectively deterred men m going wrong at first. Doubtless reformation is best achieved mild and humanising treatment; in every sphere of life harshss results in anti-social feelings, while kindness results in moral vation. But the principles of deterrence demand considerable verity; there appears to be here a direct contradiction between e requirements of deterrence and of reformation; and it would

[a] Though some still hold the opinion that decapitated heads live and feel for ie time after the execution.

be fatal if our zeal for the latter caused us to overlook the demands of the former. With advancing civilisation men are deterred from crime by the prospects of punishments much less grim than heretofore; and it is right and proper, therefore, that there should be a corresponding relaxation in the rigours of prison life, such as is now in progress. But the other side of the picture has to be remembered; enthusiasm for the criminal must not outrun enthusiasm for the safety of society.[4]

As to the mode by which reformation should be achieved, the principles of Herbert Spencer's article on Prison-Ethics (*Essays*, vol. iii.) appear to be unanswerable. The prisoner should be made to earn his own living, to pay rent for his cell, the maintenance of warders, etc., the conditions of labour being, however, always more arduous than prevail outside. The criminal thus costs society nothing, and he is inured into the kind of habits which it is desired he shall continue on his release. He should be made, as far as possible, to refund to society some of the value he has abstracted from it; an aim which is best achieved by utilising his labour to pay all the expenses of keeping him, and taking also a great part of whatever additional profits accrue.

There is another mode by which he may be made to refund real value to society. I am aware that in promulgating this mode I shall be considered by many worthy people a gross and brutal barbarian; nevertheless in the interests of criminals, of society, and of humanity itself, I venture to suggest it. Nine-tenths of all the suffering that afflicts the human species is caused by disease of one kind or another. The extinction of disease would therefore be a boon to humanity, of desirability far exceeding any other that we can imagine. The project, moreover, impracticable as it first appears, and still remains, is becoming less chimerical every day. It is beginning to be recognised that the zymotic diseases (which constitute the large bulk of all disease) are already almost within our power to eliminate. The magnificent achievements of modern physiology and medicine have been attained largely as a result of experiments on living animals; and one of the greatest difficulties standing in the way of further progress has been the impossibility of making experiments upon human beings. My proposal is that criminals should be used, where desirable, for purposes of scientific experimentation. Suppose, for instance, that a man has been convicted of a particularly

[4] The warning in the text is more than justified by a perusal of the recently published Blue Book of Criminal Statistics [Cd. 5473], from which it appears that the progressive diminution in crime during last century has given place to a steady increase of crime during the present century. Mr. H. B. Simpson, C.B., in his introduction to the Blue Book, says: 'It is permissible to suggest that the steady increase of crime during the last ten years is largely due to a general relaxation of public sentiment with regard to it.'

rutal rape, or of swindling poor people out of their life's savings; nd suppose that an important discovery towards the cure of ancer might be made by inoculation experiments on living men; ill any sentimentalist be so blind to reason, so deaf to the ainest calls of humanity, as to say it would be wrong to inocute that criminal with the cancer and make the observations hich might be followed by untold benefit to the whole race? confess I cannot understand the mental attitude of anyone who will object to this. On the one hand we have a coarse and ardened scoundrel, on whom we have in any case determined to ıflict severe penalties; on the other hand, we have an odious and gonising disease, from which about 50,000 persons are said to be ow suffering in England and Wales alone. Is it more normal or ore humane that the penalties inflicted on the criminal should be enalties useless to society, rather than penalties useful to society? an we reconcile it to our conscience to allow thousands and thousands of our best citizens to be tormented and succumb to this ightful disease, merely because we have not the nerve to try experiments upon one or two heartless wretches, who do not deserve ur slightest commiseration? Philanthropic sentiment is by many ıbordinated to philozoic sentiment; are they also prepared to ubordinate it to philokakurgic sentiment? I have taken this articular instance merely as a concrete example of what might e done; but many greater or lesser varieties of experiment might e tried. I think it can be shown that, as in the case of capital unishment, the deterrent effects of human vivisection would be reater, and the actual pain inflicted far less, than is involved in enal servitude. In other words, from the points of view of umanity and deterrence, such punishment combines all the irtues of an ideal punishment. And it does something else, too, ıat capital punishment does not do. It makes the criminal reınd to society benefits equivalent to the injuries he has inflicted pon it. The demands of abstract justice could scarcely be more ompletely satisfied than by making the offender render back to ociety in his own physical person some part of the evil he has ıflicted upon other members of society. That his person should e held sacred, never to be dedicated to the service of humanity, ppears so monstrous a doctrine that I hardly know how to haracterise it.

The proposal is not altogether new. In the reign of George he First the Law Officers of the Crown gave it as their opinion hat the King could lawfully grant a pardon to a malefactor under entence of death, on condition that he should suffer himself to e inoculated with smallpox (Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chanellors*). Not long ago a Filipino prisoner was infected with ysentery by the ingestion of cultures of the dysentery bacillus. At

the present day enthusiasts occasionally come forward and offer themselves for experimentation in subjects on which they are interested. What enthusiasts will do for the advancement of science may surely be demanded from criminals in whole or part commutation of their other punishment.

I began this essay by pointing out that our social institutions are based not upon reason, but upon sentiment. There are many who would like to make reason all-powerful, and drive out sentiment with a pitchfork. There are many others who dread the time when sentiment may have vanished from the world. Both the hopes of the one and the fears of the other are groundless. Mankind must in the future, as in the past, continue ever to be governed by sentiment. But the sentiments greatly change. The harsh revengeful sentiments of primitive times are altogether to be deprecated; but they are not more dangerous than the soft and maudlin sentiments which by excessive reaction are apt to succeed them. Let us clearly recognise the danger of those pusillanimous sentiments that shrink away from the ugly facts of life, and pervert the high authority of humanity to cover a knock-kneed apprehension of the surgeon's knife, by the use of which alone can we march forward to health and strength. Let us clearly recognise that only those sentiments are magnanimous which impel us to face facts as they are, the painful no less courageously than the pleasant facts; sentiments which are not to be deterred by the bitter racking pain of the moment from taking such steps as are indicated by a calm foresight for the greatest ultimate welfare of our people. Only so can the great goal of humanity be achieved; only so can the success and prosperity of the British people be maintained.

HUGH S. R. ELLIOT.

NYANYSA:

A ZULU PLAY.[1]

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

MANZINI . . .	*The King.*
ZWEETE . . .	*A small Zulu chief.*
DABULAMANZI . .	*A fighting Induna of age to marry.*
POTASSA . . .	*The King's medicine-man.*
NCINA . . .	*A male retainer of* ZWEETE's.
NYANYSA . . .	*Daughter to* ZWEETE, *about sixteen.*
LANGASANA . . .	*A famous female witch-doctor.*
BALETA . . .	*An old serving-woman.*

INDUNAS, WOMEN, *one or two* CHILDREN. *Everyone is coal-black except* NYANYSA, ZWEETE, *and the* KING, *who show traces of alien blood and are copper-coloured rather than black.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE: *The greater part of the stage shows the interior of a round Kaffir hut, made of withies interlaced with a beautiful regularity. On the extreme right is seen the outside of the hut, with a low arched opening for admittance, so low that anyone entering has to crawl in on his knees. A reed wall runs from the hut to the right and fences a road roughly indicated in grass. In the far distance are some hills—nearer, a few trees. It is night and the stars are shining, but the dawn is close. On the interior walls of the hut various objects are hung—drinking-gourds, skins, weapons, shields, combs, beaded girdles and necklaces. In the middle a low fire of wood is burning, sunk in a round hole, the smoke from which curls up into the roof. Rough cooking-pots stand on the ground near by. Against the walls are large baskets, basin-shaped; skins lie on the floor, and there are one or two wooden stands, used to support the head in sleep. Two figures, a man and a woman,* NCINA *and* BALETA, *are sitting at the back.* BALETA *is playing softly on the Kaffir piano*[2] *while* NCINA *thrums on a gourd.* ZWEETE *is lying in the dark, scarcely visible to the audience.*

BALETA (*in a low tone*). Will Nyanysa come this night, Ncina?

NCINA (*still beating the drum*). Can I say, sister? Zweete, her father, waits for her; he must know.

[1] Copyright also in the United States—and all acting rights reserved.

[2] A native instrument like a big dulcimer. The notes are formed by wooden slabs fastened on to bundles of reeds.

BALETA (*leaning forward*). Is he asleep?

NCINA. His eyes seem to speak, yet he does not hear us when we talk.

BALETA. His ears are filled with the music. . . . It is now two days he has waited. Why did he send her with cattle of his house to the White Man's kraal? . . . it was not wise work.

NCINA. Nyanysa will have her way. . . . When she takes a husband how will it be?

BALETA (*laughs slyly*). There is one for her already. . . I know. . . . Nyanysa is like a pot of honey . . . all the flies come. . . . Ha! ha! it is the Induna Dabulamanzi . . . he has sewn the ring on his head. He is tonga,[3] he may marry.

NCINA (*scornfully*). A woman always says, 'Look, look, the pot is boiling' before the water is hot. Can you see the heart of Dabulamanzi?

BALETA. A man never feels the fly on his nose till it stings him. . . . Dabulamanzi talked with Zweete to-day till the sun was weak. Dabulamanzi watches now for Nyanysa on the hill.

NCINA. Tst! . . . Tst! . . . Zweete moves.

[*They both begin playing again.*

ZWEETE (*rises hurriedly*). Tst! Tst! (*the music stops*). The ground shakes. There is running. Ncina . . . go . . . watch from the hill!

[NCINA *creeps out softly and runs up the road.* ZWEETE *listens again.*

It is a man—not Nyanysa. It is Dabulamanzi.

[DABULAMANZI *appears on the road, bending low and running. He leans his assegai against the hut and, kneeling down, looks into the opening.*

DABULAMANZI. Numzana[4]—(*He waits for a moment, then enters and sits on the ground*)—I see her—Nyanysa is coming. She has green leaves on her head. She is straight as a young tree.

ZWEETE. Nyanysa!—she has come! She has been long on the way. Two suns and two moons have I waited—she shall be beaten.

DABULAMANZI. Great chief—you that are black—stay to hear her word. Nyanysa is a white calf—there is no dirt upon her.

ZWEETE (*laughs*). She has magic for you, that girl—you are umhloblo,[5] you are bewitched.

DABULAMANZI. Listen!

[*From outside comes the sound of a voice singing a strange melancholy cadence in semitones, more like a wail than a song.*

[3] Tonga means that a man is allowed to wear a big rubber ring on his head, a sign that he has permission to marry.

[4] Greeting. [5] Under a spell.

ZWEETE. It is Nyanysa.

[NYANYSA *appears on the road, walking slowly. She has a wreath of green leaves and a great bowl on her head. Beside her walks* MAHDA—*old, though she is quite straight—who looks at* NYANYSA *anxiously, but does not venture to speak. Before she reaches the hut* NYANYSA *halts, and gazes round her almost startled. She hardly knows where she is, she has been so absorbed in her thoughts. She stops to listen, turns and looks at the moon steadily for a moment, and sighs deeply.*

ZWEETE (*inside the hut still, to* DABULAMANZI). Go now—watch for the King's coming.

DABULAMANZI. I am afraid. Nyanysa! (ZWEETE *laughs again*). But there is more—I must speak with her.

ZWEETE (*good-humouredly*). You are bewitched indeed. Go—you will find Ncina; tell him to watch well for Manzini the King. You may then come back.

[DABULAMANZI *kneels down and crawls out of the hut. He picks up his assegai, and stands in the shadow, watching* NYANYSA, *who does not see him. When she has passed him, he runs off, while she slowly moves to the hut. Her father stands inside, waiting for her.*

NYANYSA. Umgane.*

ZWEETE. Oh yes, my child.

[NYANYSA *pushes the bowl into the hut and then creeps in herself, followed by* MAHDA.

NYANYSA. The White Chief greets you. He sends you this basket full of his fine white meal (*she puts the bowl down before him*). He sends you this chain (*drawing a chain from out of her blanket*).

ZWEETE. You have been long on the way. I am angry. I thought you were dead. (*Turning to* MAHDA) Why is this? Was she ill?—was she hurt?

MAHDA. Oh, Baba!—she would not! She is hard to drive.

ZWEETE. You fool!—you—of what use was it to send you with her? Another night I should have gone to Langasana, the Great One, she from Natal, the witch-doctor—I should have asked her to find out what you were doing. (*There is no answer, and* MAHDA *turns and creeps out of the hut frightened.*) What did the White Chiefs speak? What has been given to you?

NYANYSA. I have the word!

ZWEETE. The word? What is this? Is it cattle? Is it copper? Is it——

NYANYSA. It is the word of the White God.

ZWEETE. The White God! Ulunkulu is not white. You must not speak this word (*coming close to her, very angry*). You

* Greeting.

have [illegible] too long with the white. Their ways are not Zulu, their [illegible] is not Zulu. Did they speak no other word? Did they ask more cattle? . . . I have few left. It is time for you to get a husband.

NYANYSA. You will not take cattle for me yet? You have no wife in your hut. Let me stay with you—I am young.

ZWEETE (*laughing*). Yes, you are young. No man will give cattle for you when you are old!

[DABULAMANZI *is seen coming along the road. He has put more feathers on his head, and wears bracelets and necklaces. He carries a shield and assegais and looks as if he were in full fighting gear.* ZWEETE *hears him, smiles, and turns to* NYANYSA.

ZWEETE. I will go now and see to the cattle.

[*He goes out. When he comes up to* DABULAMANZI *he stops.*

ZWEETE. The Sakabula bird has grown his tail feathers—ha! ha!

[DABULAMANZI, *embarrassed, raises his hand as if to stop* ZWEETE, *and then watches the old man up the road. In the meantime* NYANYSA, *after looking round the hut and stretching herself, lies down on a skin rug beside the fire, and rests her head upon a wooden pillow.* BALETA *does not move.* DABULAMANZI *listens from outside, and then very timidly he comes up to the doorway, kneels, and looks in.* NYANYSA *does not see him.*

DABULAMANZI. Umgane!

[*He rises, places his assegai at a little distance, and comes near again to the opening in the hut.* NYANYSA *inside has heard him; she goes to the opening and looks out, then comes back and arranges the cooking-pots again, smiling to herself.*

NYANYSA. Umgane!

[DABULAMANZI *crawls in and squats on the ground.*

DABULAMANZI. I will see you.

NYANYSA. Yes, I agree.

[*There is a long silence.*

NYANYSA. Stand up, Dabulamanzi.

DABULAMANZI (*humbly*). Can I overshadow the Chief's daughter?

NYANYSA (*laughing softly*). You are changed, Dabulamanzi. Ah! (*looking at the top of his head*)—you are tonga, you have sewn the ring on your head; now you may take a wife. (*She moves back from him.*)

DABULAMANZI. Yes—that is true. I may marry—I am a good [illegible]. Yesterday I saw the King—I ran here before him——

NYANYSA. You are changed. I, too, am changed. I have been away from Zulu two suns—but they are all the suns of my life.

DABULAMANZI. Since you went to the White Church—I also have waited—all the suns of my life.

NYANYSA. Waited? What is this? Have you not killed? Have you not smoked and talked?

DABULAMANZI. I have watched for you till the sun went, till the stars went, till the sun went again—till now; you were long on the way.

NYANYSA. I stayed in the white man's kraal till the sky was red. I was listening to the word of the women who wear white wings on their heads. (*She half rises, very intent and eager.*) They spoke of Death.

[DABULAMANZI *shudders and looks round; he lowers his voice.*

DABULAMANZI. Do not speak of it; there is danger. The spirit of my father is angry. I have not killed a calf for him. The Ehlose,[7] I am afraid.

NYANYSA. I am afraid also. The White God is a king—He can do big deeds. Have you heard of the great raising up?

DABULAMANZI (*still almost in a whisper*). Yes, I have heard. A white teacher came to the King's kraal, in the moon of the aloes. I was pleased with the word, but I cannot understand it——

NYANYSA. The White God will not let me die, they said; He will dig me up out of the earth; He will take me to the sky. He is a white man with fire round His head. In a book I saw Him.

DABULAMANZI (*very fierce*). He shall not take you! You are Zulu—you belong——

NYANYSA. He will dig you up also, Dabulamanzi. He is the Father of the great raising-up.

DABULAMANZI. What is this talk? Is the white man dug up? No! Have I not seen? In the days of the fighting many were killed.

NYANYSA. After three suns, the teacher said.

DABULAMANZI. This is foolish talk. I have seen the bones of white men lying on the veldt moons more than may be counted. This is forbidden talk (*looking round him uneasily*).

NYANYSA. The teachers say their God is greater than Ulunkulu—He is Lord of the black as well as the white.

DABULAMANZI. Can there be the same God for the black and the white? No, no——

NYANYSA (*dreamily*). When the spirit of my mother came to me her face was like water when the moon shines.

[7] Spirits.

DABULAMANZI (*frightened*). She who is dead. You are umhlohlo—you are umhlohlo.

NYANYSA (*disregarding*). It was in the night—in the hut of the teacher. I woke—my mother stood by the pole.

DABULAMANZI. You must not speak this word—there is danger in it.

NYANYSA (*still disregarding*). I had pain when I saw her. Her eyes were like the rivers after rain. When she was alive her heart was sad. If my father beat her she did not cry—she cried when we were alone. She was tired, her heart was sore for her home.

DABULAMANZI. It was far—she came from the side of the big waters.

NYANYSA. Yes, my father took her in the King's Raid. Her husband was killed—her little children were killed. He pulled her from the burning kraal. She had beauty. Worse than death, she said, oh my brother, worse than death.

> [NYANYSA *flings herself against one of the poles of the hut, sobbing, and gradually falls on her knees, rocking herself back and forth.* DABULAMANZI *moves towards her, hesitates, and then stops still as* BALETA *hobbles forward and mutters, putting her hand on the girl's head.*

DABULAMANZI. She is umhlohlo.

BALETA. No, she is not umhlohlo. It is the cracking of the bud. Speak to her—give her the right word.

> [*She laughs a little and hobbles out of the hut, carrying her instrument, and seats herself outside.* DABULAMANZI *hesitates, then he kneels again before* NYANYSA.

DABULAMANZI. Sweetheart, Singan'izama [1]—do not cry—you put a spear through the heart of Dabulamanzi—(*he waits again, then very gently he touches her shoulder. After a moment* NYANYSA *turns and looks at him with a little smile.* DABULAMANZI *grasps her arms and speaks eagerly to her*).

My heart—sweet heart—you that are my life—look at me. NYANYSA *turns and looks at him with a little smile.* DABULAMANZI you will come to my hut you shall not fetch water and dig as the other women do—I will not beat you. I will have no women in my hut but you.

NYANYSA (*slowly raising herself*). What is this?

DABULAMANZI (*rapidly and earnestly*). I have spoken to Zweete, your father. I have enough cattle now. When your eyes look, something seems to soften and melt inside of me. When I cannot speak to you I feel as if I am hungry—my heart aches with a pain—I see your face in the burning fire. I stop when I am eating to think of you, till people say, 'How much that

[1] Term of endearment.

young man speaks to his heart! I go hunting, but I forget what I am about; in the dance I stop and do not know it. It is as if something drew me with a rope——

NYANYSA (*softly*). This is love, Dabulamanzi—this is what the old women say is love.

DABULAMANZI (*eagerly*). Yes, that is it—that is my sickness. It must be so—you have magic.

NYANYSA (*anxious*). But my father will not take cattle for me yet?

DABULAMANZI (*embarrassed*). He has said I may drive the cattle to his kraal. I have offered many.

NYANYSA. No—no—I will not marry—I also must love.

[BALETA *is seated outside the hut, playing softly on the Kaffir piano.*

DABULAMANZI. Love me, love me, Nyanysa. I am strong, I am a good hunter——

NYANYSA (*rising*). Can love be hunted? How shall I know if I love you? You are gentle. You speak softly.—I must think—I must wonder. If yours is the face I see, it is well—if not, then it is not well.

DABULAMANZI. He whose face you see—what then?

NYANYSA (*speaking as if in a dream*). He whose face I see—he will be my beloved. I and my beloved will go out into the veldt. In the day we will walk, and hide among the trees. When the sun has gone into his hut the little children of the sky will light our way. We will lodge in the kraals by night. I will be my beloved's—I will wait for him and serve him—his head shall rest on my knees—he shall live in my heart.

DABULAMANZI. You make my fire burn with your words. My heart is white as milk—my love runs to you. (*He comes closer and closer to her.*)

NYANYSA. You must put a spell upon me, Dabulamanzi, to make me love you.

DABULAMANZI. A spell? I am afraid of the great witch-doctor.

NYANYSA. No, no, not by her—not Langasana; she turns her face from me—she hates me.

DABULAMANZI. I have no spell. Let me hold you—let me——

[*He puts his arms round her, and for one moment she allows herself to rest in them. As if in sympathy* BALETA'S *music gets louder, while in the distance shouts are heard.*

NYANYSA. Listen! What is the noise?

DABULAMANZI (*listens—then in a tone of despair*). The King!

NYANYSA. Manzini! Is he to come this night?

DABULAMANZI. It may be (*listening*). Yes, it is so. My protector, my spirit, stand up straight! Cry to the White God, Nyanysa—(*coming close again*). The King will see you. You

have beauty, you have the calling voice; he will desire you—he can take you.

NYANYSA (*shudders*). The King! He who kills with a laugh —he who seizes the women! His hands are stiff with the blood of children. No, no—he hates the white—I hate him.

DABULAMANZI (*seizing her by the wrist*). It is death to speak that word—this is Zulu custom; no man can say it is not good; it is death to turn your face from the King.

NYANYSA. Death! I cannot die—I will run far—I will hide.

[ZWEETE *now comes down the road and crawls into the hut.* BALETA *follows him.*

ZWEETE. The King! the King! Make ready—unroll the mats. A stool for Manzini. Come! Come!

[NYANYSA *moves silently and quickly to the opening. She is intercepted by* ZWEETE.

ZWEETE. Did you not hear?—the King is come! Quick—put the beads round your neck . . . and the copper rings on your arms. . . . Quick, Baleta . . . fetch mealies. . . . Where is beer . . . the bowls . . . Nyanysa! (*He goes up to her menacing.*)

[BALETA *goes out to fetch the beer, which is kept in another hut.*

NYANYSA. Oh, husband of my mother, my father, let me hide from the King. . . . I am afraid . . .

ZWEETE. Afraid! (*looking round*) What is this? Is she bewitched?—she is umhlohlo.

DABULAMANZI. Let her go, Zweete. . . . Listen to my word . . . let her go. . . . The King! If he sees her, he will take her.

ZWEETE. Fool! What is this you are saying? . . . You are not married to her . . . the cattle are not yet driven in. She is my daughter. . . . Can I not sell as it pleases me? You are bewitched. . . . If Nyanysa has magic for the King he will take her . . . he will put me at his side. The King can give much cattle . . . more than any Induna. . . . Is it for me to shake my head at the King?

NYANYSA (*passionately*). Let me go . . . let me go to the cattle. . . . I will not see the King . . . he makes me tremble. . . . It is as if I were to die. . . . Let me go.

ZWEETE. Do you ask to be beaten? Manzini will remember . . . he will call for you. . . . The King must be obeyed in all things. . . . Stand in the ring of dark till you are ready . . .

[BALETA *pushes in a bowl of beer and enters.*

ZWEETE. Baleta, put the beads on her; Manzini is here.

[BALETA *leads* NYANYSA *to the extreme edge of the hut and hangs necklaces and bracelets on her.* NCINA *runs down the road, enters the hut, sits silent for a moment, and then speaks:*

NOIMA. The King comes first to Zweete's hut.

[*Meanwhile the noise outside increases; shouts are heard, people calling out,* 'Bayete! Bayete!' *The* KING *comes in sight, carried in a leathern litter, his herald walking before him speaking his praises, and a boy carrying a horn with a hemp pipe on a long reed. All the people follow. The* KING *is enormously fat; he wears a sort of high crown of ostrich feathers, and has an otter skin rolled round his forehead with the tail hanging down his neck. He has copper rings on his forearm and white ox-tails hanging from his biceps and calves; round his waist a mashola of monkey tails, and leopard skins over his chest and back. He holds a staff in one hand and a broad-bladed assegai in the other.*

THE HERALD (*shouting*). 'Great Father!' 'You that are black!' 'Splitter of Hearts!' 'You who stick a man running.' 'You that eat maggoty meat.'

[*The people call out every now and then* 'Bayete! Bayete!' *but otherwise there is a deadly silence.*

[*The* KING *gets out of the litter with the utmost difficulty. Inside the hut* ZWEETE *and* DABULAMANZI *wait silently.* NYANYSA *has thrown herself down in the far corner of the hut. The* KING *stoops and enters, followed by his medicine-man,* POTASSA, *dressed in a fantastic way and covered with strings of bones and teeth. Several Indunas crowd into the hut after them. They all sit down when the* KING *sits. After a pause the* KING *says:*

KING. I will see you!

ZWEETE. Bayete!

DABULAMANZI. Bayete!

KING. Zweete . . . I take your hut for my sleeping-place.

ZWEETE. It is yours, great Lord of the world, but I have a new hut built ready for the King of Kings . . . close . . . (*he points out of the door*). . . . The poles are carved, there are tiger skins . . . it is a fine hut.

KING (*pleased*). That is well . . . . (*A pause*).

ZWEETE. Will the Great Splitter of Hearts come now?

KING (*looking round*). Where is your daughter? . . . I hear she has been to the white man's kraal; . . she should not have done this thing.

ZWEETE. Baba! . . . you who stick a man running—you know what women are. . . . She would go . . . she would have her way.

KING. Wow!—you should be master. Here my equal help me the nose (*asking for snuff*).

[ZWEETE *takes snuff out of a box which is slung round his neck and hands some to the* KING *on the palm of his hand.*

KING (*takes the snuff, and by way of thanks*). Eh-h-h! man of our tribe! Let your daughter come before me, Zweete; the women tell me she is a white calf.

ZWEETE. Nyanysa, come . . . bring the beer for the Splitter of Hearts.

[NYANYSA *comes out into the light carrying a great bowl of beer. She puts her lips first to the bowl and tastes it, and then, kneeling, puts it to the* KING'S *lips. He drinks, looking at her all the time; then he smiles and strokes her cheek.*

KING. The women spoke truth for once. . . . Is she young, this daughter of yours, Zweete?

ZWEETE. Baba! . . . you know it is but yesterday she was born.

KING. And the only one of her litter . . . so I have heard.

[ZWEETE *nods his head in silence.*

KING. Is she strong? Is she good-tempered?

ZWEETE. Strong she is like a young elephant; . . . as for good-tempered (*he laughs*) you, King of Kings, know a woman's temper.

[*The* KING *nods with the utmost gravity.*

KING. Do I not know! Yes . . . I have had many wives but they are all the same. What is her name?

ZWEETE. Nyanysa.

KING. Nyanysa . . . what name is that?

ZWEETE. Her mother's name it was. . . . It is known to you, O Splitter of Hearts, that her mother . . .

KING. Yes . . . I remember . . . the wife of a chief killed by my hand. She is thin! How much cattle do you take for her, Zweete?

[*Before* ZWEETE *can answer* DABULAMANZI, *who is seated on the ground with the other Indunas, begins to speak.*

DABULAMANZI. O Splitter of Hearts—King—you that are black . . . listen to my asking. . . I ask my right! You have said I am tonga. Zweete will let me have his daughter. Give her to me; I have offered many cattle. . . . I am a good fighter. . . . I ask my right. (*A pause.*)

KING (*turning to* ZWEETE). Have you driven in his cattle?

ZWEETE. No, Lord of the world . . . but he speaks truth. Dabulamanzi has offered many.

KING (*turning to* DABULAMANZI). You have permission to marry—I know it; I will buy a wife for you.

DABULAMANZI (*sullenly*). It is too much. . . . Give me Nyanysa. I want Nyanysa. . . . I cannot explain it. She has bewitched me. . . . She must have got magic, that girl. . . . I cannot tell what it is . . . it is umhlohlo. . . . It is not my fault . . . it is a sickness . . .

[*The* KING *laughs.*

KING. The fool! What is it like, this sickness . . . is it sore?

DABULAMANZI (*still frightened*). No, father, I cannot say it is sore . . . but I am bewitched.

KING (*laughing*). The fool has got the love sickness. . . . Ha! ha! ha! . . . But perhaps I am sick too . . . who can tell? Ha! ha!

[*The people in the hut laugh . . . all except* DABULAMANZI *and* NYANYSA, *who stand still, horror struck.*

KING. I will talk to the girl—I will see what is in her heart. Go—all of you—go!

[*The Indunas crawl out of the hut;* ZWEBTE *and* DABULAMANZI *are the last;* BALETA *remains sitting in the dark.*

KING. Come here, Nyanysa; kneel by me—close.

[NYANYSA *obeys, though she shudders visibly when the* KING *strokes her cheek. He kisses her and smiles.*

KING. That was good for my lips, Nyanysa. What will you say? Will you come into the King's kraal?

[NYANYSA *shudders and shrinks back from him.*

NYANYSA (*in a low voice and after a silence*). Whatsoever the King commands, that his servant is willing to do.

KING (*vexed*). It is a great raising . . . too great a raising for the daughter of one of my fighters who did not marry in his own tribe.

NYANYSA. Yes, it is too great a raising, Baba . . . you that are great. . . . Let your servant carry water for you.

KING. If I take you I make you a great wife. Are you proud? Are you glad?

NYANYSA. Is it for your servant to say? Can she choose her life?

[*The* KING *is perplexed, then he smiles as if he understood.*

KING. If I take you to my kraal it is because I have love for you—I, Manzini the King—and you must have love for me.

NYANYSA. I cannot love . . .

[*She sees* BALETA'S *eyes fixed upon her in horror.*

NYANYSA. I am the King's servant. The King must be obeyed in all things.

KING (*angry*). This is not the word. You shall love me, the King. Come close. You have bewitched me. I will make you my head wife. When old Nomanxewa dies you shall be the head of the kraal.

[BALETA, *unable to restrain herself, prostrates herself before* NYANYSA, *saying* 'Bayete! Bayete!' *The* KING *smiles broadly and pats* NYANYSA *on the back.*

See, you are Queen already.

[*He draws her to him and caresses her.* NYANYSA *trembles violently and, unable to bear the torture, steps back.*

BALETA (*squatting*). She is young, Baba. She is afraid.

KING (*with a wicked smile*). Afraid, is she? She is right to be afraid. Am I not the King? I can take her—I can kill her—and can I not make her love me?

[*He gets up from his stool, grasps* NYANYSA, *and pinches her arms and her ears, grinning all the time.*

KING. Afraid, are you? Yes, you shall be afraid—you shall love me. You are a black lizard, but I will catch you—there—and there.

[*He clasps her roughly and kisses her more as if he were beating her than caressing her.* BALETA, *terrified, goes to the opening of the hut and touches* ZWEETE, *who is sitting against it. She half pulls him in.* NYANYSA *endures now without a movement or a sound, standing absolutely rigid. When the* KING *pushes her away from him in anger, she almost falls to the ground, but she is caught by her father.*

KING. Where is the man who asked for her?

ZWEETE. Outside, Baba, with the others who wait.

[*The* KING *claps his hands angrily and the Indunas crawl in,* DABULAMANZI *with them;* POTASSA *also.*

KING. Nyanysa is umhlohlo. Where is the man who asked for her?

[DABULAMANZI *comes forward.*

KING. How is it . . . you that cleave a way through the waters . . . does she answer you in a dream also?

[DABULAMANZI *hesitates;* ZWEETE *intervenes anxiously.*

ZWEETE. She answers him in a dream also, O Baba! . . . This is true.

KING (*angrily*). Let Dabulamanzi speak with his own tongue. . . . Now! . . . does she love you?

[DABULAMANZI *hesitates again, then lifts up his hand and says softly:*

DABULAMANZI. Yes it is so, O Splitter of Hearts!

[*The* KING *looks at* NYANYSA, *who says nothing. He grows more and more irritated.*

KING (*scowling*). She loves you? It is not truth. No, no, sweep it away. . . . I will have you killed, Dabulamanzi. Women cannot love the dead. (*Turning to his guard*) Take him . . . keep him till I am ready.

[*Two or three Indunas start forward, seize* DABULAMANZI, *pinion him, tie him up with a rope, and stand guard beside him.*

Dabulamanzi is dead, Nyanysa—you cannot love him now.

NYANYSA (*slowly*). I do not love Dabulamanzi.

KING. She speaks truth; I can hear it.

ZWEETE (*very frightened*). Send for the witch-doctor, O Baba! She has a spell on her. The doctor will smell out her enemy. She will give Nyanysa medicine to make her love you. Nyanysa is a good girl. She is bewitched.

POTASSA (*springs forward, pointing*). Dabulamanzi! He! He! . . . it is he who has put a spell upon her. This is the man, O Great One. . . . Let him be killed.

KING (*angrily*). Fool! maggot! . . . of what use are you? . . . The girl does not love Dabulamanzi . . . she has said so. . . . (*Turning*) Fetch me Langasana from her hut, the great one from Natal. . . . Quick . . . or I kill.

[POTASSA *stoops, gets out of the hut, and runs up the road in terror. All the people murmur together,* 'Langasana . . . she the great one . . . she will tell. Bayete! Bayete! . . . O Lord of Lords! she will tell!' NYANYSA *stands a little aside—she has a look of terror upon her face.* ZWEETE *drops his eyes;* MANZINI *the King drinks, and then chews a little stick angrily.*

ZWEETE (*in a low tone to* NYANYSA). Fool! . . . What is this you are doing? Langasana is angry because you have been to the white kraal. . . . Say you love the King before she comes, or it will be death.

NYANYSA. O my father, my father . . . save me!

ZWEETE. It is too late.

[*Coming down the road is seen* LANGASANA, *being dragged by* POTASSA, *who is gesticulating and shouting. A murmur of awe runs round the people, and they all turn their heads away and cover their eyes with their hands.* POTASSA *comes in first, and helps* LANGASANA *to crawl in. Meanwhile the* KING *has seated himself again.* ZWEETE *hands him the bowl of beer, and he drinks, glaring with bloodshot eyes.* LANGASANA *wears a hide petticoat embroidered with lions' and tigers' teeth, snakes, bones, and beads. Round her loins and her neck are hung feathers and snake skeletons, medicine bags and roots, brass buttons, wire and teeth. Her body is tattooed and smeared*

with red and black earth; her hair is long. A tiger skin hangs down her back, with the grinning head showing over her head; a stuffed snake is coiled round her hair and seems to dart out of the mouth of the tiger. She squats before the KING *in complete silence. The* KING *bows to her. He is evidently in awe.*

KING. Stand up . . . stand still.

[*The witch-doctor silently rises and waits.*

KING. You, Langasana, smell me out who has bewitched this girl Nyanysa, so that I may have him killed.

LANGASANA. First I must be told this thing. Who says a spell has been put upon her?

ZWEETE. I say it.

LANGASANA (*peering at him*). Many a father says this if his child turns from him.

POTASSA (*cries out*). She will not answer the King. . . . He wants a sweet answer . . . he has love for her.

KING (*angrily*). She is certainly bewitched. . . . I say it.

[LANGASANA *bows in silence, then seems to think.*

LANGASANA. Nyanysa has been far away, O Baba! . . . She has been among the white people, and who can tell what witches they have? But I will open the gate of diſtance and travel through it, even though my body lies before you.

[POTASSA *begins to beat his drum, and the people in the hut softly croon, moving their bodies backwards and forwards. The doctor lights a little fire on the floor; she goes to* NYANYSA *and cuts off a piece of her hair and drops it into the flame. Next she pulls from her medicine bag a root and drops that in also. A thick smoke comes up and a sickly odour fills the hut.* LANGASANA *throws a stone into the middle, shouting,* 'Nyanysa! Nyanysa!' *Then she swallows some medicine herself and falls down in a trance, her limbs moving all the time. The music gets a little louder till she wakes, when it dies down again.*

[LANGASANA, *after raking about in the ashes, picks up the stone she threw in, looks at it attentively, and then shakes her head solemnly. All the people crane their heads forward, listening eagerly.*

ZWEETE (*in a hoarse voice*). Speak, Langasana! . . . What do you see that is evil? . . . speak!

LANGASANA (*turns to the* KING *and holds out the stone*). This is a terrible thing, Manzini, you that are King! Nyanysa is under a spell. . . . You cannot kill him who has bewitched her.

KING (*astounded and furious*). I, Manzini the King—I cannot kill a man! What is this word? I will kill with my own hand.

LANGASANA. He cannot be killed. . . . I do not understand this . . . but he cannot be killed.

KING (*rising angrily*). Are you a smeller of witches, Langasana?—you who see nothing! . . . Take her away. . . . Beat her.

[*No one stirs; there is complete silence.*

LANGASANA (*very menacing*). Beware! beware! Manzini, you that are King, if you would be great in war, and have healthy sons . . . if you would keep your cattle in the kraal. . . .

[*She raises her arm. The* KING *sinks back on to his stool and passes his hand across his eyes.*

KING. There is a spell upon me too. . . . Nyanysa is the witch. . . . Tell me . . .

LANGASANA. The King will not be angry if I speak?

KING. No, no—you are safe. Here (*taking off a bracelet*). Give this to your arm, from my arm.

[LANGASANA *takes the bracelet, looks at it carefully, seems satisfied, and puts it on slowly.*

KING. Speak now.

LANGASANA. Nyanysa has dirt upon her. She has been among the white. The Ehlose, the spirits of all her people, must be appeased, that their way may be clear and their path smooth. The spirit of her mother has been watching, and now she turns about and beckons Nyanysa to follow.

[NYANYSA *is startled. She turns and looks at* LANGASANA *earnestly.*

NYANYSA. She calls to me. . . . Yes—yes, I understand her word.

KING (*hoarsely*). What is this? . . . Speak on.

LANGASANA. Nyanysa is not Zulu . . . she is bad. . . . She will not love you, Lord of Lords. . . . She has the white man in her heart.

[*At these words* NYANYSA'S *expression changes to one almost of joy.*

KING. The white man! What is his name? . . . where is his kraal? (*He rises.*) Nyanysa, is this the true word? Take care of your tongue.

[NYANYSA, *whose face is rapt, gazes upward, and says in a low thrilling tone:*

NYANYSA. Yes, it is true! . . . I have the white man in my heart.

[*The* KING *seizes her by the arm and hisses into her ear.*

KING. Where is he? . . . Tell me his name and the name of his kraal. . . . I will kill him.

[NYANYSA, *who has begun to lose her fear, shakes her-*

self free and turns proudly, speaking very slowly and clearly:

NYANYSA. You cannot kill him. He is not on the veldt . . . his kraal is in the sky . . .

[*All the people are horrified and frightened; the* KING *too is frightened.* DABULAMANZI *stands gazing at* NYANYSA, *who does not see him or anyone.* LANGASANA *suddenly raises her voice.*

LANGASANA. She will live no more among the Zulu, she, Nyanysa the black, who loves the white. This is death to her. . . . She must die, she must be thrown out. He who loves her must kill her. There is danger while she lives. . . . Death! . . . death!

[*The Doctor has got more and more excited. She is joined by* POTASSA, *and they dance round and round in a circle, uttering horrible sounds and chucking bones and pebbles on the ground.* DABULAMANZI *suddenly shakes himself free from his guards and throws himself down before the* KING. *His arms are still pinioned, so he is helpless.*

DABULAMANZI. No man will take Nyanysa into his hut after this that has been said. . . . The Ehlose are angry with her . . . her cattle will die . . . her children will die . . .; but I, Dabulamanzi, will take her. Cast me out with her. . . . Give her to me.

KING (*blind with rage*). You! . . . you! . . . Yes, I will give her to you—the one who loves her is to kill her. Loose him (*this is done instantly*). Now, Dabulamanzi, here is the wife you asked me for. . . . (*He laughs horribly.*) Bring her to me, that I may be sure she is dead, before the sun has come up from his hut.

[*He turns without another look and goes off, followed by all the people in utter silence. The stars have gone and the sky is beginning to lighten.*

[LANGASANA *is the last to leave, and she turns at the opening and glowers at* NYANYSA, *who seems rapt in some vision.* ZWEETE *rises in anguish; he lifts his arms above his head for a moment as if he were going to curse. Then he shakes his head without looking at either* DABULAMANZI *or* NYANYSA.

ZWEETE. The King has said it.

[*He goes out. Neither* DABULAMANZI *nor* NYANYSA *speak for a moment; then* DABULAMANZI *rouses himself.*

DABULAMANZI. White God, White God, help us! O my protector, my spirit, stand up straight.

[*He strides up to* NYANYSA *and grasps her by the arm.*

Come with me! . . . Come now! We will fight a way through the people, we will climb the wall, and run across the

veldt to the mountains. Life is a great treasure. If we are killed it is no worse. We may pass them. Come!

[*He pulls at her, urging her.*

NYANYSA. Can we stand against the King? Shall I be hunted like a wild beast, (*she shudders*) driven under the hot sun till the spear reaches me? And you also? It is right that I should die. The King is to be obeyed. . . . There is no hiding-place from the King.

DABULAMANZI (*quickly*). Your mother's tribe . . .

NYANYSA. They are all dead. . . . Their kraals are burned. . . . Manzini the King burned them.

DABULAMANZI (*looking round desperately, and then, as if making one last supreme effort*). You shall not die! Nyanysa, there is still time. Run to the King's feet. . . . Tell him you are changed . . . I have put the spell off you, and you will love him. He will take you to his kraal . . . your eyes will see the sun. . . . Love Manzini—love the King. . . . You shall not meet death!

NYANYSA. There is worse than death!

DABULAMANZI (*with a great cry*). Worse than death? You are umhlohlo. . . . I cannot save you. . . . You are far away.

[*He turns in anguish, then falls on his knees before her and clasps his arms round her.* NYANYSA *looks at him for a moment in silence.*

DABULAMANZI. O my sister, my sister! . . . Speak to me.

NYANYSA. Listen, Dabulamanzi! . . . Listen! . . . My head is heavy, my heart is sore. . . . I put out my arms, but there is nothing . . . nothing but pain and the wailing of women. When Manzini the King spoke to me I knew. Is it a little matter to be the slave of the King? Have I not seen? Do I not know the days of a woman who is married? Is it a little matter to be used and driven by a man till the skin shrivels and the back is bent? To hear the cries of the fight when the children cower; to be the prize of another if the King is beaten; to draw breath in fear by day and by night?

If I had love in my eyes I should see nothing—I should forget. But can I lie in the dirt? . . . Love is in the sky. Dabulamanzi, my mind is dark. . . . I have not found the word to give you. It is better for me to meet death now. I am young—I am free. I have the white man in my heart.

DABULAMANZI. Come back, Nyanysa. . . . Come back.

[*A faint red glow spreads over the sky, and distant noises are heard.*

NYANYSA (*turning her head*). Listen! . . . Listen! . . . the sun is coming. Strike . . . strike now!

DABULAMANZI (*wailing*). I cannot. . . . O child of my people, I who love you—I cannot!

NYANYSA. I am glad that he who loves me is to kill me. Take me out of the King's hand—kill me!

[*She kneels down slowly; the people outside are silent, watching the horizon and making signs to one another. The sun is just about to rise.*

[DABULAMANZI, *half dazed, comes up to her. She gazes past him, seeing something on the other side of sight; he raises his arm, but his strength fails him, his knees knock together, and his arm falls by his side.* NYANYSA *looks up at him sternly.*

NYANYSA. Are you a dog that you will not do the King's command?

[DABULAMANZI *straightens himself and plunges the spear into her heart.* NYANYSA *raises her arms.*

I see a white flame! Light! Light!

[*She falls back dead.*

Enter ZWEETE, *who looks straight before him.*

ZWEETE. Have you killed?

DABULAMANZI. She said, 'Are you a dog that you will not do the King's command?'

ZWEETE. Take her to the King.

[DABULAMANZI *lifts up* NYANYSA, *holds her across his shoulder, and begins to stagger out of the hut. The sunlight floods the land outside.*

CURTAIN.

EDITH LYTTELTON.

NATIONAL INSURANCE AND THE COMMONWEAL

Some philosopher, probably a Greek who lived in the sunshine, has said : 'The greatest suffering that man endures is the anticipation of evil that never occurs.' There is a measure of truth and wisdom in this buoyant optimism which we may recognise with advantage.

But to whatever degree this cheery proverb be true, one thing at least is certain. The chief sources of anxiety in the mind of the breadwinner are the uncertainty as to what will happen to those dependent upon him, should sickness lay him low, or should he cease to obtain employment for his labour.

It is because the National Insurance Bill is avowedly intended in some measure to relieve this anxiety, that it has been provisionally received by all parties in the House of Commons with sympathetic tolerance and interest, which have risen above all mere consideration of party.

At the same time, the effect of many provisions in the Bill on Friendly Societies, the position of the medical profession, and various other individuals and institutions, is of so complicated a character that only mature study, and consultation with the various interests affected, can enable any impartial politician to form a sound opinion of the expediency of the Bill as it was originally drafted.

Moreover, it does seem quite improbable that the provisions of the Bill, which are essentially of a protectionist character towards labour, can be reconciled with reckless and blind adherence to the *laissez faire* policy in relation to the products of labour.

For my own part, I have long been convinced of the national value of State workman's insurance as it exists in Germany. My attention was first called to the matter some years ago, when I attended as a delegate a series of scientific conferences held in Berlin, and subsequently in other capitals of Europe, for considering the best measures for dealing with tuberculosis.

Statistics compiled by the State Sick Insurance Department in Germany had so impressed the Department with the large

proportion of calls, amounting at the age of thirty to 50 per cent., made upon them by cases of consumption, that they had determined, both on economic as well as humanitarian grounds, to devote a considerable portion of their funds to directly combating this disease. Being greatly impressed with all that I saw of the 'Reichsversicherungsamt' (State Sick Insurance Department), I decided on my return to England to lay the whole matter before the great British Friendly Societies. The result was that in 1902 I arranged to take a deputation from the National Conference of Friendly Societies to study German State insurance on the spot. The deputation received a cordial welcome both from State officials and fellow-workmen in Germany, and issued on their return interesting reports on what they had seen to the members of their Societies.

These representatives of the Friendly Societies could not at that time reconcile themselves to the principle of compulsory contribution. The voluntary spirit and traditions of the Friendly Societies were too strong. Nevertheless the deputation was so impressed with the economic soundness of the sanatorium movement, that after their return they induced certain Friendly Societies to found a National Sanatorium at Benenden, in Kent, which has ever since been maintained by their voluntary subscriptions.

The work of State insurance in Germany was initiated so far back as 1881 by a message from the Emperor William the First communicated by Prince Bismarck to the Reichstag. Its terms are sufficiently memorable to be cited in full:

> We consider it our Imperial duty to impress upon the Reichstag the necessity of furthering the welfare of the working-people. We should review with increased satisfaction the manifold successes with which the Lord has blessed our reign, could we carry with us to the grave the consciousness of having given our country an additional and lasting assurance of internal peace, and the conviction that we have rendered the needy that assistance to which they are justly entitled. Our efforts in this direction are certain of the approval of all the federate Governments, and we confidently rely on the support of the Reichstag, without distinction of parties. In order to realise these views, a Bill for the insurance of workmen against industrial accidents will first of all be laid before you, after which a supplementary measure will be submitted providing for a general organisation of industrial sick relief insurance. But likewise those who are disabled in consequence of old age or invalidity possess a well-founded claim to a more ample relief on the part of the State than they have hitherto enjoyed. To devise the fittest ways and means for making such provision, however difficult, is one of the highest obligations of every community based on the moral foundations of Christianity. A more intimate connexion with the actual capabilities of the people, and a mode of turning these capabilities to account in corporate associations, under the patronage and with the aid of the State, will, we trust, develop a scheme to solve which the State alone would prove unequal.

The scheme here contemplated and subsequently carried out embraces insurance against

(1) Accident.—Premium paid entirely by employer.

(2) Sickness.—Premium paid averages two-thirds by workman and one-third by employer.

(3) Invalidity and Old Age.—Premium paid by employer and employed equally. State contributing slightly more than half of the amount of premium paid by each of the other contributors.

The scheme also includes certain maternity and death benefits.

In what respect then does the National Insurance Bill differ from the German scheme?

First and foremost the German scheme includes old-age pensions and accident insurance both for purposes of benefit and contribution. The British scheme does not. It would almost appear as if Mr. Lloyd George had discovered Germany after he had passed his old-age pensions measure. But be that as it may, the latter scheme alone, which was to have cost the State six millions annually, does actually cost over twelve millions. The whole of the German State contribution toward insurance for all purposes amounted in 1909 to 2,575,000*l*. In Germany both contributions and benefits vary; in Great Britain they are to be uniform, except for the lowest-paid labour.

To sum up. The proposals of the National Insurance Bill present a scheme which is less extended in its scope, but more lavish in the benefits it does confer, and if old-age pensions be taken into consideration, much more costly to the State than the German scheme.

Turning from this brief summary of some of the economic aspects of the two schemes, it will be of interest to consider some of the social effects of State insurance which thirty years' experience in Germany has disclosed.

One of the great merits claimed by the Germans for their system of compulsory contribution, over any purely voluntary system, is that whereas the latter merely leads to the insurance of the thrifty and the provident, the former obliges the improvident and the unthrifty to insure and thus to make that provision for themselves which otherwise would have to be found in some form for them by others.

In the course of the debate on the second reading of the National Insurance Bill in the House of Commons, Lord Charles Beresford, in an interesting and practical speech on some of the aspects of the measure, raised the question as to whether the effect of compulsory insurance would be to make those insured less thrifty and provident in the future. Observations on this point in Germany have shown that national insurance proves a

distinct incentive to thrift rather than the reverse. A man feels that, having a small certainty in sickness and old age to rely upon, savings however small will be worth having as a supplement to the certainty. Whereas without the certainty the small saving would scarcely be worth making. To facilitate and encourage thrift of this character it would be a good plan for the Exchequer to arrange to issue Consols in certificates of small amounts, say of 5*l.* with coupons for interest attached payable half-yearly. In this way interest would be secured on an asset as liquid as a bank-note.

In Germany the relief to the Public Poor Funds afforded by sick insurance did not prove to be as great as was anticipated by its more sanguine promoters, and Dr. Muensterberg, a director of the Berlin Poor Law Administration for many years, reports that the actual cost of poor relief, owing to the 'almost unconscious influence of the Infirmity Insurance Law' in improving the nature of that poor relief, has not diminished but increased.

As the National Insurance Bill will provide for the insurance of 33 per cent. of the entire population of Great Britain as compared with 21 per cent. insured in Germany, and as the British benefits are both more costly and more extensive than in Germany, it is to be hoped that the relief to the Poor Law Funds will be more substantial than has proved to be the case in Germany.

But speculation as to the economic and social effects of such a measure as the Insurance Bill, more especially when Part II. of the Bill dealing with insurance against unemployment is taken into consideration, is of no value unless the major and by far the most important factor in this problem be taken into account. This factor is the growth of the productive output and consequent demand for labour, among the industrial population, relatively to the increase in that population.

Germany had thoroughly learnt this lesson before she embarked on State sick insurance. The years that marked the introduction of State insurance had already seen the consummation of [illegible] fiscal policy achieved. The last two States had entered the German Zollverein or Customs Union. Tariffs were placed on all competing manufactured goods entering the German Empire. The home market for industry and the products of industry was secure, and it was this fact which largely reconciled the employers to the insurance scheme and at the same time secured to the insured a demand for their labour. Under the teaching of [illegible] German statesmen had become political not cosmopolitan economists.

Is the industrial position in England so assured to us to-day that we can afford to ignore its consideration when we are about to supplement old-age pensions [illegible] of substantial State

insurance against almost every calamity that may befall an industrial worker from the cradle to the grave?

Some British statesmen to-day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer among them, are acquiring an acquaintance with Germany and German national organisation. But have they yet learnt their lesson, or even half of it?

Before dealing further with the major factor in the great national economic and social problem, let us consider again certain details in the two insurance schemes. The Attorney-General, speaking on behalf of the Government in the House of Commons, was candid enough to admit that they owed their insurance scheme to Germany. But he proceeded to argue that his right honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had improved upon it in various details. In regard to the one-third of the German scheme, which is all that the National Insurance Bill covers, this claim may possibly be in some respects not unreasonable; but differences of opinion exist, and will continue to exist, on the wisdom of making the insurance limit 160*l.* income in Great Britain as against 100*l.* in Germany. There is also a good deal to be said in favour of the German sliding scale of contributions and benefits, as against the universal British rate proposed for all those earning 15*s.* a week and over.

But let us probe a little deeper than the clauses of the German Act and the British Bill. Are we henceforth to have mere palliation, or genuine prevention of disease?

Do Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues for one moment suppose that if the German Administration of Sick Benefits had been called upon to face a smallpox outbreak as we had in 1902, with its 2545 deaths, its costly smallpox hospitals erected and maintained all over the country, its epidemics at Dewsbury, [illegible]ter, and Gloucester, they would have benevolently doled out their benefits to the conscientious convalescent who had refused revaccination or even vaccination? If so they have failed to recognise the scientific spirit and method with which the German administrators of the State insurance funds address themselves to the prevention as well as the treatment of disease, and the rigour with which prophylactic measures are enforced by the State. In questions of public health, backed by State insurance, [illegible] prejudice and minor lunacy, even though they may command a few votes, must give way to the 'magic of averages.'

In Germany vaccination and revaccination are compulsory. In the last [illegible] years for which returns are available, from 1895 to 19[illegible] inclusive, the total deaths in the German Empire from smallpox were 7[illegible]. During that same period in England, where vaccination is not [illegible] strictly speaking compulsory and revaccination is [illegible] the deaths from smallpox were 6475.

The population of the two countries in 1908 was for the German Empire 62 millions, for the United Kingdom 44 millions. To those British statesmen who are now beginning to address themselves to a scientific study of 'averages,' and are apparently so impressed with the results as to speak of them as 'magic,' I commend a study of these figures.

Judging from Mr. Lloyd George's replies to the chairman of the representative meeting of the medical profession, he contemplates extending medical benefits to cases of venereal disease. Are we to have scientific measures of prevention applied here, or is this class of diseases and their infectivity also to be 'conscientiously' ignored?

The experience of the German State Insurance Department in regard to tuberculosis is one of the most instructive lessons given to civilisation on the subject of prevention of disease by any Government.

A study of the claims made on the Department for sickness and invalidity soon convinced the administrators of the funds that tuberculosis was the most formidable foe they had to grapple with. They therefore determined to devote a substantial portion of their funds to the treatment and prevention of the various forms of this disease, more particularly to that terrible form of it which seizes upon the breadwinner when the young family is most dependent on him, which cuts men and women off in the flower of their lives—that great white plague, pulmonary phthisis or consumption. That this policy was so practically and so readily adopted by the administrators of the funds, comprising as they do all classes of the community, was largely due to the fact that the discovery of the true nature of this terrible malady was the work of an illustrious German bacteriologist, Professor Koch of Berlin.

Although in Florence and other Italian cities, so far back as the Middle Ages, the infectivity of phthisis was recognised and even legislated against, the nature of that infectivity was for the first time clearly discovered, demonstrated, and disclosed by Koch.

But even in Germany the lesson taught by Koch was only partly learnt. I had the privilege of collaborating with him in the compilation of a small book, in the later years of his life, and on the last occasion of seeing him he impressed upon me with great earnestness his firm conviction that the most urgent measure in the small home surrounded by the family.
extent in Germany or any other country.

Discussing with him the main source of infection in this disease, he assured me that a life's study had convinced him of the fact that the chief cause of its continued, although gradually diminishing spread, was the advanced case of consumption dying in the small home surrounded by the family.

Sanatoria receive the early cases and in many instances effect a cure. All this is to the good. But as a means of prevention, the cases most urgently requiring attention and supervision are those often regarded as too far advanced for sanatoria, and too often left to die in the confined atmosphere and narrow surroundings of the small tenement.

It is true that in Germany some few institutions called 'Friedenheimen' have been started for these advanced cases, but naturally there is a reluctance to send a friend or relative to a home for the dying. It is too much like passing a death sentence. But in the interests of public health this problem has to be faced. And if Great Britain is really going to address herself to this and other public health problems in a scientific and patriotic spirit, with all the power that the State can put into them, then assuredly provision must be made to deal with phthisis in its last as well as its earlier stages. And, with some practical experience of the problem, I believe that the best course to pursue will be to arrange that in all the new State sanatoria which are to be provided in the future some portion of the institution shall be specially reserved for advanced cases, and that we may hear no more of cases being too advanced for sanatoria; but on the contrary let it be recognised that the more advanced the state of the malady the more necessary is it that the sufferer should be removed to a sanatorium. The visits of friends can here be made under conditions of safety, whereas to have the family close around the dying patient in the narrow home is merely sowing the seeds of further disaster.

There is another public health problem looming large in the future of all civilised States which have abandoned blind adherence to the doctrine of *laissez faire*, a problem which has already been made a subject of drastic legislation in some of the States of America. It is that of the rapid growth in population of the physically and mentally unfit, and the relatively slow increase in that of the fit. Is the unlimited production of the former henceforth to go forward backed by a State guarantee, or will the breed of men receive at least a measure of that consideration which is bestowed upon horses and pigs?

Among all the many classes who will be affected pecuniarily by the National Insurance Bill in the future there is none to whom the effects may be more momentous than to that of the medical profession. Club practice has never been regarded as either a lucrative or an altogether satisfactory form of practice from a medical point of view, and it was scarcely fair on the part of Mr. Lloyd George to consider existing arrangements between certain sick benefit clubs—arrangements made to meet the needs of some of the poorest of the people—as any sort of a basis on which to frame national contracts dealing with medical attendance on

nearly half the population. Conferences held since the Bill was introduced have to some extent modified the original proposals, and it is essential that much fairer terms than those originally contemplated should be arrived at. Without discussing certain details of the scheme, such as the obvious necessity for free choice of doctors and a control not vested in the hands of the friendly societies, details on which negotiations are proceeding, it may be as well to point out one or two broader aspects of this question which the nation cannot afford to lose sight of.

The last thing desirable in the public interest is any measure calculated to lower the status of the doctor, and eventually to bring into the profession a class of men of relatively inferior capacity. The medical curriculum required for any British qualification to-day involves a course of five years' study as a minimum, and this course is often extended to six or seven years. Of those who enter upon the course less than half succeed in obtaining the full qualifications. It is therefore obvious that unless the prospect of remuneration be a fair and reasonable one, at least as good as it has been hitherto, the requisite supply of adequately qualified men will not be forthcoming, and both public and individual health will suffer in consequence.

In the House of Commons it was made clear during the debate, from both sides and all parties, that the claims of the medical profession to adequate remuneration under equitable and tolerable conditions as to control would be pressed for by a large section of the House. If therefore the profession are united in insisting upon their legitimate claims, they should be able to bring the negotiations between themselves and the Government to a satisfactory settlement.

Having thus reviewed some of the medical and public health aspects of the two schemes of State insurance, it is necessary to turn once more to the wider economic and national issues involved in the inception and development of the two schemes if a clear apprehension of their essence as well as their accidents is to be obtained.

During the interesting debate on the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons at least two of the speakers, Mr. Booth on the Liberal side and Mr. Bonar-Law on that of the Opposition, referred to the close association of State insurance in Germany with the policy of protection of home industries. Mr. Booth went the length of saying that the German insurance scheme was 'founded upon protection of industry.' The statement was received with appropriate pious horror, and expressions of pained dissent, from those immediately around him—who nevertheless moved uneasily in their seats—but it has the advantage of being

historically perfectly accurate. The facts are of such profound significance that they may well be recapitulated here.

In the middle of the last century, largely due to the influence of the cosmopolitan economic doctrines of Cobden and the actual policy of free imports then adopted in England, a revision of the German tariff in the direction of free imports was made. And between the years 1865 and 1877 a series of measures of this character was passed.

In 1878 the Free Economic Union, a powerful tariff reform league in Germany, agitated for tariffs protecting industry within the Empire, on the ground that hostile tariffs and competing imports were causing the greatest depression both in trade and agriculture. In 1879 Bismarck avowed his intention to change his policy, and said: 'I am willing to confess my past errors.' . . . 'I regard it as my duty to adopt measures to preserve the German market to national production so far as is consistent with the general interest, and our Customs legislation will accordingly revert to the tried principles upon which the prosperous career of the Zollverein rested for nearly half a century, but which have in important particulars been deserted in our mercantile policy since 1865.'

In the same year, 1879, the Reichstag adopted a strong protective tariff. From that date onwards the tariffs have been readjusted from time to time, but their protectionist character has been scientifically differentiated and accentuated rather than relaxed. In 1881 the two great ports of Hamburg and Bremen were brought into the Zollverein, which was thus made universal within the Empire and complete.

This may be regarded as the consummation of the economic policy taught by List, the author of the classic work on a *National System of Political Economy*—written largely in reply to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. This economic policy, which has served as a great instrument for promoting both federation and home industry in the United States and the German Empire, consisted in establishing free trade between the various States, and surrounding the federated States of both countries with protective tariffs against foreign competition.

It is the same policy, in so far as it is applicable—that is, to the extent of freer trade within the Empire and tariffs against foreign competition—which has been advocated by tariff reformers for the British Empire at the present time.

In what way then may it be said that the State insurance scheme of Germany was 'based upon protection of industry'? The answer is simple. The year that saw the completion of the Zollverein policy saw also the foundation of State insurance. It was in 1881 that the one was practically finished and the other

began. They were supplementary the one to the other. They were both introduced by Bismarck and undoubtedly were regarded by him and all classes in Germany as intimately related and interwoven. The one measure provides for the protection and conditioning of labour, the other for the protection of the products of labour. It was the security of the home market for German industry that reconciled the employer and the whole of Germany to the insurance of German workers. What has been the result? Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues must continue their study of German national organisation. They have still much to learn. Their spasmodic piecemeal way of adopting now this fragment of German policy, and now that, is neither statesmanlike nor economically sound.

When in 1879 Bismarck and his colleagues decided to abandon the doctrinaire theories of the *laissez faire* school, they did not proceed in the halting, timid manner of the present British Government. To-day, a Merchant Shipping Act for the protection of British shipowners against unfair competition; to-morrow, a Reciprocity treaty relating to British Art and American Samples—to be followed by protection of British industry in foreign patents; and lastly by the Insurance Bill for the protection of British workers. The Germans addressed themselves to the broad question of the State's attitude towards German industry, and the workers in that industry as a whole; they recognised the close interdependence of the one upon the other. And they discovered no 'magic,' which would enable them as statesmen to abandon entirely the Cobdenite doctrine of *laissez faire* in regard to the workers in industry, and at the same time remain blind adherents of that doctrine in regard to industry itself.

Whatever was done, was done, not in deference to any shibboleth or to any body of mazy abstractions, but on a cool, clear calculation of the probable results and their ultimate national value.

What have been the results?

Judged by any reasonable standard, Germany has advanced since 1881, the date of the completion of the Zollverein policy and the introduction of State insurance, more rapidly and more materially than any other great country except the United States. Her production of steel at the beginning of the period was less than half that produced in the United Kingdom; to-day it is nearly double the amount. In many other manufactures her progress has been equally phenomenal.

The German birth rate is higher than ours; her emigration rate, which at the beginning of the period was higher, has dwindled to insignificant proportions, being less than a tenth of the relative proportion leaving our shores. Meantime our emigra-

tion, including that of some of the best of our people, continues to grow, until even Mr. John Burns—that staunch pillar of Free Trade—who estimates that the number of emigrants from these shores may reach 300,000 this year, feels constrained to express the hope that we shall not 'empty the tank.' Yet in spite of the relative position of the two important factors, birth rate and emigration, in the two countries, to the problem of employment, what are the facts of the case?

Has the lower birth rate and higher emigration rate in the United Kingdom been sufficient to guarantee a higher rate of demand for labour? On the contrary, from all sources of information available there seems no reasonable doubt that unemployment has been far more prevalent during the last decade with us than in Germany. In the face of these facts, more especially as the State is now asked to take unemployment as well as sickness under its wing, we are entitled to ask what guarantee of the adequate demand for labour have we in the future?

Unless this problem be faced and solved, the essential complement to national insurance will be wanting.

ALFRED P. HILLIER.

THE EAST, THE WEST, AND HUMAN PROGRESS

I.

Even people who have given little thought to a Philosophy of History are attracted by those large generalisations that promise to bring some consistency and meaning into the strange multifarious drama unrolling itself upon this planet since the creature known to naturalists as *Homo Sapiens* became a fact of the universe. There are few men but in a dim way and at odd moments are curious to understand something of the vaster forces and currents on which they find themselves carried, and all the men of their generation carried, into unknown gulfs of time. Behind the individual lives which flicker and vanish, there seem to be greater permanent entities engaged in secular conflict—races, types, ideas through all the pains and passions of men, working out their transcendent destinies. That is one of the reasons why such phrases as that which sets the East against the West, or Asia against Europe, have such enormous popular appeal. They have but to be uttered, and immediately the modern Englishman, involved in such problematic relations to-day with the peoples of Asia, feels himself the representative of an eternal principle. Yes, he sees it all. Behind him and all other Englishmen there is a great Something, an abiding character, something which he calls the 'West'; behind all that congeries of alien peoples there is another great Something, the 'East.' These two have been enacting their mutual *rôles* all through the ages. The present situation between them is merely a moment in that unending interplay.

The instinct which makes us desire such large generalisations, key-words to bring light and order into the bewildering complexity of the world, is no doubt a sound one. That the desire satisfies itself in an extraordinarily haphazard and undiscriminating fashion is, unfortunately, also true. About 'the East' and 'the West,' for instance, one must recognise that a dreadful amount of nonsense has been talked and written. You may make almost any statement you like about the 'Oriental mind,' and be sure of producing your effect. It is all the more refreshing to find the subject of 'European dominion in Asia' treated with such sobriety, such an independent handling of the facts, such freedom

from popular catchwords, as is shown by a writer in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*. In matters where so much is speculative and obscure, one must have a sense of diffidence in criticising anyone so obviously well equipped for forming a judgment. And yet, since the writer refers in the course of his article to certain views advanced in a book of mine, it may be permitted me perhaps to deal a little more fully with some points in which the issues seem to be confused. This will not, I hope, be taken as a wish to minimise the profit which I have derived from the article.

To begin with, it has always appeared to me an unfortunate usage which describes the contrast before us by points of the compass, as East and West, or by continents, as Asia and Europe. It is true, of course, that the type of civilisation which is denoted by the term 'Western' or 'European' *is* characteristic of Europe *to-day*, and that the Asiatic peoples, except in so far as they have assimilated elements from the West, agree in the negative quality of not possessing the peculiar marks of our modern civilisation. That is undeniable. Why the terms appear to me unfortunate and misleading is that the contrast we see to-day is not merely between peoples of different blood and habitation but between peoples at different stages of development. Qualities which are ascribed with an unreflecting readiness to the 'Oriental' often turn out on inspection to be not in the least peculiar to the East, but qualities universal among peoples at a more primitive stage. Many of them might have been discovered just as much in medieval Europe. The Crusaders would find it much easier to enter into the feelings of many Oriental peoples to-day than into those of their own descendants in France or Germany. The West for a great part of its history has not been 'Western.' On the other hand, the differences between Oriental peoples themselves are so great as to make the 'East' a generalisation too wide and vague to be of real service. One has only to mark the result when popular writers set out with it—the marvellous statements that are soon being confidently given forth as to the 'Oriental mind.' A *reductio ad absurdum* of that sort of thing may be seen in the lamentable book published some years ago by Mr. Meredith Townsend.

What is meant by 'Western civilisation' is, in fact, the product of a peculiar development which has taken place in the European branch of the human family during the last four or five centuries—a brief span of time enough compared with the four or five millenniums which separate us from the builders of the Pyramids, or the unnumbered millenniums which separate us from paleolithic man. This civilisation, it is true, has had its antecedents in the West; it resumes a development which took place about the shores of the Mediterranean from some 2600 to some 1600 years ago.

it is strictly continuous with the classical civilisation of Greece and Rome—in a real sense its child. We may therefore fairly regard the Hellenistic and Roman dominion in the East as the working of the same principle which is embodied in our dominion upon a somewhat similar field.' We may with Lord Cromer and the *Edinburgh* reviewer look upon those earlier ventures as experiments which may throw some light upon our own. There is justification for classing the three experiments, the Hellenistic (Macedonian), the Roman, the modern, together as a consecutive story of 'European rule.' If, indeed, we could ensure that 'European' would always be taken as the *Edinburgh* reviewer takes it, in a sense restricting it to the Europe of classical times and Europe since the Renaissance, there would be no harm in using it as the distinctive way of describing our civilisation. Unfortunately, in popular use it is almost certain to carry with it the implication that this civilisation is a permanent, inalienable characteristic of the races who live between certain longitudes.

We want some convenient way of describing it; for while the 'East' stands for an indefinite medley of varying traditions, the modern civilisation of Europe is certainly a unity. To call it 'modern' simply would emphasise its recent origin, its difference from the older, more stationary societies of Asia, but would hardly fix its character with any particularity. We might call it Hellenistic, if we gave a sufficiently large meaning to that word. For if the ancient classical culture and European culture since the Renaissance are phases in the manifestation of a single principle, we want some name which will include them both, and yet not, like 'European,' have too wide a denotation. Perhaps the best way would be to speak of this type of culture as Rationalistic Civilisation. That would describe it by an essential characteristic of its vital principle, and beg no questions as to its being confined to this or that set of people or quarter of the globe. What in the last resort gave its peculiar note to Hellenism as against all that existed outside of it? Surely just in the singular development of those mental faculties, which we associate with rationalism, the critical intellect, the bent to submit traditions and beliefs to logical examination, the desire to get the values of things in their real proportions. It was because the Greeks could stand off from established custom, and ask the reason Why, that they could make political progress; because they could feel the inadequacy [illegible] ancestral mythology and ask what the world was really made of that they could lay the foundations of rational science. It was fundamentally the same mental quality which kept their Art for all its idealism so sane, so closely in touch with Nature, which eliminated instinctively the disproportionate, the monstrous. The answers which the old Greeks worked out to their question

[illegible] up to-day; the important thing is that they began [illegible] questions in this way at all. If our thoughts have [illegible] further, it was they who began the train of thought. All the development of knowledge, of command over the forces of Nature, of purposeful order, which is meant by the term 'Western Civilisation' to-day, has had for its moving principle a rationalism whose origin is to be found in the Greek city-states.

On the other hand, I do not think that we need any one term for covering what is understood by the 'East.' It is just the classing of this heterogeneous mass together which has led to all the muddle. The question 'What has been, or will be, the effect of Rationalistic Civilisation upon the East?' is really a confused one, and could be replaced advantageously by questions which have some meaning, 'What will be the effect of Rationalistic Civilisation upon India? upon Japan? upon China? upon Persia? upon the Turks?' Of course, it is easy to see how the Western man comes to class all these people together. It is some shock, I suppose, to the more ingenuous traveller from the West to find standards of value or conceptions which are a part of his inheritance not acknowledged by, let us say, the Turks. If he continues his travels to Persia, the shock is repeated. Let him go on to India; the same thing here! The same thing in China! in Japan! The negative agreement among all these peoples in rejecting what are special characteristics of the West staggers him so that he hardly notices all their positive differences. Out of this negative agreement he creates the imaginary 'Oriental.' It does not occur to him to ask whether he would not experience a similar shock, if he travelled back in time, among the people of his own land. Or in many cases he may not even superficially become acquainted with more than one corner of Asia. Then his 'Oriental' tends to be the inhabitant of that corner generalised and extended over the Continent. A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for October 1910 states, on the authority of Max Müller, that 'the sentiment of love for Nature and the feeling for natural beauty have in India no existence.' And he goes on to say: 'The slight knowledge of such matters which three years passed among the Tamil coolies and Cingalese villagers of Ceylon may be expected to confer would certainly incline the present writer to the same conclusion. None of the common daily signs, as the flowers of a cottage garden, or plants even in slum windows, which testify in the West to the inarticulate deep feeling for Nature which prevails, belong to the life of India. We never saw a native evince the slightest sign of a recognition of natural beauty, and even the instinctive delight of children which we associate with posies and daisy chains seems to form no part of the experience of an Indian childhood.' 'All matter,' he says above, 'the outer semblances of Nature equally

with the form of man, is in Eastern thought a delusion. ... this idea of whispers of the infinite conveyed by ... and mists is Western not Eastern.' Here is just an ... how the unfortunate dragging in of 'East' and 'West' ... observations which in reference to their own limited sph... be shrewd and interesting. Granting that sensibility to th... of flowers and mountains and mists is a quality not ... developed among Tamil coolies, or even the Indians as a ... (as to whether Max Müller's dictum is just I have no indepe... knowledge), why call this characteristic 'Eastern'? One has but to look a little further East, to Japan, to see a people whose passion for natural beauty, for flowers and mountains and mists, makes the ordinary European feeling for such things seem cold. Probably many observers, for whom 'the East' means Japan, would tell you that a deep feeling for the significance of natural beauty was just one of the characteristics which distinguished 'the Oriental' from his prosaic brother of the West.

Having created his generalised 'Oriental,' the popular theory goes on to declare that between 'East' and 'West' there is a great gulf fixed, an eternal distinction. The *Edinburgh* reviewer censures me for rejecting this as an easy commonplace. 'The distinction,' he says, 'is real, inveterate, and goes very deep.'

Here again, it seems to me we touch a confusion which sets discussion in this field at cross purposes. There will always be a *difference*, mental as well as physical, between the natives of England and the natives of India, for example. No sane person would wish to deny that. But the popular theory asserts a great deal more: it asserts that the 'West' can have no real or permanent influence upon the 'East.' That is the assertion I meant to traverse. When we say that one person has 'influence' upon another, or one people upon another, we mean simply that in some respect the subsequent life of the person or people influenced is different from what it would otherwise have been, different in the way of being more or less assimilated to the other personality or the other national type. We do not mean that all distinction between the two persons or peoples is obliterated. If I observed, for instance, that Mr. Chesterton had been 'influenced' by Robert Browning, I should not mean that, if Mr. Chesterton came into the room, you could defy me to tell whether it was Mr. Chesterton or Browning come to life again. Yet one has but to assert that the civilisation of England is influencing an Eastern people, and some one will jump up to refute you by pointing out that this or that original point of difference between the two peoples subsists still. 'So much for your boasted influence!' It seems as if there were some general inability in the popular mind to conceive anything between the two extremes. It must be all

[illegible] Either the influence of our civilisation must be nil, [illegible] efface every vestige of distinction; either it must make [illegible] exact duplicate of England, or our government must be [illegible]ry phantom which will vanish and leave not a trace [illegible]

[illegible]ld the latter view is apparently felt by many people to be [illegible] of superior penetration, or of exaltation above the crude [illegible] of the multitude, of a sad, far-seeing wisdom. If you [illegible]ion it you are credited with a naïve belief in the other alternative, a belief that India is being transformed, or is practically transformed, into a country indistinguishable from Europe. The grounds on which the negative view is held are either (1) historical, the alleged fact that the Greek and Roman influence upon the East was evanescent, or (2) the experience of modern observers, which is supposed to show that all Western influence to-day is skin-deep. To deal first with the historical argument, it seems at first sight plain enough. Asia Minor and Syria were once upon a time under Hellenistic rule (Macedonian and Roman—Rome in the East acted as a Hellenising, rather than as a Latinising, power); to-day Asia Minor and Syria are Mohammedan and beyond the pale of Western culture. There you are. Q.E.D. Unfortunately, this argument loses somewhat in cogency if the facts are looked into more precisely. Supposing the peoples of Asia Minor and Syria had been left after some centuries of Hellenistic rule to take their own way, and had then reverted to earlier types, rejecting the alien plant of Hellenism—then, I admit, we should have some reason for saying that the experiment had tended to show an incompatibility of Hellenistic culture with that particular Asiatic soil. But this is not what happened. The peoples of Anatolia and Syria were not left to take their own way. They were conquered and overrun by other peoples coming in from regions almost untouched by Hellenistic influence. If my garden has been swept by a flood and the plants I was trying to rear destroyed, it would hardly be fair to argue from their disappearance a native unfriendliness of the soil. But the noteworthy thing in this case is that Hellenism was not destroyed. 'When, after several centuries,' says the *Edinburgh* reviewer, 'the Byzantine power in the East was overthrown by the Mohammedan conquests, it was succeeded by a government which despised and rejected the sciences, philosophies, and letters of the West.'

Now as to this statement, I can only say that it seems to me diametrically opposed to the facts of history. Probably the story (long recognised as mythical) of the burning of the Alexandrian library by Caliph Omar has caused the popular imagination to conceive of the Mohammedan conquerors as uncompromising enemies of Hellenistic culture. The original Arab followers of

the Prophet did no doubt stand outside its sphere of [illegible] less than the Goths and Franks who came down upon the [illegible]ranean lands from the North. But just as the Northern barbarians, when they had once settled upon the lands of the old civilisation, began to absorb elements (scanty enough for many centuries) of the classical tradition, so the Mohammedans, when they had created great settled kingdoms upon the old territory of the Greco-Roman Empire, began to absorb the rationalistic lore of the conquered. A great amount of the Greek learning was still current, and current largely throughout the Syriac-speaking provinces in native versions, when the Mohammedan conquerors entered into possession, and through the medium of Syriac all this passed as a substantial constituent into the new Arabic culture. This is not an obscure conjecture. It is an acknowledged fact standing out clearly in the history of Arabic literature.[1] The Mohammedan civilisation of the Middle Ages knew a science of grammar; it was based openly upon the logic of Aristotle. There is no question as to the Hellenistic origin of Arabic geography, Arabic geometry, Arabic astronomy, Arabic medicine. One would think that when we got to Mohammedan mysticism, to the religious philosophy of the Sufis, we ought, according to the popular theory, to have something purely 'Oriental.' Unfortunately, the European scholars seem agreed in finding here a strong trace of Neo-Platonic influence. It is fair to say that modern Mohammedan scholars claim an independent origin for Sufism. For our purposes we need not trouble about the settlement of this controversy: the fact that the question can be raised at all proves so striking an affinity between Sufism and Neo-Platonism as to show the futility of the popular theory which draws a hard-and-fast line between 'Oriental Mysticism' and 'Western Materialism.' So far, then, from its being true that Hellenism was a plant which could only flourish among natives of Europe, there was a time when Aristotle, returning to the world, would have found his name more honoured and his thought better understood in Bagdad and Samarkand than in Athens and Rome.

I know what is answered: 'Look at Bagdad and Samarkand to-day; where is their Hellenism now?' Well, it is not anything very imposing, one must admit. So far, indeed, as the tradition of Mohammedan learning is still cultivated there, something of what was learnt in the great days of Islam survives. When the native Persian doctor appeals to the authority of Pocrat, the European traveller may not detect any Western influence, but Pocrat is the old Greek Hippocrates for all that. Yet what survival of Hellenism is, there is no denying, a very starved and

[1] One may consult the standard histories, Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* or Professor Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*.

A RELIGIOUS FAIR IN INDIA

Far back in the Himalayas—in Himachul, land of the Eternal Snows and home of the Great Gods—there trickle from the feet of glaciers little rivulets which, coalescing, form larger streams, and these in their course southwards and downwards are fed by tributaries and become the Alekananda, Mandakini, and Bhagirathi. Increasing in volume and strength and tearing through defile and valley in their rapid descent, they presently unite and run on together as the mighty Ganges—sacred to millions of men as flowing from the foot of Vishnu 'like the slender thread of a lotus flower.' Debouching from the hills into the plains, she reaches the sacred centre of pilgrimage—Hardwar, the gateway of Hari or Vishnu—and is immediately seized upon by sacrilegious engineers, who steal away nearly all her substance to feed canals, and send her on, a sadly diminished stream, to recover herself, however, in size and power, and with undiminished sanctity, until she joins the Jumna and the invisible river Sarasvati at Pryag (Allahabad) and hurries on to wash the steps of the temples at holy Kashi (Benares) and to cleanse away the sins of countless worshippers on her hallowed course to the sea.

Hardwar, to visit which is the cherished desire of all good Hindus, is situated at the end of a long, elevated valley, the lovely district of the Dun, enclosed by an outer range of mountains, the Siwaliks, and the lower slopes of the Himalayas. Immediately behind the little settlement itself are low hills, while in front flows the deep and rapid river, sparkling and bright as it came from its distant source. The portion of the town which lies along the bank of this consists entirely of stone shrines and temples, the stately residences of great Hindu chiefs, and *dharmsalas*, or rest-houses, the headquarters of the various mendicant religious sects. About half-way along the river front is the bathing-place, the sacred pool called Hari-ki-pairi in reference to the origin of the stream from the foot of Vishnu. This is the goal of the pilgrims who come in their hundreds of thousands from all parts of India every year to be cleansed from sin and all impurities, and here it is that when life is past the Hindu would

have his ashes left after being gathered from the funeral pyre. There is a subtle charm about the spot, quite apart from its religious associations, which appeals to the most Philistine mind: Nature smiles in her solemn grandeur—a fitting place for the worship of the Preserver.

From the northern bank of the river stretches for many miles an unbroken forest of tall umbrageous trees to where the foot-hills, also heavily wooded, extend in long spurs into the plains, divided by deep valleys passing up into the Himalayas above, and forming the channels through which the mountain streams and torrents find their way to join the larger rivers below. The whole of this tract is but sparsely inhabited, for the climate for part of the year is deadly, and little agriculture is possible. Small clearings are met with here and there where the half-wild people raise their scanty crops, and across these are often stretched long ropes connected with bells which ring when pillaging animals visit the fields and come into contact with the entanglements. The great forests are full of game large and small, from the wild elephant, tiger, or bear, down to the little four-horned deer, the wild pig, and jungle-fowl. Boa-constrictors are occasionally seen, and the deadly and aggressive hamadryad (*Ophiophagus elaps*), which is an extremely rare snake in this part of India, has been shot here. The view from Hardwar looking north is, indeed, superb. In the foreground is the bright and rapid river, then come the dense and sombre forests, gradually coalescing and becoming continuous with the belt of tall conifers clothing the Himalayan slopes, while beyond the summits of the great hills above rise the shining peaks of the Snowy Range.

About a mile below Hardwar is the picturesque little town of Kankhal—now, alas! sadly marred in its beauty by the erosive action of the river—where there are other large and imposing *dharmsalas*; and to the west again is Bhimgoda, a sacred shrine and pool, the washing in which should be included in the programme of all orthodox pilgrims—especially women.

The town itself, apart from its strangely beautiful situation and its long façade of stately buildings on the river bank, presents few objects of interest, and, with the exception of certain shrines and rest-houses, consists mostly of shops for the supply of food, cooking vessels, cloths, rosaries, etc., and of the lodging-houses for the accommodation of pilgrims. It possesses railway and police stations, a little hospital, and bungalows for district officials, canal engineers, and visitors. Of course, the great centre is the sacred pool. Formerly a dirty collection of water, more or less circulating in a recess scooped out of the bank by the action of the river, and approached by steep and narrow stone stairs upon which numbers of people were frequently

crushed to death, it is now, by the assistance of Government, converted into a broad pool through which the pure water of the stream is led in a constantly changing current, to which access is obtained by a high broad flight of shallow stone steps, and from whence an exit has been formed by the construction of a wide paved platform along the bank between the river and the houses. Standing near the centre of the water is a little stone shrine upon which the engineers have affixed a board marked with numerals to indicate the height of the river, and which is frequently made obeisance to by the simple villagers under the impression that it is one of the numerous objects of veneration with which the locality abounds. A light iron bridge thrown across the front of the pool safeguards the bathers from being swept into mid-stream, and is utilised for controlling purposes by officials. The water swarms with great *mahseer*—the 'Indian salmon,' so called from its game characteristics, but really a hill carp, the *Barbus Tor*—which are regularly fed by the pilgrims to the spot. Custom has made them quite fearless, and they take absolutely no notice of the bathers, pushing their way through them with perfect equanimity. A handful of grain thrown into the water will bring them together in an almost solid mass, all tumbling over one another, and among them are many of huge size. At Muttra, another very sacred bathing-place, water tortoises (*Trionyx*) are similarly fed by devotees.

The little town is in a constant state of bustle. Crowds of monkeys infest the neighbourhood, sacred bulls wander about the thoroughfares, temple bells are constantly ringing, a steady flow of dripping bathers is hurrying along, faquirs squat under great mat umbrellas by the roadside, and various monstrosities, such as cows with superfluous legs hanging from their backs or necks, are exhibited by their owners for alms or gifts, in the streets and thoroughfares all round. On the outskirts are various minor but holy shrines, while scattered about the site itself, and notably in the vicinity of one temple and bathing-place, are little, unpretending monuments in masonry. They bear no names and are all now of considerable age, for they were erected in past times in honour of widows who had performed *suttee*. The rite had not actually been carried out here, but the ashes of the victim had been brought and bestowed in the sacred river and the little structure raised to her memory. They are very numerous, and it is impossible to view them, with a recognition of their import, without reflecting upon the awful tragedies to which they bear silent witness. Rough slabs of stone, upon which a rude figure of a woman is depicted, are not infrequently to be seen in out-of-the-way parts of India, and these probably usually denote the actual sites where the

immolations took place. The practice of *suttee* was abolished by Government in 1829. The Abbé Dubois, writing in 1816, has given us a graphic and distressing description of one of these gruesome ceremonies.

By day and night the pool itself is thronged with bathers, worshipping according to an established ritual, while the edges are crowded with the Brahman 'pandas,' who minister to their religious wants, impart information regarding births, deaths, marriages, descents, relationships, and other family details, carefully recorded in quaint long books written in the vernacular; or carry out the ceremonies attendant on the dispersal of the ashes of those of the family who have died during the past year. If one looks through the clear water to the bottom of the pool, one may see there a snow-white deposit, consisting of the calcined bones of generations of Hindus, which have been brought here in little cloth bags by the relatives—often from many hundreds of miles away.

All castes and conditions of Hindu men and women are here; the stately Brahman, absorbed and abstracted in the performance of his devotions; the lusty youths and their young wives, full of life and gaiety; the middle-aged matron with her children, shrieking half in fear and half in pleasure as they are plunged under the water; tottering old folk led by their relations; the local priest tendering assistance and soliciting alms and benefactions; faquirs and religious ascetics and mendicants, some in saffron robes and others literally in dust and ashes, some emaciated to an extraordinary degree and others remarkably fat and sleek; and certain unconcerned-looking individuals, with wicker plates in their hands, apparently scratching the bottom of the pool with their feet. These last are feeling with their toes, which use has made almost like fingers, for articles of jewellery, rupees, etc., which votaries have dropped into the pool as offerings to the gods, and which, when fished up, will be placed in the platters they hold in their hands—a proceeding which, curiously enough, appears to excite no feeling of disapproval among the people. Here are the manly Sikhs and Jats, with their splendid physique, the Hindu residents of the Punjab, the sturdy Rajput from Central India, the Mahrattas and inhabitants of the Deccan, whose forefathers collected *chouth* (one quarter of the revenue) with some rudeness from the ancestors of certain modern Indian politicians, the Hill-men, the portly and sleek Bengali, and the general population from the Upper Provinces, Rohilkhand and Oudh. They are all more or less worshippers of the Hindu Triad, the Trimurti,—Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva: the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer—and you may know the followers of the second by the mark of a trident, and those of Shiva by the horizontal line, on their foreheads.

When Brahma the Creator resolved to create the world he assumed the visible form of Vishnu. At this time the whole earth was covered with water, on which Vishnu floated sleeping on a bed which rested on a serpent. From his body sprang a lotus, from which issued Brahma, who created the great island continents. The god Vishnu is the type of all that is best in Hinduism, and his worshippers number amongst them most of those who strive to throw off all the impurities and extravagances which have crept into the faith. Shiva, the Mahadeo or God Omnipotent, is, as Mr. Sherring in his *Western Thibet* truly says, a grim god, with whose worship and that of his consort Kali is associated most of what is cruel, brutal, or obscene. Brahma has comparatively few votaries, for, having created the world and stocked it, he is considered to take little concern with the management of it; he is too remote and abstract an influence for popular worship. It is Vishnu who constantly reappears on earth—either in human or animal shape—interposing decisively at some great emergency. The belief in these Avatars, descents or reappearances of Vishnu, constitutes one of the most essential and effective doctrines of Hinduism, and it is thus that most of the famous saints, heroes, and demi-gods of romance are recognised as having been the sensible manifestations of the Preserver. Shiva, or Siva, represents, as Sir Alfred Lyall says, the impression of endless and pitiless change. 'He is the destroyer and rebuilder of various forms of life, he has charge of the whole circle of animated creation, the incessant round of birth and death in which all nature eternally revolves.'

But whatever may be their particular religious predilections, all orthodox Hindus recognise certain books as of divine authority, especially the Vedas, the Institutes of Menu, and the Paranas. The first are of great antiquity, written in a very old form of Sanskrit, and deal with religion and philosophy. They are attributed to the inspired Vyasa and other *rishis* or patriarchal sages, 'the mind-born sons of Brahma,' and date from about 1500 B.C. The Vedas proper are four in number, of which the Rig-Veda is the most important and bears internal evidence of being the original. It is the great fount from which is derived the knowledge of the old and most genuine forms of the institutions, religious and civil, of the Hindus, and is probably the oldest surviving record in the world. The doctrines inculcated in these books much resemble those taught in Babylon, what Humboldt found in Mexico, and what the Saxons brought to England. The five great cardinal duties enjoined to be performed daily are: studying the Veda; making oblations to the Manes; to fire in honour of the deities; giving rice to human creatures; and receiving guests with honour. The principle of caste is insisted on.

The four original castes were: the Brahmans, who were not necessarily priests, though all priests must be Brahmans; sickness being the result of sin, they were necessarily the only physicians. The second was the Kshatriyas, or military caste. The third was the Vaisiyas, or merchant caste, which also practised husbandry. And last of all came the Sudras, stamped socially and morally as degraded beings; the penalty for killing a Sudra was the same as that for killing a dog; he never could be invested with the sacred cord and become a 'twice-born' man. This idea of regeneration—and, indeed, a good deal of Hindu polytheism generally—points almost certainly to a Chaldean origin.

Nowadays among the members of the lowest caste a good many gradations are recognised. Caste, indeed, generally has been much weakened by the greater extent and variety of occupations introduced of late years. Brahmans may be seen earning their livelihood in many ways (though retaining their privileges practically intact), and low-caste people have immensely benefited socially by the opening up of fresh fields of labour and enterprise. The day is possibly not far distant when the difficulty of obtaining men to carry on the most menial and lowest offices will become a very real and serious one.

Our knowledge of the Vedas is largely derived from the 'Institutes of Menu,' reputed to have been compiled somewhere about the twelfth century before Christ. Menu, the reputed son or grandson of Brahma, to whom the latter made his revelation, is considered by many to correspond with Adam, and is claimed by Hindus as their patriarchal ruler and legislator, the primeval sage and progenitor of mankind. The sage Vrihaspeti says in his law tract: 'Menu held the first rank among legislators because he had expressed in his code the whole sense of the Veda; that is, no code was approved which contradicted him; that the Shastras (annotations on sacred works) retain splendour only so long as Menu, who taught the way to just wealth, to virtue, and to final happiness, was not seen in competition with them.'

Much change took place before the appearance of the Paranas, eighteen in number, the sacred books believed by many to have been written by the authors of the Vedas; but evidence seems to show that they were compiled at various and comparatively recent periods, and probably none are more than a thousand years old. They record the achievements of gods and heroes and repeat much of what is contained in the great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. Space does not permit of a lengthy reference to these last-named works, but it is certain that some acquaintance with them is necessary to enable the dweller or traveller in India to understand the sentiments of the people towards their most popular deities.

The *Mahabharata* is the history of 'the Great War' (*Maha Bharat*) between two branches of a reigning dynasty in the misty past which derived its lineage from the moon. The drama opens with the appearance of Pandu and Dhritarashtra, who are contending for the possession of Hastinapura, a territory to the north-east of Delhi, which still retains the ancient designation. The family of Pandu consists of five sons, Yudishthira, Bhima, and Arjuna by one wife, Pritha; and Nakula and Sahadeva by another, Madri. Dhritarashtra has a very numerous progeny, of whom Durgodhana is the eldest of a hundred sons. An important difference between the two families is that the wives of Pandu appear to have bestowed their favours upon certain of the great gods, so that their five sons are of superhuman origin. Thus Yudishthira was the son of Dharma, the god of justice; Bhima of Vayu, the god of wind; Arjun of Indra, the god of the firmament; while Nakula and Sahadeva were twin sons of the sun. These divinities are held to correspond with Pluto, Aeolus, Jupiter, and the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) of Roman mythology.[1]

Pandu (the Pale), the elder of the two brothers, is suspected, on account of his pallor, of possessing the seeds of leprosy, which would incapacitate him from reigning, and, being voluntarily set aside, retires to a retreat in the Himalayas, where he dies. His companions then take the sons to their uncle, who receives them under his guardianship; but the action arouses the violent anger and hatred of his own sons, who endeavour to destroy their cousins by setting fire to the dwelling of Pritha and her three boys, who are all believed to have perished in the flames. Escaping, however, by a subterranean passage, they flee into the forests and assume the garb and mode of life of Brahmans. While in their retreat the sons hear of the unrivalled beauty and perfections of the daughter of Draupadi, king of the upper portion of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, who at a ceremonial rite called Swayambara is to select a husband from a congregation of suitors. The brothers, in a spirit of knight-errantry, repair to her father's court, win the fair prize, and then, their achievements and success being bruited over all the land, are sent for by Dhritarashtra their uncle, who makes them joint heirs to the sovereignty with his own sons.

We now see the young Pandava princes Yudishthira and his brethren ruling over a large tract of country, of which the capital was Indraprasthra, and a part of the royal city of Delhi still bears this name. They carry their conquests far and wide, and presently Yudishthira in his pride resolves to celebrate the Raja Suja solemnity, a sacrifice where princes officiated in the most menial posts and made presents in acknowledgment of submission. In

[1] Nolan's *British Empire in India*.

the course of these celebrations his cousins, who are present, burning with rage and enmity, entrap him into what is probably the greatest gamble on record, for he loses his palace, wealth, kingdom, wife, brothers, and eventually himself. The game played appears to have been a sort of backgammon which was called *pachessi*, and is the origin of our word 'chess.' The aged monarch Dhritarashtra intervenes in his favour, but the fates are against the gambler, and presently we see him stripped of everything and compelled by stipulation to pass, together with his brethren, twelve years in the forests, and one year incognito. This bond they faithfully adhere to, and, the twelve years being over, they take service with King Virata, rise in the monarch's favour, and, having completed the thirteenth year, disclose their identity, secure his alliance, and obtain his aid to vindicate their rights of sovereignty.

War is declared against the cousins. At this point there appears upon the scene a deified hero, Krishna, a most picturesque character, who, as a relative of Dungodhana, offers him the choice of a large army or his personal services. Dungodhana unwisely selects the former, and Krishna, in himself a host, enlists under the banner of the Pandavas, and becomes the charioteer of his friend and favourite, Arjuna. To his great prowess and wisdom are principally due the victories of his brothers in arms. The glowing descriptions of the battles and the personal feats of valour rival in vividness and variety the recitals of the *Iliad*.

Yudishthira, having vanquished all his foes and surmounted all his difficulties, becomes the victim of regret and lament for the past, and having abdicated his kingdom, sets out with his attached brothers and mother for the nursery of his race, the holy mountain Meru in the Himalayas. On the journey, the avenger of former misdeeds visits the members of the little party and each in succession drops dead by the way, until when Indra comes to convey them to Swarga, his heaven, only Yudishthira and his faithful dog, who has followed him from his capital, are left. He declines to accept Indra's favour unless his dog be also admitted. The poet follows the heroes into the realm of shades, but here we must leave them. It will strike the reader that almost every aspect of romantic fancy with which we are familiar, in classic legend and in recent times, is included in this wonderful and venerable epic. The theory of solar myths probably largely affords the explanation of this fact.

The *Ramayana*, a still older poem, relates the deeds of Rama, whose identity has been established; the great conqueror and deliverer of the world from tyrants. His life was a mixture of ascetic devotion and active warfare, and his conquests extended even to Lanka, or Ceylon. The king of that island, a ten-headed

giant called Ravana, had stolen away Sita, Rama's wife, and the story of her rescue is narrated in every Hindu household. Rama was greatly assisted in his expedition by Hanuman, the monkey god, especially in effecting the crossing from the mainland by means of a bridge formed of great boulders dropped into the sea. When the bridge was ready, so the legend runs, all creatures were warned off it; but the little grey squirrel, as impudent apparently then as he is to-day, disobeyed the command and hid in a cleft among the stones, with the result that he was branded in three lines upon his back by the foot of the god as he passed over, and his posterity carry the marks to this day. Rama's end was unhappy, for having slain his brother Luchman, the companion of his dangers and triumphs, he committed suicide from remorse. He was deified, and he and his ally Hanuman are among the most prominent gods now worshipped in India.

The most serious rival and opponent to Brahmanic cosmogony and belief was Buddhism. This religion, founded by Sakya Muni, or Gautama Buddha, as contained in the Buddhist gospel, appears to have been a protest against the priestly tyranny, ritualism, and caste privileges inculcated in these religious works, and for long the two creeds contested for supremacy; but eventually, somewhere about the twelfth century, Brahmanism triumphed and Buddhism was driven out. It is still, however, the religion of Burmah and the northern Himalayan tracts.

The origin of the Sikh religion again was also a revolt against the tyranny of priesthood, ceremonial, and caste exclusiveness, and was fostered by oppression into a great warlike movement. Baba Nanuk, the first of the Gurus, or priestly leaders, was born in the Punjab in 1409. He was a gentle, tolerant teacher, who held that a man could obtain eternal happiness without forsaking his ordinary worldly duties. He taught that there was 'but one Lord and One way,' and for him there was 'no Hindu and no Mahomedan.' He refused to don the sacrificial thread of the former, saying to the Brahman priest, 'Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, and truth its twist.' The Sikh scriptures are contained in the sacred book known as the Granth Sahib. The fifth Guru in succession was Arjan, who was done to death by the Mahomedans. Much persecution of the sect was practised, and presently the enraged people rose, and under Guru Govind Singh bitterly avenged their woes. Caste was abolished, the word 'Singh,' or lion, adopted by all, so that no man was inferior to another, and all male adults were initiated as soldiers. Every Sikh was bound to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue cloths, allow the hair and beard to grow, and never to clip or remove the hair from any part of his body, and was forbidden to smoke tobacco. Thus arose the

great nation of religious warriors, the army of the Khalsa—the 'Ironsides of India.' In 1780-1839, under Runjeet Singh, who revolted against the Afghan Amir and founded the Kingdom of the Punjab, they became an important power. They supply some of our best troops, and the Sikh regiments have glorious traditions of bravery and loyalty. Saraghari will live for ever in the records of the Indian Army.

Mr. Max Arthur Macauliffe in his work on the Sikh religion tells us that Guru Teg Bahadur, who was executed by Aurungzeb in 1675 on the false charge of gazing in the direction of the Emperor's seraglio, replied to the charge: 'Emperor Aurungzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy purdahs and destroy thine empire.' It is said by a writer of the sect that those words became the battle-cry of the Sikhs in the assault on Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson. Guru Teg Bahadur's words were prophetic, for fourteen years after his death the English determined to acquire territorial possessions in India in order to resist the oppression of the Moguls and Mahrattas. To-day the Sikhs are a quiet, orderly race, but that the old martial spirit burns as fiercely as ever below the surface has been shown in a hundred fights under the British flag. They numbered 2,195,000 at the last census.

It is a curious and interesting scene, this bathing at Hardwar, and with the clear blue sky above, the bright, swift-flowing river in the foreground, and the majestic mountains towering behind and stretching to the snows beyond, one not likely to be readily forgotten.

Although pilgrims visit Hardwar all the year round, still there are certain great festivals and days when it is particularly expedient for the orthodox believer to be here and bathe. Sometimes astrologers and Brahman sages discover conjunctions of planets which should be marked by special religious observances, and thereby bring great and unexpected worry and anxiety on the officials responsible for the proper conduct of proceedings; but usually the great day falls about the second week in April, and is determined by the phases of the moon. According to Chaucer, this was the favourite time in past days for pilgrimages in England.

> 'When that Aprille with his showres swoot
> The drought of Marche has piercèd to the root,
> And bathèd every veyn in suche licoúr,
> From which vertu engendred is the flour,
> When Zephirus eek with his swete breeth
> Enspirèd hath in every holte and heeth

> The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
> Hath in the Ram his half course ronne,
> And smale fowles maken melodie,
> That slepen al the night with open eye,
> So pricketh them nature in their corages:—
> Thanne longen folk to go on pilgrimages
> And palmers for to seeken strange strandes,
> To distant seintes, known in sondry landes.'

Once in twelve years occurs the *Kumbh*, and the occasion is particularly propitious, and so in a lesser degree is the *Adh-Kumbh*, which occurs every six years. For such a gathering very special arrangements have to be made, for suddenly from all quarters of the land some five or six hundred thousand persons will gather together and concentrate upon one small spot—the sacred Hari-ki-pairi, the bathing-pool; especially as not only is the day, but approximately the hour, fixed when it is most conducive to the soul's benefit to plunge into the water. Of course, all cannot bathe at the same moment; still, the rush at such a time is terrible, and it can easily be imagined what a risk attaches to the collection of these enormous and dissimilar concourses of men, women, and children—exhausted, excited, and mostly quite strange to the locality. The district officer, or his representative, has been days or weeks on the spot making arrangements; canal officers watch the river; engineers run up temporary pontoon bridges connecting the mainland with a long island opposite the pool, for this area will presently be black with people camping in little reed huts, and thronged with an immense crowd of the religious mendicants known as Bairagis. Then the police come in great force and erect barriers on the roads leading to the bathing place, so that the people may be marshalled in detachments to their goal, and be thereby prevented from hustling and crushing each other with serious and even fatal consequences; and railway officers come down to watch and control the traffic, and arrange for the arrival and departure of the numerous and crowded special trains.

In past times the history of the great Hardwar fairs was, to use the words of one of the writer's predecessors, 'a record of disease and death.' Not only were accidents numerous and fatal, but the awful scourge of cholera was seldom absent; for this is the season of the year for its appearance, and when the disease was once introduced it spread like a conflagration. Then the frightened people fled to their homes, carrying the seeds and scattering disease all over the land, and leaving a long trail of corpses in their tracks. In 1879 it was estimated that not less than 20,000 persons perished in this way.

Many persons visiting Hardwar travel on into the hills to visit the shrines of Badrinath and Kedarnath, and when cholera breaks

out at the fairs, there is an enormous risk of the disease being carried there. But in olden days the hill-man had his own system. To pass into Garhwal *en route* to the shrines a rapid and deep river had to be crossed, and before the iron bridge was built this could only be done by means of a rope bridge known as a *jhula*, or swing, which consists of nothing more than stout ropes fixed to each bank; the two lower ones held together at short distances by pieces of bamboo tied to them, upon which the passenger walks, holding on to the two hand ropes above. When the pilgrims arrived at the bank, they would discover that by an unfortunate accident the ropes had broken on the further side of the river and the long bridge was trailing uselessly in the torrent!

As the chief sanitary authority with the Government, it has fallen to the lot of the writer of late years to organise and control the sanitary arrangements of many of these great gatherings. The staff was a large one, comprising medical subordinates, police patrols, and hundreds of 'sweepers' (low-caste conservancy servants), supervised by European deputies and selected Indian assistants. The town and its surroundings were thoroughly cleaned up a few days before the fair; field hospitals, etc., were run up and staffed; the arrival of trains and of carts was watched for cases of infectious disease, which if found were promptly isolated; overcrowding in the lodging-houses was as far as possible prevented; and the whole site constantly patrolled to ensure cleanliness and to detect the appearance of disease in time to arrest its spread. They were periods of constant anxiety and strenuous action, but of intense interest, since an officer was brought into close and intimate contact with people and conditions seldom met with elsewhere.

A prominent feature of the large fairs at Hardwar, as in a lesser degree at Allahabad, Benares, Ajudhya, Gya, Puri, and certain other localities, is the great gathering of religious ascetics and mendicants known as *jogis*, *sanyasis*, *gosains*, *sadhus*, *faquirs*, etc.—many of them attended by their *chelas*, or disciples. They are seen at ordinary times wandering alone, or in very small parties, all over the country; but perhaps it is not generally recognised that most of them are banded together in great brotherhoods, with definite leaders who control the collection and expenditure of considerable wealth belonging to the community, and who possess great personal influence and authority with their followers. The writer has known many of these leaders, or *mahants*, long and fairly intimately, and has, as a rule, been struck with their intelligence and force of character. At Hardwar the clans are mostly those found in the Punjab, such as the 'Nirbanis,' 'Nirmulas,' 'Udasis,' etc. All these more important *akharas* (the word seems to be used to describe both the clans and their gather-

ing places) have definite headquarters in large *dharmsalas* and encampments, where they receive free rations and hold discussions. Bairagis appear to have little organisation.

Although to-day these religious ascetics and mendicants are of all castes, the custom of thus abandoning the world and living upon charity is of great antiquity in India, and, indeed, goes back to those remote times when the Brahman Desert Philosophers, Vanaprasthas and Sanyasis, were held in such esteem and veneration that great Western leaders of thought and action did not disdain to seek them out and learn wisdom from them. Among these, indeed, were such men as Pythagoras, Lycurgus, and Alexander the Great. Ancient writers, Strabo, Megasthenes, Arrian, pupil of Epictetus, and others, speak of the 'Brachmans' as a tribe or caste divided into two classes—'Brachmans' by descent, and 'Germanians' by election. The latter were only elected after very careful examination, and the code of both was originally very high and pure. The three guiding principles were reverence of the Divine Being, obedience to the laws and a hearty concern for the welfare of the society, and love of liberty and the obligations they were under to sacrifice their own particular happiness to the preserving of the form of government under which they lived in its full vigour, in order to preserve thereby the security and welfare of their posterity. They taught the doctrine of metempsychosis, imagining that in proportion as men heightened or depressed their animal faculties in this life they should fare in the next; that is to say, such as gratified their passions passing into beasts, and such as cultivated the virtues of the mind rising by degrees through the several classes of mankind until in the end they merited an entire freedom from body, and were received into the company of angels. Authors who speak of them as gymnosophists are but partially correct, for they only went naked when in seclusion; their public functions were always performed in robes. They usually confined themselves to one form of learning; thus one would be a philosopher, another would devote himself to the laws, etc. After spending thirty-seven years in the ministry they were allowed to quit it, and to live the remainder of their lives in towns, to eat the flesh of wild beasts, and to marry as many wives as they liked to perpetuate the race of Brachmans, though they were not to reveal any of the secrets of their philosophy to them, 'because there was great reason to doubt whether they would be discreet enough to conceal what they were taught, and, secondly, there was no less doubt whether this accession of knowledge might not incline them to pride and disobedience.' They enjoyed the support and respect of all, and when the inconveniences of old age began to weigh them down, they ordered a pile of wood to be erected, and then,

dressed in their best garments and singing hymns, they laid themselves down on their faces and presently remained there still and quiet, without so much as a groan, until, fire being set to the pyre, they were consumed to ashes.

The Germanians, the second or elected class, were also known as *Gioghis* or *Jogis*. They appear to have been as good and wise as the Brachmans by descent, but they did not enjoy the same privileges as the latter, for they could never marry or quit the order. A later writer, one Signor Pietro della Valle, 'a noble Roman, a learned and candid writer, and whose travels are justly esteemed as accurate as were ever made into this part of the world,' thus describes them in more recent times: 'The *Gioghis*,' he says, 'are not Brachmans by Descent, but by Choice, as our religious orders are. They go naked; most of them with their bodies painted and smeared with different Colours; yet some of them are only naked with the rest of their bodies smooth and only their foreheads dyed with Sanders (sic) and some red, yellow, or white Colour, which is also imitated by many secular Persons out of superstition and gallantry. They live upon alms, despising Cloaths and all other worldly Things. They marry not, but make some Profession of Chastity, at least in Appearance, for in secret it is known that many of them commit as many Debaucheries as they can. They live in Society, under the Obedience of their Superiors, and wander about the World without having any settled Abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples and Groves, especially where an Idol is worshipped by them, and they undergo, with incredible patience, Day and Night, no less the Rigour of the Air than the excessive Heat of the Sun, which in these sultry countries is a thing sufficiently to be admired.' This description would be very fairly accurate at the present time.

Many hold that the Brahmans to-day are the people most opposed to British rule in India, dreading that their position, still very great, is being undermined and may presently be destroyed. But they need have very little fear of this for a long time to come. Hindus, and especially Brahmans, have under all dynasties had a great deal to do with the government of the country and held the highest positions, though often under the supervision of the ruling power, as was the case with Todar Mul and others under Akbar. They are, of course, no longer solely priests, but the caste—and it is impossible to dissociate caste from Hinduism—is still universally regarded as a thing apart, and its members as something more than ordinary men. They are, as a rule, proud, and of a pessimistic temperament, as is fitting to anyone living in the *Kali-yuga*—that direful age and era of decadence, when life is short, falsehood and deceit have replaced

truth, and when the great gods no longer strive together in the land.

To bathe at the sacred pool, the several brotherhoods proceed in great processions, and if two such of different clans collide there is trouble, and in past years such occurrences led to much bloodshed, so that now the magistrate confers with the leaders and appoints definite and separate times for each to march. It is a wonderful sight to stand on the light iron bridge already referred to at the pool, and to watch the approach of one of these processions. As soon as the barrier is raised in the street above, they march on in thousands, in some sort of formation, with numerous rich and costly silk flags and banners flying, to the weird howls, blasts, and screeches of conches, and long quaintly curved trumpets and horns, and the clattering of sticks together, until the broad and lofty steps are packed with devotees and fanatics—many stark-naked. In front and in the centre, in a palanquin richly canopied, are borne the objects of worship—a copy of the Granth, images of the gods, or balls of ashes—and on each side a lofty standard is raised. Arrived at the margin of the water, the palanquin is advanced into the pool and the standards slowly lowered in absolute silence. At this moment the most stoical observer cannot fail to feel a thrill of excitement. The instant they touch the water it is as if pandemonium had broken loose. With shouts and cries of religious import, the whole wild crowd rushes into the water, and the pool becomes a mass of frantically excited humanity. It is a strange, barbaric scene, and one cannot fail to recognise that here the veneer of civilisation is very thin. Introduce a few mangled corpses and eliminate the European staff, and it probably affords a very fair presentment of what a great bathing was five hundred years ago.

Presently horns and trumpets are sounded, and the first rush troops out of the pool and takes its way along the paved roadway leading to the bridge over the river; to be succeeded by crowd after crowd until all have washed their sins away. And then the procession reforms, and, with strange sounds and waving of flags, and headed by the leaders on elephants, returns to its encampment.

The writer has often watched and pondered over these great gatherings of itinerant ascetics and religious mendicants—strange, wild personages, with hair (often false) coiled up high on their heads, curiously distorted sticks, long iron pincers, or black begging-bowls of *coco-de-mer*, in their hands, often covered with dust and ashes, and with no other raiment than a scanty waist-cloth. Here is a man reclining on a wooden frame full of large iron nails pointing upwards and passing into his flesh; here is another with uplifted arm shrunken from disuse to the size of a

stick and anchylosed at the shoulder-joint; here is a faquir who has vowed never to sit or lie down for eleven years and who takes his sleep hanging on to a padded rope suspended from a tree. No doubt there are some unmitigated rascals; many others are rank impostors; but, still, the majority are probably more or less sincere. Often when talking to them the writer has been interrupted by a respectful correction (though the faquir never salaams) couched in excellent English from a weird figure, more or less attired, who has thrown up a position of considerable emolument and respectability in furtherance of a religious vow. One such personage, with hardly anything on to cover his nakedness and with long hair hanging down his back, was a friend of the writer's for years. He spoke and wrote excellent English and was reported to have studied at a Scottish University. He was possessed of considerable wealth, nearly all of which he gave away in charity, and was a man of much influence, which he used to support the authorities at the time of the disturbances in connexion with plague measures. He lived in a little encampment on the island opposite Hardwar, and had followers whom he considered to be possessed of strange psychological powers, and he was very fond, as many of these men are, of the works of Marie Corelli. His letters were very interesting, and a correspondence was maintained for a long time, until he wrote that his environment was unsatisfactory, as he could no longer hold converse with the same spirits as of old; so he went to Lhassa, but, returning once more to the Punjab, fell ill of plague and died. Whatever the character of these faquirs and ascetics may be, at all events the common people regard them as holy men, whom to offend is dangerous; and the writer has seen the women, when the horde of dripping bathers in the procession has passed along the paved embankment, rush in and gather up the water from the puddles they have caused and carry it to their lips!

It is probably not very well known how many there are of these religious mendicants, but most likely there are tens of thousands in Upper India alone. They wander all over the land, moving from place to place, invading the privacy of dwellings where few other people can find admittance, and they are the repositories of great secrets. There are comparatively few telegraph or telephone posts in the rural tracts of India, but what a marvellous agency for the circulation of news and propaganda such a community may, if organised, become! The system is simple. The word is passed to a man, 'Tell this in secret to five true believers'; each of these passes it on to five more, and so on, so that information spreads in an ever-widening circle. These men claim to have abstracted themselves from all worldly

things, among which, it is imagined, politics are included; still——

The writer is of opinion that it is most important that officials should keep in touch with the leaders of religious thought—and this is an elastic term. They very frequently will not be persons of much pretension, and the disreputable-looking figure sitting at the bathing-ghat, and receiving alms with apparent indifference and complete mental abstraction, may be a man of very great weight in the community. But the wise official knoweth these things, and attendeth thereto. We have had some emergencies in Upper India in recent times—plague, pestilence, famine and 'unrest'; and those called upon to deal with them have learnt many facts.

Nowadays the conditions of pilgrimage to the great bathing fairs have much altered. To begin with, a great many people object to any form of control over their actions, and the effect is that, whereas probably just as many persons bathe at the sacred spots as formerly, the concourses at the great fairs themselves are somewhat smaller and the attendance is spread more regularly over the whole year. This, from a public health point of view, is an advantage. And considerable importance is to be attached to the greater ease and comfort with which pilgrims can now travel to and from such gatherings. Bacteriologists tell us that some animals, normally immune to certain pathogenic or disease germs, are rendered susceptible by being shaken up and otherwise frightened and disturbed. The writer holds the view, even as a sanitary officer, that in the greater comfort and security which pilgrims now enjoy lies the explanation of much of the immunity from epidemic disease which has mercifully attended these great bathings in late years.

When, after some days are past, the fair is over, the people return by rail, in carts, or on foot to their homes, singing religious hymns and bearing most of them bottles of Ganges water enclosed in wicker baskets and suspended at either end of bamboo poles swinging on their shoulders. The author has seen large quantities of this water, quite clean and pure, stored in metal vessels in the cellars of a Hindu prince in Southern India, and was assured that it had been there for years, for, it is averred, the contents of the holy river never putrefy. And, indeed, such water, taken perhaps from a source at far-off Gangootri, probably contains little or no organic matter.

Fairs, such as the one it has been attempted to describe, occur all over India. They are primarily the occasion of religious observances, but they are a good deal more even than this. There is not a Hindu house or hut of which the inmates do not look

forward with eager interest to joining in these gatherings. Children's ages are often reckoned from a *kumbh*. Here one combines an act of merit with excitement and pleasure—here the ashes of the cherished dead are bestowed as they would have wished—here the business is transacted with the semi-religious recorder of domestic incidents—here old friends are met, new sights seen, and all is excitement, bustle, and religious enthusiasm. There is no action which could be taken by Government which would produce the same dismay and resentment as their prohibition. The part of the State, as is well recognised, is not to interfere unduly, but merely to watch over and protect the people gathered here from injury, disease, and—incidentally—from one another.

SAMUEL J. THOMSON,
Lieut.-Colonel.

ENGLAND'S PLIGHT

A RETURNED EXILE'S IMPRESSIONS.

THIRTY years' exile from Britain intensifies, on one's return, the interest of all things British. It does more—at least, to him so returning so it seems: it clears one's vision. One does not see in England merely the tight little island of one's youth; one sees in England the centre of a mighty Empire. One wonders, too, whether that tight little isle recognises either the mightiness of that Empire, or the responsibilities which its governance involves.

Me, I confess, returning to this much-loved land, the sorry plight of England saddens. When last I was here she was on the verge of upholding, by the arbitrament of arms, what she regarded as the just rights of a handful of her citizens over-sea. Her motto then was 'What we have we'll hold.' Times seem to have changed. Were I asked what was now her motto, I should be inclined, I think, to say, 'What we havn't we'll get.' The thriftless, the improvident, the irresponsible, now look to 'the State' for doles; and 'the State,' being a political party driven to desperation for votes, dares not say them nay, but, allying itself with any faction that will keep it in power—Home Rulers, Radicals, Socialists, 'Labourites,'[1] passes, without premeditation, and in some cases almost without debate, one confiscatory and revolutionary measure after another—old-age pensions, excessive succession duties, grievous land-taxation, State-insurance against illness and unemployment, the extinction of the House of Lords, and what-not.

One other not insignificant sign of the sorry plight of England I seem to see. This, namely: the craving for sport—so-called; for 'sport,' apparently, now means paying railway-fare and travelling long distances to see twenty or thirty highly-paid youths play this or the other game. In the declining years of Rome, just before she tottered to her fall, the cry of the populace was for *Panem et Circenses*—bread and the circus. May it not come to pass that some day someone will say to England *De te fabula narratur*!

[1] Even the English language is in sorry plight.

Personally, I think the lower classes are laughing in their sleeves. Personally, I think they regard our rulers as the most gullible of knaves. How foreigners must smile when they hear, on the one hand, of fresh schemes by which to dole out alms to sturdy beggars; and, on the other, that our Army is in need of recruits! Of course the lower classes will cry 'Give! Give!' till there is nothing more to give—till capital flies the country, landed estates are broken up, and employers seriously think of transporting factories to less revolutionary, less confiscatory, realms.

Nor do I find amongst the upper classes in England any antipathy to the lower. Rather I find consideration, kindliness, willingness to help. Indeed, if any one change is more noticeable than another by the returned exile, it is the change in the condition of the lower classes—a change immeasurably for the better.

Is there no statesman in England strong enough to stand alone, strong enough to stay the tide of confiscatory Socialism, strong enough to shut his ears to the clamour for bread and the circus? If England's narrow-thoughted political leaders could be prevailed upon to extend their vision beyond the shores of their narrow little isle, they might see in the wide expanses of the British Dominions beyond the seas a region where these Socialistic and economic problems might find permanent solution. For I do not believe for one moment that anybody—and least of all the recipients—regard these State-extracted doles as anything but temporary shifts. The more money you dole out, the more mouths will clamour for it. About *that* there can be no question.

My first re-view of the United Kingdom was the Firth of Clyde; and perhaps the most significant of all the significant sights in that wonderful waterway was the simultaneous passage outwards of two huge transatlantic steamers loaded with emigrants to a daughter-land—whence, indeed, I had just arrived; to wit, the great and growing Colony of Canada. It was a beneficent sight, and the beneficence was afterwards corroborated by what I saw of the squalor of certain Scottish and English cities—squalor to which there is no approach in the Colonies; or, if there is, is perceptible only in circumscribed localities inhabited by the scum of Lithuania or Poland. And there it is not so much squalor, as a racial and inherited ignorance of the insanitation of untidiness and dirt; abject poverty it is not. Save in rare individual cases, and in times of industrial stress, abject poverty in the Colonies simply is not. Yet here in Great Britain I see it without looking for it.

The contrast causes the returned exile to think. Was Malthus right in holding that a certain class of the community must always

approach the margin of mere subsistence, and are those economists right who hold that poverty is an irremediable evil? Or is the newer theory, that poverty is an economic condition preventable by the State (as zymotic diseases are preventable by prophylactic medicine) to claim our assent? I know of no class, as such, living on the margin of subsistence in Canada. There, who will work and can work will find work—provided it is work such as the Colony needs. Sometimes it is hard work, certainly; and often it is work that must be performed in untoward conditions and in an inclement clime; nevertheless, work there is for any hardy and determined man or woman who seeks it.

The fact seems to be that, the moment you get great congestions of population, you get a floating, shiftless, unemployed, and unemployable poverty-stricken class. If that theorem is correct, surely the problem is, how to relieve congestion of population. Well, to an Empire which is owner of unlimited unpopulated acres, the problem, surely, should not be wholly incapable of solution.

Obstacles I know there are. In the Colonies intellectual callings are overcrowded; labour unions look with a jealous eye on fresh importations to their ranks; farm-hands, though much in demand in seed-time and harvest, are at a loss for employment in winter. But these obstacles are a factor in the problem; and if the problem is to be solved, these obstacles must be surmounted. Nor, surely, are they insurmountable. Is it altogether beyond the bounds of conceivability that Great Britain's present system of Labour Exchange Bureaux should be extended to the Empire? Two things are certain—

I. Untilled acres seeking tillage *there are*;

II. A certain percentage of England's unemployed *could* be transported (under proper supervision) to those acres.

This brings me to my point. To get rid of the surplus population of England, and to fill the sparsely populated areas of the Colonies with useful folk—that surely is a task worthy the highest thought of the highest advisers of the Crown. Some day England's strength may lie in her daughters over-sea. To-day, certainly, England's weakness lies in the Socialism at her heart; a Socialism which finds its origin in her slums. Well, Socialism dies a natural and a hasty death on the prairies! Empty your slums. Fill our prairies. That is my text.

But here I see my readers smile. 'How?' they ask. Well, surely, if it be admitted that this is a task which deserves the highest thought of the highest advisers of the Crown, a Secretary of State for Emigration, with a large and organised staff, working in co-operation with the Governments of the self-governing Colonies, would not be too much to ask. The Secretary of State

for the Colonies is apt to be too much taken up with petty questions of Colonial politics to concern himself with so important and so practical a matter as this.

But here again I see my readers smile. 'What,' they ask, 'are all the various Colonial Emigration Offices doing, if not this?' To which my answer is: 'These are mere isolated little cranes, each hoisting into one little hatchway such individuals as they can find and handle. Convert them into donkey-engines; create a supreme engine of State from which each such donkey-engine shall draw its power, and you would have efficiency indeed.'

My plea is for State-organised emigration on an Imperial basis.

England just now seems to me to be put to desperate shifts by which to ameliorate the condition of her working-classes. And, so far as I can see, to bring about that amelioration, the minds of England's political leaders turn only to such shifts as old-age pensions, succession-duties, land-taxes, State-insurance against sickness and unemployment, the enforced sale or rental of private lands—all schemes by which the thrifty are made to contribute towards the comfort of the shiftless; tricks by which the savings of the provident are converted into doles for the improvident; a bribing of the masses by the money of the classes.

Of course I shall be told that this is the high-flying language of a Tory. Well, for thirty years I have lived three thousand miles from Toryism. For thirty years I have consorted with Demos. And I think I know Demos, his ways and his character. When Demos has no upper and wealthier class whose pockets, by legislative bribery, he can rifle, he provides for his own. In Canada, trades- and labour-unions, orders, lodges, brotherhoods, benevolent and eleemosynary societies abound. But, be it remembered also, that when Demos has no upper class to which to look for political leadership he flounders. Ill-educated, untravelled, with no ancient family or hereditary traditions and ideals, his sense of rectitude and honour is dull; he does not recognise injustice when he sees it; his moral standards are not well-defined, either in politics or in business. I know whereof I speak. I have seen legislative nepotism, peculation, bribery, breach of contract, interference with the courts of justice, not only winked at but lauded because they were supposedly beneficial to 'the people.' As if the minutest divergence from the path of legislative justice could, in the long run, be beneficial to anybody! As if it did not at once destroy faith in the Legislature! Accordingly, my language is not that of high-flying Toryism, but of a (I hope) neutral and non-political observer of the ways and doings of Democracy.

Once again, therefore, I say, empty your slums; fill our

prairies. And even if the operation is slow, arduous, and costl it is better surely to spend the State's money in helping peo to help themselves than in giving them so many shillings a we for nothing.

The initial cost would not be small, for the organisation a the supervision would have to be elaborate. But in the long r it would pay. Besides, the Colonies would help, for sadly they want able habitants for their arable, arboricultural, a metalliferous lands.

And here, perhaps, I may record the suggestion of a fello passenger, a shrewd Scotsman much interested in Canada, M J. Sutherland Mowat, of Perth.

By a system of State loans to emigrants, secured by fi mortgages on land or a lien on wages, and a State guarantee four or five per cent., thousands of pounds, he thinks, could obtained from investors; more especially if the Statute limit the investment of trust-moneys were emended to suit the ca Nor is this by any means a dream. Mortgagors in Manit and Alberta and Saskatchewan and British Columbia are will and able to pay eight per cent. Indeed, the loan companies Ontario and Quebec are able to give you four per cent. j because they invest your money in the West at eight. W should not the State take advantage of the fact, and, by guarantee, open a new and safe field for investment?

However, I have merely enunciated my text; I leave it others to preach on it.

ARNOLD HAULTAIN.

THE ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE

CADMUS sowed dragon's teeth, and they came up as armed men. The Radical and Socialist parties have bettered the legend. They have sown ideas fatal to empire and incompatible with national existence, and those ideas, rising from the earth like the Armed Head of Macbeth's vision, are now threatening first the moral and spiritual ruin of the people of England, and next, or it may be synchronously with that ruin, the passing of our sea power, the starvation of our poor, and the ultimate crash of the whole fabric of Anglo-Saxon liberty and civilisation throughout the world.

Through the ages good men have striven to instil that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom into the minds and hearts of the successive generations which cross this world's stage before they vanish into the unknown. Through the ages, respect for law, and for those rights of property which law guarantees, and which are in truth derived from human nature itself, has been gradually developed in the English-speaking race. Through the ages, the sanctity of marriage and the oneness of the family which from marriage results have been made the fundamental institutions of our national life.

Through long centuries, once more, the service of England and her advantage in peace and in war have been the goal of her noblest sons. Linked in a true democracy, the officers and men of her Navy and Army and, not less, all those numberless civilian builders and administrators and pioneers of the British Empire, have sought its growth and its greatness, and in seeking it have given the possibilities of prosperity to the masses at home. Lastly, through some 350 years, or, let us say, from the days of Henry the Eighth, that sea power which is now the condition at once of our 'far-flung' dominion and of our national being has been won and sustained.

Have these ideas and these efforts been base, unworthy, mean, or small? Are fear of God, respect for law, and love of country attributes of the mind of Britain which require to be denounced and shorn away? Yes—in the opinion of those Socialist organisations which are now engaged in pouring poison into the veins of England, those organisations which supply the motive force to the Radical party, and which in return receive from that party every

benefit which the closest alliance, the most intimate intercourse can confer.

Socialism is sometimes said to be various in its nature, indefinite in its meaning, indeterminate in its ends. Such statements are true only in regard to its more educated exponents, its face of show, and those of its utterances which are made for the benefit of its foes. Those exponents, those utterances, that visage which Socialism displays to a world yet unconvinced are indeed all vague, elusive, and mutable. As Proteus changed his shape in the grasp of Menelaus, so does Socialism twist and writhe, vary its definitions and alter its apparent ends when gripped in fair argument by an antagonist in the public view. But all these involutions and evasions, whether intentional or unintentional, whether sincere or feigned, are but as the foam bubbles on the surface of a mighty wave, or as the leaves and twigs borne on that of an avalanche. That foam, those tiny excrescences, may be flung into a thousand forms, or swept away, or piled together, or blown to the winds, without impairing the vast momentum of the rush of the wave or of the sweep of the avalanche. And as the wave or the avalanche, so is the immense body of Socialist teaching which is being actively and practically instilled into the people of this unhappy country.

What are the doctrines so taught? They are these: There is no God. God is a 'bogey' invented by the rich to delude the poor. The poor must be 'kept down.' The poor must be kept contented. Therefore, to keep them down and to keep them contented, the fable of God, of heaven, and of hell has been concocted. There is no future life. That also is a legend invented to help out the other fable, and with the same intent—namely, to restrain the poor by the terrors of future punishment, or to cajole them with the prospect of future compensation. The business, the duty, the constraining need of the poor (or 'the workers' is the usual term) is to disbelieve all these lying stories, to consider that there is no life beyond this life here on earth, and to apply their whole energies towards making that life as pleasant as possible by the introduction of a Socialist *régime*. All religions are fraudulent shams. All have the same object—the delusion and subjugation of the poor. The trail of the capitalist is over them all. This is the theology of practical Socialism which is being taught now all over Great Britain to millions of people upon almost every Sunday throughout the year.

But if this is the theological, what is the legal doctrine of the Socialist lecturer? His central article of faith is that all property, other than mere personal belongings, such as clothes, a watch, or an umbrella, is theft, theft of the poor by the rich—theft by the ethical laws of that universe which is without a God

Therefore, again, it is the business of 'the workers' to combine to destroy the institution of private property by the nationalisation of land, labour, and capital.

One frequent butt of Socialist criticism is the middle class, who are represented as in league with the real villain of the piece—that is, the capitalist—to rob 'the workers.' There are in the human hierarchy, according to the Socialist teacher, three main sections of mankind. First comes the ineffable scoundrel, the despicable, brutal, callous ruffian, known, as stated above, as 'the capitalist' (accent on the second syllable). Of the capitalist class the landlord is, if that be possible, an even more infamous variety. He is nearly always a duke, and absolutely never a thrifty working man who has bought a small house out of his savings. Next comes the middle-class man, a fiend only less diabolical than the capitalist in that his means of injuring 'the worker' are less. Then come at last the true men, the only people who really have a right to exist, those who perform the whole labour, yet obtain scarcely any of their due reward—'the workers.' Who are 'the workers'? By that term the audience always understands, and is meant to understand, the manual labourers. The entire rhetoric and appeal of a Socialist orator are almost invariably based on the implied supposition that 'the workers' are equivalent with his third class, with the down-trodden poor whom the capitalist class and the middle class have alike combined to plunder.

But if an opponent should intervene in the tide of denunciation, and should compel an answer to the question whether the labour of the man who works with his brain is not at least of equal value to the community with that of the man who works only with his hands, then the Socialist speaker, if he knows his business, will scoffingly reply that everyone is aware of that fact, and will proceed to get away from the point as quickly as he can. Yet the compelled admission destroys the entire fabric of his argument, since it makes 'the workers' co-extensive with the hated and despised middle and capitalist classes, and thus displays the absurdity of that antithesis between 'the idle rich' and the labouring poor on which rests the whole case of Socialism, as Socialism is taught to the masses at the present day.

But from this central Socialistic doctrine that property is theft proceed necessarily other doctrines of which the logical sequence is not generally recognised. For the institution of property has its roots in two instincts of human nature—first, a man's love for himself; and, secondly, his love for his children. The former instinct makes a man desire to benefit by the result of his exertions; the second makes him wish to pass the benefit on to his children. The first instinct represents possession; the second represents inheritance. Socialism declares war on both. But when it at-

tacks possession, it uses the desire for such possession as the mot force of the attack. Its whole appeal to the manual labourer founded on the disposition to acquire. This wicked man, . capitalist, has got that which ought to be yours. Therefore, t it from him.

Possession and inheritance, put together, mean accumulati and accumulation means capital, means wealth, which is accursed thing. Now the strongest form of private property ex ing in the world is the property of the husband in the wife, of wife in the husband, and of both in their children. This is result of marriage, and of the institution of the family as integer proceeding from marriage. Therefore, Socialism becon the inevitable foe both of marriage and of the family, beca while these institutions flourish the aims of Socialism can ne be achieved. The idea of private property involved in marri. and the indissolubly connected idea of inheritance involved in family, will remain invincible barriers as long as those ideas p tically flourish. Hence it follows that Socialism is now and n continue to be the irreconcilable enemy, the would-be destro of marriage and of the family—that is, of the basis of all West human civilisation and all Western ethics. The sooner this is clearly apprehended the better for mankind.

In his street utterances, which I shall show to be the ut ances that count, the Socialist speaker does not always, or e usually, attack the institution of marriage directly. To do t might in many cases kindle opposition, and be therefore a tact error. For in subtlety, and in the suppression of that par their case which might be unpopular, the exponents of Social display the most salient of those characteristics which were w to be attributed to the Jesuits by Protestant divines. But tho direct impugnment of marriage may be avoided, the most de process of undermining is always going on. The destructio parental responsibility is one of the main objects of Socialist deavour, and the duty of the State to clothe, feed, and educate children of the land is ceaselessly preached.

Thus two at least of the aims of Socialism, as Socialism is be practically expounded in the British Isles, stand plainly out. T are: (1) the destruction of all belief in God and in a future and (2) the subversion of the institution of marriage and of fa life.

To these two objects of endeavour must be added a third, wl is the uprooting of the spirit of patriotism and the sense of nat ality. According to the creed which is now being taught in streets of our towns, patriotism, or the idea of service and sacri owed to country, is another of the diabolical devices of the c talist class framed to ensnare the working man. In reality, t

the Socialist, 'the workers' have but one enemy—that same capitalist class. Wars are not the result of long processes of international competition culminating at last in the clash of arms. They are, on the contrary, methods deliberately adopted by the capitalists of different countries, acting in secret agreement with one another, for the purpose of distracting attention from the need of social reform. As for love of country, why love it when you, the workers, are mere sweated slaves, ceaselessly exploited for the advantage of the rich? As for any danger to England arising from possible foreign attack, it is in the first place a fiction, and in the second place an eventuality of no possible importance to the British working men. Conquest by Germany would not alter by one iota the conditions of supreme misery, of utter degradation, in which these British workers are perpetually assumed (by Socialist speakers) to live. Therefore, the defence of Britain against invasion, or of the trade routes against interruption, is no concern of theirs. Let the rich do it themselves, and pay for it themselves, if they want the thing done. As for the Navy, a term of contempt has been invented for its officers which is now in common use among Socialists and Socialistic trade-unions. It is 'uniformed Jacks.' We do not (it is said) want a Navy. We do not want an Army. They are merely modes of fleecing the poor contrived by the landlord or capitalist class in order to find paid billets for its sons. Away with them. Nobody wants to conquer us, and if they do want it, why, then let them.

This is, briefly, a summary of the Socialist creed which is being taught at the street-corner now at thousands of meetings held every week-end throughout the towns, the half-towns, the mining centres—wherever population congregates—in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Does anyone doubt whether this presentation of palpable fact is correct? Will anyone believe the smug denials which may possibly be forthcoming from Socialist organs? Then let the doubter settle the matter for himself by attending the next street meeting of Socialists which he comes across. If a Londoner, let him visit next Sunday North London, or South London, or East London. Let him walk through the streets with an eye for a crowd, and wherever he sees that crowd the chances are great that he will find a Socialist meeting in full performance, and that he will hear stated with the utmost crudity all or most of the doctrines which have been set forth here. For whatever the Socialist organisation may be which supplies the speakers—or shall we say the poisoners—the body of doctrine preached is one and the same. Not the Roman Church itself possesses a creed more definite or a unity of exposition more complete. Socialist literature, literature intended for public and educated consumption, may vary. Mem-

bers of the Fabian Society may speak with heterogeneous voices. But the only kind of Socialism that matters, the Socialism which is being instilled *vivâ voce* into the woof of England, into the very being of the people of Britain, is a homogeneous whole. In it there is no ambiguity. Hideous lying, gross misrepresentation, suppression of some of the tendencies of Socialistic teaching, these indeed are there, but the savage and brutal materialism, denunciatory, derisive, of God, king, law, and country is presented with a directness which knows neither hesitation nor shame. Again I say to the mild, moderate person of the clubs who thinks that 'there may perhaps be something in it'—that is, in this description of what is now going on ceaselessly under his eyes throughout the land—but that 'of course it is much exaggerated,'—'Go and see, and hear for yourself.' The achievement is not difficult, nor is it necessary to wait until the ensuing Sabbath calls the Socialist lecturers to labours in comparison with which those of the witches which Goethe describes in *Faust* were mild and innocent amusements. A journey to the Marble Arch on any fine week-day evening will probably suffice for full conviction, for there from about eight o'clock onwards the orgies of Socialism will be found in full progress. The Sunday morning exercise begins usually at about noon, and continues with relays of speakers for several hours. A chairman and a chair, or wooden stand of sorts, are provided, and then the British public, men, women, and children, are regaled far into the afternoon with theories and statements, any of which would in former ages have excited a shudder through half mankind. The audience is a changing one, and at any one of the more important Socialist 'pitches'—of which there are large numbers in London—it must comprise thousands of people in the course of the day. The organisation of an indoor gathering of equal size by the Unionist party would require weeks of preparation and the expenditure of much money. The Socialists achieve the effect in London alone of twenty Albert Hall meetings every Sunday.

The propagandist work thus described has been proceeding now in Great Britain for some twenty years upon a scale constantly increasing, a scale which is now commeasurate with the nation. For twenty years past the working classes have been exhorted to contemn God and their country. These ravings, as they appear to educated and sober men, have been despised by Unionist politicians, but their cumulative effect has been immense. In the North of England, where great factory populations are found, it is to be feared that vast numbers of these have become imbued with conceptions fatal to every sentiment to which Unionism and patriotism make appeal. In Scotland and in Wales, in all the great towns of the United Kingdom, similar effects are being produced. The spirit of lawlessness evinced by working men in

recent strikes has been noted with a kind of surprise in the Press. That lawlessness is the direct fruit of Socialism. The fact to be realised is that we have here no momentary phase of feeling, but the natural outcome of twenty years of determined effort. The symptoms which now excite alarm are as natural a result of the development of Socialist teaching as the leaves of a tree are the natural result of the growth of that tree. Nor is that development arrested. It is still proceeding, and as it proceeds further similar products must be expected. This growth strikes at patriotism, it strikes at unionism, but it also strikes most directly at our national existence. At the present time the Socialist organisations are deliberately devoting their energies to the corruption of the Navy and the Army. For months past they have been doing their best to flood the lower deck with their literature and to inspire the men of the Royal Navy with the same hatred of duty and of country which they feel themselves. Nor have these efforts been wholly unsuccessful. In some ports, indeed—as, for instance, Chatham—the feeling against the Socialists remains on the whole strong. But in others their progress has been very marked. To give an instance. At a meeting held by the Anti-Socialist Union at Torquay on the 24th of March last the proceedings were continually interrupted by a party of bluejackets, one of whom mounted the platform and addressed to the audience a violent Socialistic harangue. That these men committed an offence against discipline for which, could they have been identified, they might have been severely punished, goes without saying. But the point is the fact that they were animated by those views. That is a fact which might well have seemed incredible a year ago.

It is, of course, hardly necessary to observe that, in thus attempting to corrupt the Royal Navy, the Socialists are dealing the most deadly blow at the people of England, and in particular at the poor, which has ever been struck them since William the Conqueror won the battle of Hastings. As that battle brought slavery and ruin and despair to our Saxon forefathers, so would the success of the Socialists inevitably bring forth similar effects. The Navy alone stands between the people of England and the destruction of their food supply at sea. The Navy and the Army together stand between that people and the overthrow of its liberties. No more deadly treason to the supremely vital interests of a nation has ever been meditated by man than that which is being now wrought by the emissaries of Socialism. In any country on earth but this, probably even in the United States, such attempts to destroy the safeguards of national being would be made a penal offence. Apart from such action by the State, it is certain that, if the masses of this country understood the purport and the effect of this Socialist endeavour, they would

have recourse, and naturally have recourse, to that lynch law which the presence of desperate evils, otherwise unforbidden, inevitably excites. The Socialists are indeed the mortal foes of the poor. They have been their foes in peace; they will, if their machinations prosper, become their absolute destroyers in war. Their activities, exerted through the present Government, have already driven hundreds of millions of British capital beyond the seas. As soon as the next cycle of bad trade sets in, it is matter of foreseen certainty that a cry of agony will go up from many *hundred thousands—even from* millions—of our population who will find themselves without employment. But the Socialists are not content with this. They are now assailing with absolute directness the last guarantees of national existence and of the whole fabric of British liberty. As they are the would-be murderers of all that is spiritual and noble upon earth, so are they becoming the veritable assassins of democracy.

In the world at large the British Empire represents the trial o democracy. The question at issue is whether in a world of armed competing nations a democratic people can survive. The Social ists and their allies, the Radicals and the pulpit politicians, are doing their best to furnish a negative answer. Without som change, some arrest, some reversal, of the spirit which Socialis teaching has induced in our masses, the survival of this countr as an independent nation is impossible. The men who prate fo ever of the rights of the people are taking the most effective mea sures conceivable to insure the destruction of those rights. An in this effort they are enjoying the close alliance, the almost un stinted aid, of the larger half of the Liberal party. In this wor their most active assistants are the 'pul-politicians' already men tioned. Meetings are held every Sunday in thousands of Noncor formist chapels, nominally religious but in reality of the mos intensely political nature. The service of God is prostituted to th service of party hate. Malignant detestation of the Anglica Church supplies motive force to fierce denunciation of all tha Unionism stands for—since in the *Unionist party that Churc* finds support. But the chief tenet of faith, the most frequer subject of declamation, *is the wickedness of that military spir* without which no nation can long continue to exist and which th God, whom by their hypocrisy they blaspheme, implanted in ma in order that that righteousness which gives victory throug efficiency in war might prevail upon earth.[1] There is no ma (whatever his own belief) who realises the vast services which i former generations English Puritanism has rendered to mankin

[1] The present writer was permitted to develop the argument here referred in an article entitled 'God's Test by War,' published in the April number this Review.

who will not lament the outrage upon their own historic past wh is now being committed by the miserable degenerates, the sla of party hate and of insane theory, who now fill so many Nonco formist pulpits. To say indeed that all Nonconformist pulpits we so filled would be a monstrous calumny. Beyond all doubt th must still be thousands of Nonconformist places of devoti where good men preach, and where the Almighty, and r the Radical party or Socialism, is the object of worship; b in a vast number, too probably in a majority, of chapels England and Wales the pulpit has become a mere annex of t demagogue, where malignant hate of political adversaries inspir utterances hostile to the fabric of national and imperial bein In too many cases the men who inhabit these pulpits are the mo effective allies possessed by the Socialists of the streets. T man who is denouncing God outside the chapel is aided by the m who is supposed to be preaching Him inside the chapel's wall Thus are ideas which can bring nothing but national overthro and the starvation of the poor being disseminated throughout tl British Isles at the present time.

In all this work the Liberal and Radical party are linked intimate co-operation. With scarcely an exception the membe of the Labour party in the House of Commons, if not individual downright Socialists, are at least all animated with the Sociali idea. They decry armaments. They denounce the militar spirit. They scorn the thought of seeking national advantag They desire the subversion of law through the abolition of privat property. They seek the establishment of a vast bureaucrac which shall enslave men as scarcely ever in human history hav they been enslaved before. And these deputies of the ideas c Socialism are again in substance and fact the pledged allies of th present Government. Who pays their election expenses? Th books of the Liberal party organisation might throw some light o the answer. Whence again do the Socialist bodies derive th immense funds needed for their constant propaganda. The Secre tary of the Anti-Socialist Union is understood to estimate thei expenditure at 300,000*l.* per annum, for the regular preachers o the creed do not work without pay. Whence is that sum derived? The Liberal party is in fact doubly and trebly linked wit Socialism—linked by coalition and linked by permeation—linke by necessity and linked by will.

Against this vast body of propagandist work what can be put on the other side? Many Unionist agents think that they have done well if they get up a dozen meetings in a constituency in a year. In the same constituency, the Socialists and the Radicals, in the street and in the chapel, will address a larger aggregate audience in a single Sunday. How upon the present lines does the Unionist

party expect ever again to hold the minds and hearts of the people? That party may possibly, in the mutations of politics, regain office, but it will never, upon its present lines, regain power. The wonder really is, not that the Unionists are in a minority, but that in face of so prodigious and long-sustained an activity on the one part, and of such hopeless lethargy upon the other, nearly half the population still retain sanity and patriotism. In that fact lies the hope of the future.

What then can now be done? The Unionist party lies shattered and bleeding at the feet of those who make a sport of the history of England. What can be done to arrest their victorious course?

This can be done. Let every Unionist Association throughout the British Isles organise at once a body of unpaid speakers. Let the payment of those speakers be political advancement, with the expenses of local elections and County Council elections defrayed or assisted out of the party funds. Let a ladder thus be erected up which those who render the best service to their party and their country can climb into the House of Commons. In other words give to ability an equal chance with money. Has the Unionist party no men willing and fit to undertake such effort? The party is full of them, nor does any election ever take place without some such men making their voices heard. But unless they have money, all opportunity for subsequent advance is denied them.

What should be the work of these men? Their work should be to attend in the first place every Socialist meeting; to question; and to speak. Their work should be to hold at the street-corner meetings of their own. Wherever a Socialist meeting is being held, there a Unionist speaker should be present. Much and infinitely valuable work has been performed in this direction by the Anti-Socialist Union, but their endeavour is as a drop in the ocean compared with that which is necessary if England and the British Empire are to continue to live. What is wanted is an Anti-Socialist Union in every constituency, directed by the Unionist organisation and comprising all the ablest and most ambitious Unionists in the locality. Few men will work altogether without reward. You must pay them either with money or with fame. Let local fame and the possibility of a far-reaching vista of glorious activity in the service of Britain be the portion of every man who takes part in this national labour. Such a group of volunteer unpaid speakers should be made the most vital part of every Unionist Association.

The issue which these groups of Unionist soldiers should place before their audiences is exceedingly plain. It is a party issue—the plainest, simplest party issue that was ever set forth. On the one side are the Liberals, the Radicals, and the Socialists, united in an unholy and disgraceful alliance. On the other is the Unionist

party. The Unionists stand for God, for King, for law, and for country. Their foes stand for the negation of all these. The Unionists stand for the maintenance of the sea power of Britain and for the defence of the food of the people in distant seas. Their foes stand for the gradual reduction and loss of that sea power and for the destruction of that food on those seas. The latter result they are already attempting to obtain by the Declaration of London and the Naval Prize Bill. They have actually agreed (by Convention No. 7 of the Hague Conference) to the conversion of an enemy's merchantmen into ships of war to prey upon the people's food. They have made food capturable if coming to England, but not capturable if proceeding to Germany *viâ* any neutral port. They have stripped the seas of British cruisers through their failure to build them. All that could be done by neglect, by folly, and by an insane diplomacy to make sure that the poor shall pay famine prices for their food whenever it pleases Germany to attack us, that they have done. Further, they have agreed that no declaration of war need precede hostilities; that sick and wounded men shall be torn from a British hospital ship while war proceeds; that an enemy's correspondence, captured in an enemy's merchantmen by a British man-of-war, shall be forwarded at once to the enemy's authorities. These agreements, which form part of the Hague Conventions, are such as a committee of idiots in an asylum might have been expected to enact. Let the country know the fact. Let it learn the full measure of the incompetence with which its most vital concerns are managed. Let the 'non-party' trick by which the present Government have so long secured immunity from exposure be at last destroyed, and let the ceaseless evasions of reply to questions put in the House of Commons be made known to the people.

All this can be achieved if such machinery as I here suggest can be instituted, but without it nothing can be effected. The Unionist party stand for England, and England under her present Ministers is rushing towards a precipice. Courage and the spirit of attack, and, above all, the opening of the road to ability, are what is needed. If those needs be fulfilled, the real tendencies of the present Government may yet be made known, and they may be branded before Britain as what they are—in peace the enemies of the people, and in war the assassins of the poor.

H. F. WYATT.

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NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

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THE NEED FOR A RE-CREATION OF OUR CONSTITUTION

The curtain has fallen upon the first act of the constitutional drama; or perhaps the situation may be more correctly defined by saying that the *lever du rideau* has been concluded, and that the curtain is about to rise upon the first scene in perhaps the greatest constitutional struggle that this country has ever witnessed.

During the interval it is to be hoped that inter-party passions may be allowed to subside. The Press, which made so splendid a fight for liberty and the rights of the people, will be doing an ill-turn to the people, and will be jeopardising the cause of liberty, if they continue to inveigh against the conduct of those peers who felt it their duty to abstain from voting, or even to vote with the Government, in the division that decided whether the Lords would or would not insist upon their amendments. Peers who refused to follow the advice of their leaders seem to have laboured under the delusion that insistence upon the amendments could produce some effect upon the Bill. That was, as we all know, an hallucination. The House of Lords had only one question to decide on the memorable night of Thursday, the 10th of August: Is the Bill, un-

amended, to pass minus or plus the creation of three or four hundred peerages? That is the fact, and in criticising it, one point only should be considered—the effect upon a policy of reconstruction.

The peers—both those who followed and those who did not follow Lord Lansdowne's advice—have been subjected to much abuse; and arguments having but little bearing upon the real issue have been freely used in support of unreasonable invective. Accusations of mutiny on the one hand, of moral cowardice on the other hand, have been freely bandied about. Peers were urged to remember the appalling consequences of a Radical majority in the Upper House, enabling a despotic usurping Cabinet to place every conceivable legislative abomination upon the Statute Book as fast as it could be rammed through a gagged House of Commons. They were entreated to save the peerage from utter degradation, and to extricate the Crown from an almost intolerably difficult position. On the other hand they were reminded that as the King is a constitutional monarch all responsibility rests upon his Ministers, and that the occupant of the Throne should be looked on as an abstraction; the necessity of compelling a great creation of peerages, an action odious to Ministers and still more odious to the Crown, was insisted upon as the only means whereby the gravity of the revolution could be impressed upon the people. It is to be desired that these and all arguments addressed to tactical party advantages may be allowed to drop. They serve only to obscure the situation, to crowd out essentials, and to distract attention from the consideration of the only thing worth considering—the creation of a new Constitution.

The Constitution, as we inherited it, has gone. By the arbitrary action of the Cabinet our unwritten Constitution has been so shattered that the pieces can never be put together again. The delicate balance between the Crown, the Lords and the Commons has been upset and cannot be restored. Democratic rule, under a party system and an unwritten Constitution, has hopelessly broken down. The Constitution must be reconstructed. For an unwritten Constitution dependent upon precedent, usage, and the regulated play of two great political parties, a written Constitution must be gradually substituted, strong enough to control the incalculable effects of parties composed of unstable elements, ephemeral combinations, and sections discordant but capable of transient combination.

As matters now stand we are confronted by the appalling fact that any Cabinet in future, however much it may be out of touch with national opinion, can work its irretrievable will without let or hindrance. What Mr. Asquith has done to-day any Prime Minister can do to-morrow if the claim put forward by the Govern-

ment is admitted, and it is within the right of any Prime Minist to advise the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of peers secure the passage through the Second Chamber of any measu which his Cabinet holds it has a mandate to place upon Statute Book. The sole judges of the virtue of the mandate to be the Ministers themselves. The last check to Cabin dictatorship has been removed, the ancient prerogatives of Crown have been suborned and incorporated in the ordina machinery of the party caucus, and the House of Lords has b robbed of the last vestige of its power to delay legislation until opportunity has been given the electorate of expressing its opinio The House of Commons has ceased to be a deliberative assemb It lies absolutely at the mercy of any Cabinet that can contrive log-rolling to hold together the jarring elements which, unit for temporary purposes, may have placed a little oligarchy power.

How do we stand now? Under the Parliament Bill the Ho of Lords retains the right of delay. It can reject twice any meas to which it objects. It can at least give the public time to thi Had the House been swamped by a great creation, the peo would have been deprived of even this slender hindrance to ha legislation. It is true that if the Government follow the utte unjustifiable precedent they have created, there is nothing prevent them at any future date pleading urgency for any so-cal reform, advising the Crown to give 'guarantees,' and thus forc through any Bill at the first time of asking. This, after all, been the procedure with reference to the Parliament Bill. Thou the electors had an opportunity of expressing their views on general lines of the Government scheme, this scheme was in only one of many questions submitted at the last General Electi and it was not until the General Election was over that Government produced the actual measure which it was inten to force through the House of Lords.

But there is a limit to the patience, the ignorance and credulity of the people, and there may be a limit to the arbitr methods of the Government. There is a vast difference betw advising the exercise of the Royal prerogative to pass a meas which has been, though only inferentially, before the countr two elections, and invoking it to pass Bills that have never b before the electors, and that have not in detail or principle g through the ordeal of an election. The Lords by their inac and action have procured for the people a short period of delay.

The Constitution has lost its ancient balance, and that Con tution is not the Constitution merely of the United Kingdom the Constitution under which the whole Empire is governed. several oversea Dominions possess, it is true, an exceedingly la

measure of autonomy, but wide powers are still retained by the British Parliament. Under the new conditions arbitrarily created by the present Cabinet, our whole Imperial destiny rests upon the will of a strong Minister and his subservient colleagues, unfettered by any of those ancient checks which in the past have proved valuable bulwarks against hasty changes. Whatever the object of the revolution may be, no doubt can exist as to its effect.

The whole legislative machinery has been recklessly and ruthlessly thrown out of gear by a Government incapable of governing either the country or itself. The Commons' House of Parliament is powerless, the House of Lords has been reduced to impotence, organised and responsible democracy has been dethroned. But that is not all. Wrecking Ministers have found apt pupils. The spirit of mutiny, the revolt against all usage, precedent and constituted authorities, originating in the Government, has spread over the whole country, and in social as well as in political matters the nation is reverting towards sheer barbarism and a reign of violence and mere physical force. Reconstruction not only of the machinery of government but also of the basis on which all Governments rest—organised society—is the task that statesmen have in hand.

It is to the last degree unlikely that when the people understand the true meaning of the revolution, they will consent to their own degradation. When they realise that the unwritten Constitution that they inherited has ceased to operate, they will insist upon a written Constitution strong enough to safeguard their rights, and too tough to be easily torn up. And the operation has been commenced. The House of Lords, in relinquishing its legal powers over money Bills, made some definition of a money Bill and the creation of some authority to interpret that definition necessary. The admission that the powers of the two branches of the Legislature should be defined by statute renders the creation of some authority with power to interpret the statute equally necessary. Ordinary statutes are interpreted by the ordinary courts. An extraordinary statute demands an extraordinary court. The action of the Lords towards money Bills, towards Lord Rosebery's resolutions, Lord Lansdowne's Bill for the reconstitution of the House of Lords, and Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Bill: these and all such cognate matters plainly show that we have already put our hands to the task we must inevitably pursue to the end—the substitution of a written for an unwritten Constitution. That is the one and only fact to be borne in mind, and criticism on the action of the House of Lords should be confined to the question whether, with reconstruction in view, that House was or was not wise in preserving itself from an irruption of peers, who would have made the reconstitution of that House impossible, and in securing for the

people a period of delay during which a re-creation of a Constitution could be set before them.

It has been said that nothing short of an incident so dramatic, or comic, as the creation of three or four hundred peers would suffice to open the eyes of the people. I rate their intelligence higher than that, and the facts are not obscure. Strenuous efforts have been made on the part of the Government and its organs in the Press to misrepresent in the grossest manner the action of the House of Lords towards the Parliament Bill. It has been asserted, with hysterical reiteration, that during the discussion of the Parliament Bill the majority of the peers offered a 'sullen resistance' to the measure, while in other quarters they have been charged with pursuing 'wrecking tactics.' The lie is palpable. The Parliament Bill as presented by the Government was accepted in its entirety by the House of Lords. The Bill as it eventually passed the Upper Chamber was the Bill as it had left the House of Commons, without anything subtracted from it, but with certain additions which, in the opinion not only of Unionist peers but of many peers who usually act with the Government, were essential.

The Parliament Bill is a temporary expedient designed by the Government to enable them to carry on the business of the country according to their own ideas, unfettered by checks. What is it that the Government in framing the Parliament Bill considered it necessary to include in that measure in order to achieve their purpose? In other words, for this is what it comes to: What were the grounds of indictment against the House of Lords? Putting aside all the rhetorical rubbish and gross misrepresentation employed during the General Election in order to obscure the real issue, the two dominant counts in the charge against the peers were that they had invaded the financial privileges of the House of Commons by referring a Budget to the people, and that, being disproportionately Conservative in their opinions, they consistently refused to pass Liberal legislation. The accuracy of this definition of the charges against the House of Lords will not, I imagine, be questioned.

How did the House of Lords meet the Government when it presented the Parliament Bill, claiming that that Bill had received the assent of the electorate and should be permitted forthwith to pass? As regards money Bills the Government obtained in the measure as it left the House of Lords all that it asked for; the peers relinquished all power to deal with money Bills, a power which Mr. Asquith himself admitted it hitherto had the legal right to exercise. What his Majesty's Government desired, that his Majesty's Government obtained from the Upper Chamber. Both parties in the House were in accord as to the necessity of guarding against 'tacking,' direct or indirect, and of setting up some

thority to decide whether a Bill was or was not a bona-fide money Bill. The only difference between the Government on the hand and the Opposition on the other lay in this—a divergence opinion as to how that authority should be constituted. The Government proposed that the Speaker of the House of Commons, official whose essential duty it is to uphold the privileges of the House of Commons, should be the sole arbiter in a case of dispute to the respective privileges of the two Houses. The suggestion that the Speaker could be regarded as an impartial authority on such a question is not arguable. It is impossible that any man in such a position could give an absolutely impartial opinion. The Government proposal was that the official trustee of the privileges one branch of the Legislature should act as counsel, jury and judge in a case in dispute between the two branches of the Legislature on that very point. No wonder Viscount Peel, for eleven years Speaker of the House of Commons and a Liberal in sympathies, denounced this proposal as unfair to the Speaker, unjust the House of Lords and calculated to bring the Speakership into contempt.

Into the details of the composition of the committee which the Opposition desired to set up, as the authority in lieu of the Speaker, of the slight modification of their original proposal which the Government were willing to make, it is not necessary to enter. The point is, and it is one which the public will not fail to see, the enormity of forcing a great crisis, with all its irreparable consequences, upon the country on such a comparatively trivial matter the exact constitution of the authority to be established to decide what is and what is not a money Bill.

Now as to the other count of the indictment, that the House of Lords invariably rejected Liberal legislation and that his Majesty's Ministers, who during their somewhat long wanderings the wilderness accumulated a great mass of legislative proposals, not find that they have a fair and reasonable opportunity of placing them upon the Statute Book. Such a charge no doubt sounds well upon the political platform, and is calculated to inflame imagination of perfervid Radicals; but considered soberly, it be found to rest upon no solid foundation. Of the Bills which been sent up to the House of Lords by the present Government practically all have been passed either with or without minor amendments, and the number of Bills which have been rejected by House of Lords can be enumerated on the fingers of one hand. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether the Government, mature consideration, would now welcome on the Statute the Bills rejected by the House of Lords. They have since learned that those measures had not behind them any popular enthusiasm even among their own supporters. Assuming ho

even, that the Government's complaint is a real one, can it be claimed that they did not obtain substantially all they wanted in that respect in the Parliament Bill as it left the House of Lords? Liberals complain of the Upper House rejecting their measures. Under the Bill as it was amended that House could no longer reject their measures; a Liberal Cabinet could pass over the heads of the Lords every Bill that the House has ever rejected. The National Liberal Federation, through the Liberal Cabinet of the day, could pass straight to the Statute Book measures dealing with any and every subject without the assent of the House of Lords. The Parliament Bill as it was read a third time in the House of Lords left the Cabinet absolutely supreme as the interpreter of the policy dictated by this or that party caucus—a caucus it may be with its headquarters in England, or in Scotland, or in Ireland, or in Wales. That was the object with which the Parliament Bill was framed, and in the Parliament Bill as it left the House of Lords that object was attained. It is difficult for any reasonable being to understand what more the Government could require than the absolute satisfaction of the demands which they themselves put forward. On Liberal, Radical, Welsh and Irish Nationalist platforms up and down the United Kingdom complaint had been made of the operation of what orators were pleased to call the 'veto' of the House of Lords. The House of Lords at the dictation of the Government, urging an exceedingly questionable claim to represent the sober judgment of the country, temporarily, at any rate, put aside the veto, stipulating only that provision should be made in order to ensure that the judgment of the people on certain matters should be obtained.

The amendment put forward by Lord Lansdowne and accepted by the majority of the House of Lords was thoroughly in line with Liberal policy as enunciated by Mr. Gladstone and the great Liberal leaders of the past. It proposed to refer certain matters to the judgment of the people. What were those matters? They were questions connected with the Crown, the Protestant succession, and with what is commonly called Home Rule. Under the Parliament Bill as amended, measures affecting the Crown and the Protestant succession could be passed without the assent of the House of Lords, but could not be passed without the consent of the people. It is unnecessary to argue this question at length except to record that the only reason that the Government adduced against that part of the amendment was that it was impossible to believe that the present Ministry, or any Ministry, would wish to interfere with the Crown or the Protestant succession. This may be true, although the present Government during their term of office have been driven by circumstances to connive at many strange schemes. If there is any justification for the Govern-

ment's plea, then why is the Protestant oath regarded as necessary from the Sovereign upon his succession? The fact is that Parliament in legislating on matters of extreme gravity cannot consider the personal characteristics of Sovereign or Ministers; it legislates not for to-day or for to-morrow, for this occupant of the throne or that, for this Ministry or for another; but it sets up safeguards, necessary though they may appear at the moment supererogatory.

The other question which it was proposed to reserve for the judgment of the people was the setting up of statutory Parliaments in the United Kingdom with legislative functions. Under the Bill, as it left the House of Lords, the House of Commons could pass any Home Rule Bill for England, Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, over the head of the House of Lords. All that the amendment laid down was that, if a Government brought in Bills to set up statutory Parliaments with legislative functions, the opinion of the people on those Bills should be asked before they were placed upon the Statute Book. It is impossible to raise any real objection to such a thoroughly democratic provision. The proposal had nothing whatever to do with the merits or demerits of Home Rule. It was an amendment that could be, and was, supported not less whole-heartedly by the Marquis of Londonderry, speaking on behalf of the Unionists of Ulster, than by myself as a convinced Home Ruler. Nor did the amendment involve the question of the rights and powers that the House of Lords ought to have ultimately to reject a Home Rule Bill. Those rights had gone. The complaint of the Liberals had been that the veto barred their legislation—the veto had disappeared. The complaint of the Nationalist party in the House of Commons had been that the only obstacle to Home Rule lay in the veto—the veto had ceased to exist. The Government had obtained from the House of Lords all that they asked for, and so had their allies, the tied Nationalist party. The question therefore round which the whole trouble centred narrows down to a very simple one—namely, whether so great an organic change as would be involved in setting up a Parliament or Parliaments in the United Kingdom with legislative and administrative functions ought or ought not to be submitted to the judgment of the people. Why was the amendment refused? Two reasons are given, one colourable, the other nakedly absurd. It was deemed unnecessary on the ground that, as the people of the country knew that Home Rule formed part of the general policy of the Government, they, having been returned to power at two General Elections, had a perfect right to deal with the question. But Home Rule is a most indefinite and elastic term, and may mean almost anything or almost nothing. Possibly the Cabinet know what they mean by Home Rule, but certainly the people do not know. If a Bill had been debated in Parliament,

and if therefore this country had become cognisant of its scope, some strength might be found in the argument that the result of the last two elections gave the Cabinet practically a mandate to carry Home Rule. But there is not an elector in the country who has the faintest idea of what was, or is, meant by Home Rule; and to say that because a Government was returned to power after two General Elections—in which about a dozen questions were involved, and in which, as we all know perfectly well, the electors swallowed some half-dozen nostrums they did not like at all in order to get the other half-dozen which they earnestly desired—it has a right to bring in and pass without consulting the people any definite measure of any kind, dealing with principle included in an indefinite programme, is pushing the theory of representative government far into the regions of absurdity.

The other reason is that a great change has come over the spirit of the electorate, and that they would no longer object to Home Rule. With that I agree; but the argument is in favour of accepting, not of rejecting, the amendment. A great and salutary change of opinion manifesting itself, in spite of all obstacles, in Ireland, has reflected itself upon public opinion in Great Britain. His Majesty's Government say they are satisfied that the majority of the electors of this country would accept a Home Rule Bill. The Nationalist party in the House of Commons are of the same way of thinking. In a letter which appeared in *The Times* of the 19th of July, Mr. Redmond, speaking for his party, said:

'I am quite convinced that Home Rule for Ireland has at its back the goodwill of the overwhelming majority of the British public.'

Lord Londonderry, speaking for the most strenuous opponents of Home Rule, declared in the House of Lords that if a Home Rule Bill *were submitted to the electors and were approved of by them* he and his friends would honestly accept it. That was the situation. All the elements necessary for an amicable and final settlement were present. Why was the opportunity lost? If Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist party are absolutely convinced that the overwhelming majority of the electors of Great Britain are in favour of Home Rule, and if his Majesty's Government are also convinced, as they say they are, why should they have objected so strongly to asking the people the direct question and so settling the matter?

There can be but one answer. The Nationalist party would not allow the people to be consulted. Their action either belies their words or condemns them as anti-Home Rulers. Either Mr. Redmond does not desire to see Home Rule an accomplished fact, or he does not believe that the overwhelming majority of the people are in favour of it. Be that as it may, the people of Great Britain

are bound to see the damning fact that the Nationalist party have taken up the utterly illogical position of refusing to allow a Home Rule Bill to be submitted to the judgment of the electors, though professing to believe that an overwhelming majority of them are in favour of it; and that the Government have prostituted the prerogative of the Crown, have forced a revolution upon the country and have broken up the Constitution at the illogical, unreasonable arbitrary command of their masters. It requires no dramatic event such as a great creation of peerages to force so patent a fact upon the attention of the people. So great a betrayal of the public for party purposes has never been perpetrated in the annals of history; and I am gravely mistaken as to the English character if such unreasonable and tyrannical action does not create a feeling of bitter resentment against the Government that has been guilty of it, and unfortunately against Ireland and everything to do with that ill-guided country. Thousands of electors of an open mind, ready to take a reasonable, just, and generous view of Ireland and her claims, will be turned against her. A strong case, to my mind an unanswerable case, can be made for Home Rule. No case can be made for refusing to submit a scheme to the people. If Ireland were claiming independence, demanding a separate existence, the establishment of an Irish Republic with its own army and navy, consular and civil service and all the equipment of an independent Sovereign State, the means whereby the end was accomplished would matter nothing. But Ireland remains, and must remain, a partner in the concern. The deed of partnership requires remodelling, but the partnership must continue. Under those conditions the goodwill of the other partners is essential. For Home Rule two things are essential: the goodwill of the people of Great Britain and the stability of the Imperial Parliament. To make Home Rule synonymous in the eyes of the people of Great Britain with the destruction of the constitutional balance, the usurpation—for it comes to that—of the prerogative of the Crown, and their deprivation of the right to be consulted on matters of organic change, is to damn Home Rule. Such a policy is calamitous, for every portent indicates the supreme wisdom of adopting a policy of national conciliation between Great Britain and Ireland, and burying at last the feud of centuries. A policy of conciliation is necessary in the interests of Ireland, of the United Kingdom, and of the Empire at large.

Recent events have proved the absurdity of pretending that the Irish people are naturally disloyal, and that a Home Rule Parliament in Dublin would be a danger to the Crown and a menace to peace. But loyalty may be endangered if the interests of Ireland are sacrificed on the discredited altar of party politics. Parliament persists, at the dictation of the present Government, in imposing

fresh burdens upon the people and in refusing the promised boon upon which the hearts of the Irish people are set—the completion of land purchase. It is essential in the interests of peace and prosperity, in Ireland, and I may add for the honour of Parliament, that the operation of land purchase be completed with as little delay as possible.

Mr. Asquith's Government may possibly succeed in producing a Home Rule measure which Mr. Redmond may feel compelled to accept, but the grave financial questions which must inevitably be raised in connexion with land purchase and Home Rule can be settled satisfactorily only by co-operation of all parties, only by a policy of conciliation under which the people of the United Kingdom will lay upon the Government of the day the duty of settling the Irish question on a permanent basis once for all.

In refusing to take a popular vote on the question of Home Rule the Government have, if they are sincere Home Rulers, made a great tactical mistake. They have allowed their opponents to shift their ground from the merits of the case itself to the right of the electorate to be consulted upon it, whatever the merits may be. A fictitious opposition to Home Rule will be created. By mixing up Home Rule with a sweeping revolution, the destruction of everything that the majority in England, at any rate, hold dear, by raising the temperature of party politics to fever heat, the Government have imperilled Ireland's just claims. Their arrogant policy will stir up a feeling of antagonism to Home Rule, land purchase, and everything connected with Ireland, which does not naturally exist, and the true policy of conciliation will receive a set-back from which it may not easily recover.

It would be out of place to state at length the only Irish policy which can heal the wounds of past centuries and cement a feeling of cordial friendship between the two islands. Any scheme if it is to contain the seeds of success must be framed on federal lines, and the constitutional question must be settled on a permanent basis. The power of a statutory Parliament, or of statutory Parliaments, is a delegated power. Stability of the central authority is a condition essential to stability of the subordinate authorities; order cannot owe allegiance to chaos. A statutory Parliament using delegated powers, unless those powers were derived from a strong and stable central authority, would have no chance of carrying on its business to the satisfaction either of the people immediately concerned, of the people of the United Kingdom, or of the people of a united Empire. A strong Second Chamber, a balanced Constitution, is an absolute necessity if a subordinate Parliament is not to run on the rocks during its earliest years. There are many instances of federation and delegation working well, but there is not one in which federation has not been

to, and delegation from, a strong, stable, well-balanced central power. I am fearful of the fate of Home Rule obtained by a violation of constitutional liberty, secured as a result of a mere party manœuvre, placed upon the Statute Book by means which must inevitably cause resentment and hostility to it. I look with nervous dread to the prospects of a measure of Home Rule which does not carry with it the goodwill of the people of Great Britain. No reasonable being imagines that it is possible to frame an abiding Constitution for Ireland out of the wreckage of the British Constitution. It is inconceivable that a statutory Parliament could have a fair chance of permanence and success in the administration of Irish affairs, if subject to the authority of a Parliament in such a state of chaos as that to which the Imperial Parliament has been reduced.

What is the position in which we find ourselves? It is essential that all Constitutionalists, all Imperialists, all who believe in democratic rule, all lovers of liberty should grasp it. Ireland and her claims, political, social, and economic, have been forced below the horizon of practical politics by the weight of the urgent necessity of remodelling the Constitution. But Ireland need not utterly despair. From that same necessity her opportunity will spring. The relief of congestion is a question inseparable from the creation of a stable, balanced Parliamentary system, and the erection of a statutory Parliament or of statutory Parliaments is the only means whereby the disease of congestion can be cured. The problems of devolution and reconstruction are inseparable. In the solution of one the solution of both will be found, and it will be found in no other way.

The Constitutional party have had their lesson—a bitter one. When they had the opportunity, they could not or would not see far enough ahead. They failed to grasp the facts—plain enough I should have thought—that a complete remodelling of our institutions, and particularly of the House of Lords, was necessary, and that wise and, above all, timely legislation dealing with social questions was urgently needed. They lost the opportunity for reform, and the result is revolution. Reconstruction is now their task. Will they take warning from the past? Nothing short of bold, comprehensive measures will suffice. If, when reaction swings them into power, as sooner or later it must, they content themselves with inaction, however masterly, they and, as I think, the nation are doomed. If, taking advantage of the strategical position the blunder of the Government has enabled them to occupy, they adopt the purely negative policy of no Home Rule, they will sacrifice a long and useful future for a doubtful and temporary present gain. A large, bold, constructive policy, re-creating a well-balanced Constitution, setting up a stable Parliament capable of

dealing with the business coming before it, viewing the claims of Ireland from a broad Imperial point of view, utilising the innate conservatism of the people, especially of Ireland, in order to deal wisely with social and economic problems, that is the policy that is required, and nothing short of it will suffice. Reaction against the intolerable tyranny achieved by the present Cabinet, and the disgraceful means by which it has been obtained, will some day bring back the Constitutional party to power, but reaction will not keep them there. No party can live on a policy of negation. The sooner a strong constructive policy is placed before the people, the sooner will the Constitutional party be given power necessary to carry it into effect.

DUNRAVEN.

THE DANGER AHEAD

POLITICIANS who took an active part in the recent political struggle necessarily regarded the passing of the Parliament Bill as an episode in party warfare. The Liberals were striking down their hereditary foes: the Unionists were losing the support of a body which had never failed to back the Unionist Party. This party aspect of the question largely explains why the country as a whole displayed so little excitement over a constitutional change of such far-reaching importance. For the average Englishman, except at election times, is to a large extent indifferent about party politics. He has a shrewd suspicion that the members of both parties are playing a game of their own, and their hits and misses do not greatly concern him. But there is a further and more important reason for the popular indifference which formed so striking a contrast to the political excitement, namely, the widespread conviction that the issue was inevitable, because the people had grown tired of the peers. As Lord Ribblesdale with humorous candour remarked in the final debate in the House of Lords: 'My Lords,—The fact of the matter is that the constituencies do not care about us.' They do not care because the nation has outgrown aristocratic forms of government.

That is not a feature of our country only. In every European country the powers of the aristocracy are being weakened. So long as the masses were untaught and ignorant, it was impossible that they should take any real share in their own government. They had to submit to external authority, because they had neither the knowledge nor the intelligence to govern themselves. The wide diffusion of education has rendered forms of government based upon these conditions out of date. We now have so to frame our political systems as to meet the fact that an enormous number of people, possibly indeed the majority of our present population, are capable of forming some sort of judgment upon the problems of government, and are at the same time eager to take some part in public affairs. Even were it desirable, it would be impossible permanently to exclude such people from a voice in the government of their country. Our business is not to repine for the past, but to accept democracy as a necessary fact, and to try to remove its defects and to obviate its dangers.

All forms of government have their defects; and if we, looking back, now see or fancy we see some very great advantage in preceding forms of government, we may be sure that our ancestors saw even more clearly the defects of those forms of government, or they would not have exerted themselves, often at the cost of prolonged suffering and much bloodshed, to effect a change.

What then is the principal danger we now have to face? What are the wrongs which our generation has to redress? I submit that the most serious danger now in prospect is the destruction of those essential human liberties for which our ancestors fought and suffered. As has often been pointed out before, the principal defect of democratic government is its disregard for individual liberty. This defect is all the more striking because the revolt against despotism and oligarchy has generally been inspired by an appeal for liberty. The theory both of monarchy and of aristocracy is that the rulers know better what is good for the people than the people themselves know. The people resent that theory, and demand liberty to conduct their own affairs in their own way. For the sake of liberty they demand the right of self-government; but, as soon as they have obtained that right, they at once proceed to use their new powers to destroy liberty.

So far as our own country is concerned, this change of outlook has been effected within the lifetime of the present generation. As long as the Liberal Party was engaged in trying to secure an enlargement of the rights of self-government for the benefit of the masses of the people, its constant appeal was to the principle of liberty. Now that this work has been in the main accomplished, the Liberal Party has forgotten its old traditions of liberty, and is engaged in trying to impose various restraints upon the liberty of the masses while simultaneously attacking the institution of property, which is itself an essential bulwark of individual liberty. Anyone who doubts the extent of this contrast may be recommended to study again an oft-quoted passage from a speech delivered by one of the most typical of Liberal statesmen of the last generation. Speaking at Oxford in 1873 Sir William Harcourt said:

> A Liberal Government tries, as far as the safety of society will permit, to allow everybody to do what he wishes. It has been the tradition of the Liberal Party consistently to maintain the doctrine of individual liberty. It is the practice of allowing one set of people to dictate to another set of people what they shall do, what they shall think, what they shall drink, when they shall go to bed, what wages they shall get and how they shall spend them, against which the Liberal Party has always protested.

So completely has the attitude of the Liberal Party changed in the thirty odd years that have since elapsed, that few modern

Liberals are even aware that Sir William Harcourt, in the passage quoted, was giving expression to what was then the creed of the whole party.

No special blame attaches to the Liberal Party for having thus completely changed its creed. The change which has taken place is due to the altered outlook of the greater part of the electorate. It has been forced upon Liberals rather than consciously and voluntarily adopted by them. The opposing party is subject to exactly the same influences; and at the present moment it is not easy to discover any trace of real enthusiasm for individual liberty in either of our two great political parties. Both parties are pursuing a policy which is a negation of the principles of individual liberty and self-help upon which the greatness of the Empire has been built. Both are teaching envy of others instead of exertion of oneself.

Simultaneously there has recently been a decline in that spirit of mutual toleration of divergent opinions which has so long been the pride of Englishmen. The most lamentable illustration is the outbreak of polemical violence in which a section of the Unionist Party indulged on the passing of the Parliament Bill. There was something to be said for the view of the 'Die-Hards,' that the country would have been more aroused by an actual creation of 500 peers to pass the Parliament Bill, than by the spectacle of the House of Lords accepting with quiet dignity a measure which had become inevitable. On such a speculative question of tactics differences of judgment were unavoidable, and divergent views could be held and expressed with equal sincerity and honour. So far as personal sacrifice is concerned, it seems obvious that the greatest sacrifice was made, not by those who gratified their own sentiments by voting against the Government, nor by those who walked out of the House, but by the remaining handful of Unionist peers who, setting aside their own desires and convictions, voted for a Bill of which they profoundly disapproved in order to save their House and the country from the added disaster of the wholesale creation of pledge-bound peers. Yet some of the supporters of the 'Die-Hards,' and especially the newspaper supporters, poured out upon those who differed from them a torrent of vile abuse to which there has been no recent parallel. Here is a typical passage from a Tory evening paper:

> For the traitors there can be nothing but hatred and contempt. We hope that no honest man will take any one of them by the hand again, that their friends will disown them, their clubs expel them, and that alike in politics and in social life they will be made to feel the bitter shame they have brought upon us all.

One may well ask what has become of the English tradition of liberty when professedly respectable journals use such language

as this, and deliberately advocate the application of the boycott to men with whom they temporarily disagree.

Unfortunately this disregard for the liberty of others is not confined to political issues. Exactly the same attitude of mind is displayed by weekly wage-earners when they go on strike, and by the mob of hooligans that gives vocal and physical support to the strikers. If any workman in the exercise of his undoubted right decides that he prefers to work on the terms offered rather than join the strike, he is denounced as a blackleg and a traitor. If he shows his face in the street he runs the risk of being attacked by howling ruffians. The only difference is that the East-end mob throws brickbats and the West-end journalist ink. This display of violence by strikers and their friends is not of course novel. Half a century ago there was probably more violence than to-day, but in the interval a very marked improvement had occurred, and it was generally argued that the improved organisation of labour had destroyed all excuse for violence, and had rendered possible the settlement of labour disputes by entirely peaceful methods. The great significance of the recent series of strikes is that violent interference with the freedom of other working-men and wanton destruction of property appear to have been regarded, at any rate by some of the strikers, as legitimate methods of advancing their own cause. The very conception of a simultaneous strike on all the railways of the kingdom so as to hold up the industries of the nation is itself a flagrant outrage upon the liberties of other people, and the fact that such a method of determining labour disputes should be seriously advocated by one section of the workpeople shows how grave are the dangers which lie ahead.

Such developments as these are not accidental. They spring from general causes affecting the whole body politic.

These general causes may be traced to pressure exercised first by the masses, who are increasingly conscious both of their own political strength and of the relatively small share of this world's advantages which they are able to enjoy, and secondly by the well-to-do classes who are philanthropically impatient with the existence of evil and misery. People who are poor, and see others rich, are naturally tempted to use the only far-reaching power they possess, namely, political power, to correct the inequalities which the operation of economic and moral forces has created. At the same time those members of the well-to-do classes in whom the sense of human sympathy is strongly developed feel eager to use what seems the quickest method of remedying flagrant evils.

We should all like to find an immediate remedy for every disease; and some people can never convince themselves that this may often be impossible. When the skilled physician sends them

away with the verdict that the disease is incurable, or that time alone will cure it, they turn to the blatant quack. He always has a following both in medicine and in politics, for he promises to cure every evil with a remedy which is both pleasant to take and certain to succeed.

In the realm of politics it will be found that all these quack remedies involve action by the State, either nationally or municipally. That, in itself, means an interference with individual liberty, for the essence of State action is compulsion. There are many voluntary associations in this and in all countries, some of them highly efficient, and much more efficient than that particular form of association which we call the State, but they have not the universal power of compulsion which the State possesses. If, then, people appeal to the State to do things, instead of leaving them to be done by individuals or by voluntary associations, it means that they want to use compulsion, that they want to infringe liberty.

The peculiar danger of this desire when expressed by democracies is that there is no natural limitation to it. A tyrant is afraid of his neck, an aristocracy of its privileges; a democracy has nothing to fear. The people cannot revolt against their own decrees; the majority, if it be a real majority, is omnipotent. That is why democratic infringements of liberty are more to be feared than any other form of tyranny. The majority is so conscious of its omnipotence that it fails to perceive that there are moral limits which it ought to impose upon the exercise of its powers. Those limits are transgressed when the reasonable liberties of the individual are arbitrarily curtailed.

This statement necessarily lacks precision. It is impossible to say, with absolute exactitude, what is reasonable and what is arbitrary. No final line can be drawn. We have to deal with tendencies, not with definitions. What I am here dealing with is the tendency in democratic States to ignore the necessity for individual liberty. Yet liberty is both a good thing in itself and an essential requisite of human progress. Everybody wants liberty. Every one of us feels the need of it. We all want to be free to consult our own wishes, to do what we like. That does not necessarily mean that we want to be selfish; it only means that we prefer to make our own decisions, rather than to accept the decisions of other people.

This being a universal instinct, it is surely folly to ignore it—folly to try to build up a better system of human society by ruling out one of the most important aspirations of all human beings—'Nec propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.' Do not let us for the sake of life throw away the things that make life worth living. Do not let us in the hope of making mankind happy destroy the essentials of human happiness.

But it is not only to human happiness that liberty is essential; it is also essential to human progress; for, when the liberty of the individual is completely circumscribed by force of law or custom, society stagnates. The Russian 'mir,' or village commune, furnishes one of the best illustrations of this truth. Except so far as outside influences have been brought to bear upon these prehistoric types of democratic government, they have remained unchanged for centuries, and the peasants who compose them live in a condition of degrading poverty to which hardly any parallel can be found elsewhere in the world. The best men cannot stand it. They escape from the tyranny of the commune to the relative freedom of Siberia; and there they establish farms of their own on the basis of individual property and individual enterprise. The Russian Government, perceiving the importance of this movement, has recently passed a Land Act providing for the creation of facilities for the peasantry to establish privately-owned farms in Russia itself. The movement, so far as it has gone, appears to have been a complete success; and a recent writer in the *Times* contrasts the hopefulness of these Russian peasants, working for themselves in the enjoyment of personal responsibility and personal liberty, with the condition from which they had escaped, which he thus describes:

> The periodic re-allotments among the families have been conducted for years past as a village handicap, directed towards giving every man an equal chance and the land no chance at all. The result usually aimed at was that no family should reach a better position than its most unlucky or thriftless neighbours.

This description is worth quoting, because it illustrates a democratic attitude of mind which is not entirely absent from this country. Among English Trade Unionists there is a constant tendency to press for uniformity in wages; and, when a number of workmen are engaged on the same job, there is often considerable jealousy if one is paid at a higher rate than the others. The same mental attitude largely accounts for the opposition to piece-work and the 'premium bonus' system. It also explains the Trade Union rules limiting the amount of work which a man may do in a given time. There is an underlying desire to set the pace to suit the slowest, so that all may be equal.

This is a peculiarly vicious example of the democratic tendency to destroy liberty. For of all individual liberties none is more important, both for the individual himself and for the community of which he is a part, than the right of a man to use to the best advantage his abilities as a wealth-producer. If he is told that he must produce less wealth than he is capable of producing, and

willing to produce, not only does he suffer the loss of an advantage which he might have enjoyed, but the community loses the wealth which he would have contributed. In this case the evil is due not only to an insufficient respect for individual liberty, but also to a false view of economics. A considerable number of workmen think that they can increase the chances of employment for their fellows by doing less work themselves. The obvious answer is that, if this were true, each man would make still more employment for others by doing no work at all, till finally there would be employment for everybody when nobody worked.

The truth, of course, is that we are all employing one another, and the more we individually earn, the more employment do we necessarily give to other people; for, whether we spend our earnings or invest them, they equally create employment. To prevent the individual workman from earning as much as he can, not only injures him, but also injures working-men as a mass by diminishing the volume of employment. The mischief wrought by this combination of false morals and false economics furnishes the strongest possible argument for non-interference by the majority with the liberty of the individual. For in every community there will always be many people with extremely vague ideas of economic truth, and with a somewhat feeble sense of moral principle; and, if such people are allowed to exercise coercive power over their neighbours, the whole country will suffer. On the other hand, where the individual is left free to work in his own way for his own advantage, his activity will in general benefit the community as well as himself.

This argument implies that the institution of private property is maintained and respected; and one of the most serious aspects of the growing disregard for individual liberty is the constant tendency to limit the rights of private property by increasing the burden of taxation. For the effect of taxation is to deprive the taxpayer of the liberty to spend as he chooses the money which he has legally acquired. Some taxation is, of course, necessary to provide a revenue for the maintenance of those public services which the collective necessities of the community demand; but latterly taxation has gone far beyond the limits which this definition would impose, and a good many 'advanced' politicians openly advocate an entirely new use of the power of taxation. Socialists and so-called 'Social Reformers,' whether belonging to the Liberal or to the Tory camp, propose, on one plea or another, to increase progressively the taxation of the rich and well-to-do in order to secure a more equal distribution of wealth. That in some ways greater equality in the distribution of wealth is desirable may readily be admitted; but it is worth

while even on this point to note that the case for equality is exaggerated. Let me give a practical illustration. A friend of mine was recently engaged in trying to start a public company for the development of a certain industry in the West of England. The idea was taken up locally with some enthusiasm; and, in the early stages of the enterprise, he told me that he had plenty of offers from people who were willing to subscribe 50*l*. or 100*l*. 'But,' he added, 'those are not the people whose money I want. The enterprise is too risky to justify me in taking their money. If the thing is to succeed at all, it must be taken up by a few very rich men who are capable of looking into the whole matter themselves, and who are willing to drop 5000*l*. apiece if need be.'

That is a very important point of view. There can be little doubt that many of the most valuable industries in this country would never have been established if we had not been fortunate in possessing a considerable number of rich men, able and willing to risk large sums of money on new enterprises of a hazardous character. I lay stress upon this consideration, because to me it seems to prove that the present distribution of wealth is unsatisfactory, not because of the existence of a small number of rich men but because of the existence of a large number of poor men. The common Socialist theory is that the one phenomenon is the necessary counterpart of the other; and many people besides the Socialists seem to have a crude idea that the total wealth of the country is a fixed quantity, and that distribution is merely a matter of a division sum. That is absolutely false. The amount of wealth produced very largely depends on the motives that exist for wealth-production; and, if these motives are impaired, the total product will inevitably be reduced.

It is for this reason that all schemes for redistributing wealth upon any other basis than that of reward for exertion ought to be unhesitatingly rejected. Yet the proposals put forward by sentimental Radicals and by Tory Democrats under the plausible title of 'Social Reform,' and supported by the Socialists as steps towards Socialism, are all based upon the theory that it is the duty of the State to come to the assistance of the poor man. It is a very plausible proposition, but we have to ask whither it leads. If poor men are to be helped out of public funds simply because they are poor, poverty will become by itself a title to pecuniary reward; and the result will be that the main motive for industrial effort will disappear.

If poverty is to be rewarded, why should anybody work? It would be more profitable to remain poor. People are fond of saying that poverty is not a crime; but neither is it a title to

merit. No one urges that the community should look on callously while human beings starve. To save the destitute from the cruellest consequences with which Nature penalises destitution may safely be regarded in a civilised community as a public service; but, when we go beyond this and tell men that they have only to plead poverty in order to obtain a share of other people's property, then we are entering upon a course which can only end in a compulsory distribution of national wealth in equal shares among all the members of the nation. Such a system of distribution could only be maintained under a despotism more absolute than any of which the world has yet had experience. For, if we take away the main motive for industry, namely, the hope of pecuniary reward, it would become necessary—men being what they are—to drive a large portion of the population to its daily work under the ever-present threat, or use, of the lash. In a word, the destruction of private property means the establishment of slavery in its crudest form.

The best way, and in the final resort the only way, to diminish poverty and to advance prosperity is to continue to follow the path which has already led mankind to heights undreamt of in past ages. We have to remember that, though there is still much poverty in our midst, it is as nothing compared with the poverty which existed in earlier centuries. The institution of private property, steadily working through successive generations, has stimulated enterprise, encouraged effort, created and preserved capital, with the result that the comforts and enjoyments of civilised life, which in earlier ages were unattainable even by the few, are now within the reach of the vast majority of our people.

That much poverty still remains, and that it is often entirely undeserved, is no argument for sweeping away or impairing the strength of that wonderful institution of private property which has already effected so much for the advancement of mankind. What we have to ask ourselves is whether, while leaving this institution to continue automatically its beneficent work, we cannot supplement its action so as to help those who fall out by the way. My own conviction is that, if we wish to do this, we must appeal in the main to moral and not to political forces. We must teach that a responsibility rests upon the individual to use for the benefit of others as well as of himself the advantages which he possesses, whether they spring from personal ability or from inherited fortune. We have to teach that those positive laws which are necessary for the definition of individual rights are not alone sufficient for the guidance of men's actions.

Beyond and above the necessarily rigid code of positive law is a more elastic but ultimately more potent code based upon the instinct of human comradeship; and its function is not to enforce rights but to indicate duties. The principle of personal responsibility is the necessary counterpart of the principle of personal liberty. Both are essential to social progress and human happiness. We cannot hope to preserve the one if the other be destroyed. Unless a man has liberty to give effect to his own judgment, he speedily ceases to feel any sense of moral responsibility. The destruction of individual liberty involves also the destruction of that moral sense which makes social life possible. Probably most politicians would, without hesitation, give their assent to these general propositions; nevertheless they continue to pursue a course which leads directly towards the evils here indicated. The more the functions of the State are extended, the greater is the curtailment of individual liberty, the less is the power of the individual to resist collective tyranny. In practice even the majority soon ceases to have control over the organisation which it has itself created. People have their own work to attend to; they cannot afford to give more than a limited time to public duties. As a result, the control of governing bodies passes first into the hands of a minority of energetic persons, who may be well-intentioned, but who generally care more about the advancement of their own views than about the wishes of the people they govern. After a time even these enthusiasts find the task too heavy for them, and hand over to officials the duties they had hoped themselves to discharge.

This is true both of local government and of national government. Not only in the case of local government is there an ever-growing local bureaucracy, but the central bureaucracy exercises a superior power of control over the local authorities. The result is an ever-increasing number of officials. England is becoming more official-ridden even than France. No doubt many of our officials are men of very high character, zealous for their work and for their country; but they exercise power without responsibility, and from the sheltered seclusion of their official desks they give decisions which may affect the convenience and the happiness of thousands of human beings. The permanent official, whom we endow with these tremendous powers, has no superhuman qualities. He cannot see through a brick wall; he cannot be in two places at once; he cannot understand the intricacies of a business which he has never studied. Yet his power is every day growing. Not only does he control almost the whole of the administrative work of the country, but he is responsible for the greater part of the legislation which passes through Parliament,

and has even begun to lay hands upon the work of the Courts of Law.

This last is one of the most dangerous tendencies of the present time. Act after Act has been passed in recent years transferring from the Courts of Law to the bureaucracy the duty of deciding important questions concerning private rights.

The seriousness of this transfer of jurisdiction can hardly be exaggerated. A trial in Court is open to all the world; and everybody is able to ascertain the reasons that determined the decision of the judge. But the examination of any question by the bureaucracy is carried on behind closed doors; and there is no obligation upon the official concerned to give any reason for the decision at which he arrives. He may in many cases act with the perfect fairness which we have learnt to expect from our judges; but he is subject to two important influences from which judges are free. In the first place, the cases he is called upon to decide generally concern previous action by his own department; and the spirit of departmental loyalty will necessarily bias his mind. In the second place, the cases which come before a Government department very often have a bearing upon current political controversies; and, in that event, the official has to take his orders from the Cabinet Minister at the head of the department. The decision is then frankly determined not by judicial but by political considerations, with the result that the interpretation of private rights finally depends upon the arbitrary will of the majority in the House of Commons.

How, then, are we to deal with these dangerous tendencies? In the first place, we must take care so to frame our machinery of government as to make it difficult for those who temporarily gain control of the machine to impose their personal fads upon the rest of the community. At the moment, indeed, this is an even greater danger than the general tendency of the people themselves to demand increased State control. For, as our governmental machine is now worked, it is possible for a well-organised group of persons to engineer through Parliament measures to which the assent of the nation has never been secured, and to use the whole power of the State to enforce these measures. This is possible at present because of the very limited power which the elector possesses. He is limited to a choice between two parties, each of which has a fairly extensive programme. He may not like the programme of either party, but he must support one of the two. When once he has given his vote, his whole power has gone; and, if the party which he may have helped to place in power chooses to interfere with his

liberty in a manner of which he disapproves, he has no practical redress.

The policy of each party is in practice dictated by small groups of people working behind the scenes. Their motives may be entirely honourable, though even of this there is no necessary guarantee; but, whatever their motives may be, these little groups exercise through the party machinery a power to dictate to the House of Commons, and through the House of Commons to the country. Under present conditions the House of Commons, which was once a model for the world, has ceased to be a deliberative assembly. The party prescribes the measures which the Government is to introduce. Those measures are sometimes fairly debated at their various stages, sometimes they are passed without debate by means of the closure; but in neither case can any effective change be made in them without the assent of the persons who control the party machinery. If, after five or six years, the country grows tired of the dominance of one party, the electors can enjoy the satisfaction of putting that party in a minority, but they will not recover their liberty. They will merely be exchanging one set of tyrants for another. The first step, therefore, towards securing liberty is so to amend our Constitution as to prevent this alternating tyranny; and the best method of accomplishing this object is to give to the electors themselves a power of veto over every important legislative proposal.

An incidental advantage of the introduction of this popular veto would be the creation of a greater sense of responsibility both in the House of Commons and in the Second Chamber. Members of Parliament now feel that they have no personal responsibility for the votes they give. Their whole duty is to obey the party whip. If, however, every important measure were liable to be submitted to a Referendum, members would hesitate to record their votes for measures which were unlikely to meet with popular approval. The House of Commons, in a word, would gain a large part of that authority which is now exclusively exercised by party caucuses.

Further than this, the experience of other countries has shown that the working of the Referendum is opposed to interference by the Government with the liberty of the individual. A small band of enthusiasts may, under our present system, demand a particular kind of interference—for example, compulsory closing of public-houses on Sunday; and this group may be successful in forcing its proposals upon one or other of the political parties. But, when the question comes to be put to the people as a whole, they will answer: 'No! We prefer to govern ourselves.' We

may safely assume that any proposal for widespread and arbitrary interference with the liberty of the masses of the people would be negatived if put to a popular vote; and for this reason the introduction of the Referendum would be by itself a most valuable safeguard against the present tendency to undue interference with individual liberty.

At the same time, it is of the utmost importance so to reform the constitution both of the House of Commons and of the House of Lords as to secure a better discussion of legislative proposals than is possible under present conditions. So long as each elector has only the possibility of choosing between two rival candidates, the tendency will be for political forces to divide themselves into two hostile camps; and each camp will fight for its own hand with only a secondary regard for the interests of the country.

To destroy this purely artificial method of carrying on the business of the country, it is desirable to substitute large constituencies for the single-member constituencies which are now the rule, and to give the electors, by means of the transferable vote, a wider range of choice than is possible under the present system. Men could then be returned to Parliament without being compelled in advance to subscribe to all the tenets, present and future, of a party creed. A new element of independence would be introduced into the House of Commons; and that House would once again obtain the power of deliberating effectively upon schemes of legislation. As a further safeguard, it is of the highest importance that the Second Chamber should be so reformed as to enable it to exercise independent authority, subject always to the provision that in the ultimate resort the will of the people themselves, as ascertained by a Referendum, must prevail.

These improvements in the machinery of government would give the nation far more complete control over its own affairs than it now possesses, and would remove some of the worst evils from which we now suffer. But changes in machinery will count for little unless the people themselves see clearly the necessity for so limiting their own collective action as not to interfere with individual liberty, except where the essentials of social life are at stake. What those essentials are cannot be specified in advance. Directly men begin to live together, they must have some rules of conduct to guide them in their dealings with one another; and, as life grows more complex, so admittedly does the necessity for more complex regulations arise. The point which we have to press is that, in framing any regulations which the needs of the community may require, the mind of the people should always

be fixed on the importance of curtailing liberty as little as possible, and of trusting rather to moral suasion than to coercive laws. Democracy is already omnipotent; it has yet to learn how to curb its own strength. This is a difficult lesson to learn; and it may be that our country will have to pass through many painful experiences before the mass of the people understand that there is nothing they can gain by the exercise of arbitrary power one-half so precious as the liberty they will lose.

HAROLD COX.

GERMAN POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

Our relations with Germany are sure to be serious and important for many years to come; and they may be critical. They will need to be studied from many points of view. We have had a fresh illustration of the urgent need of this in the significant speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George before a company of bankers and City merchants on the 21st of July of the present year. From this speech we learned with extreme surprise and regret that our relations with Germany had been going through a dark phase in connexion with the question in Morocco. Mr. George used serious language. 'If,' he said, 'a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated, where her interests are vitally affected, as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ourselves to endure. National honour is no party question. The security of our great international trade is no party question.' On the 27th of the same month Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour made speeches of a like serious tone in the House of Commons. The present writer firmly believes that with a reasonable measure of knowledge, sympathy, and insight there is no ground for strained relations with Germany about Morocco or any other question. Germany has at her door heavy tasks, which will claim her mind and energy for a long time to come. On the east she is confronted with an empire which, according to the last census, has a population of 160,000,000. The future of Austria and South-Eastern Europe is dark and uncertain. Her relations with France must remain doubtful. A quarrel with England, unless it were forced upon her, we may be sure, does not form part of her programme. The risks would be too great compared with the probable or possible gains. In fact, war between Great Britain and Germany would mean incalculable harm to both Powers and no lasting good of any kind to either. If our obligations to France expose us to such a risk, the sooner

they are modified the better, consistently with good faith. We are not bound, let us hope, to support her in an adventurous policy in Morocco. Our business with Germany, whether as regards colonial questions or questions of the Near East, can be arranged in a spirit of mutual goodwill.

In view of all these considerations it is very important that we should know what German policy really is. The present article, as its title shows, is an attempt to answer the question in the light of history.

For about two and a half centuries we can trace a remarkable continuity, consistency, and tenacity in the career of Prussia. The policy of Prussia has become the policy of united Germany.

At a time when the policy of Germany is being so much discussed, and when feelings of doubt, suspicion, and alarm are so frequently expressed regarding it, we should be anxious to see things as they have been and are. Such an inquiry should be the more instructive, as the German system is so different from our own, and has been strong and successful in the very points where our own has been weak.

We can see many reasons which make it hard for an average Englishman to understand the position and the mind of Germany. Though Englishmen and Germans have come of a common stock, the circumstances and the development of the two peoples have been strangely different since they parted long ago. England has been protected by her insular position from the worst consequences of war. She has been a united country for many centuries. For centuries she has not seen an invading army in her midst. Her internal development has gone forward according to the genius of her people and according to the light that was given them without interference from abroad. At home, on the seas, and in the Colonies we have enjoyed a plenitude of opportunity that has not been given to any other people. In our social and political thinking we have long taken for granted, and in our practice we have long carelessly enjoyed or abused, great privileges which many other nations have only begun to appreciate.

With Germany it has been entirely different. Germany is an extensive country in Central Europe, which has had no very clearly defined boundaries. The political structure of the country was loose and incoherent. Disunion was a prevailing note of her history for centuries, and the results were awful. Disunion gave continual opportunity and encouragement to interference and aggression on the part of her neighbours. For centuries a divided Germany formed a large and permanent part of the political system of Europe, on which France particularly depended for the maintenance of her ascendancy. Constant interference from abroad, invasion, exaction, provocation and devastation—such

was the record of Germany in her relations with other peoples. These calamities culminated in the Thirty Years' War, in the long wars of aggression of Louis the Fourteenth and his successor, and in the insolent domination of Napoleon.

During this long period the internal development of Germany was hindered and almost brought to a standstill. Her industrial growth, which had at one time been most promising, was arrested. Her sea-coasts being for the most part occupied by foreign Powers, she had little opportunity for commerce. While the nations of Western Europe were struggling for the possession of America, India, and other fields of colonisation and conquest beyond the seas, Germany had neither power nor scope to do anything in that way. Germany was neither a State nor a nation to claim a corporate part in the world's affairs.

So different has been the history of Germany from that of England. Englishmen can understand the past circumstances of Germany only by a serious effort of the historical imagination. Few of us have taken the trouble or shown the capacity necessary for such an effort. Yet without adequate knowledge of her past circumstances it is impossible to understand her present position. Very few indeed are the Englishmen who have the knowledge, insight and sympathy requisite to understand the historic past of Germany, to appreciate the intensity of feeling, the high and serious purpose, the resolution and energy with which she at last set about the task of recovering her unity and independence.

The unity of Germany was restored by the Prussian Army in three wars from 1864 to 1871. And it is here that we encounter the worst difficulty Englishmen have in understanding Germany. Prussia may be said to have made the Germany with which we now have to deal; Germany, as understood by not a few people, is Prussia, and Prussia has stood for many things which Englishmen do not love or admire. Prussia was an autocracy in which there was little scope for freedom. It was a State in which everything was subordinated to military discipline and to the rigid economy necessary for the support of the army. It was in the most rigorous sense a military State, in which the will of a single man was supreme in every department. Being a military autocracy, rigid in government, organisation, and discipline, it has, naturally, as many Englishmen believe, grown great by aggression.

Most Englishmen know Prussia, if they know it at all, from the brilliant caricature of the early Prussian monarchy in Macaulay's essay on *Frederick the Great*. The real and vital points in the development of Prussia cannot be learned from such a caricature. We cannot really understand Prussia unless we understand the circumstances in which she was placed. Let us remember that she was originally a small and poor State in north-

eastern Germany. Even when Frederick ascended the throne in 1740 her population amounted to only 2,240,000. The soil for the most part consisted of sand and peat. North Germany is a plain, with a very slight slope towards the north. As her superfluous rainfall, therefore, does not find an easy or rapid course to the sea, it tends to form bog and swamp and small lake, and the most fertile parts were thereby rendered useless and unhealthy. The climate was harsh. In such a country agriculture could be made profitable only by laborious and well-directed industry. Manufactures were in their infancy. The country had no special advantages for commerce.

The political situation of the country was no better. It had no natural frontiers, and it had three neighbours of overwhelming power and resources, France, Russia and Austria. It had also to reckon with Sweden and Poland.

Such was the situation, natural and historical, of Prussia. The task before her was how to make the best of small means and of a very unpromising position. This task was solved by the capacity, energy and resolution of her rulers.

It is agreed that the rise of Prussia began with the Great Elector who ruled from 1640 to 1688. He found his land and people ruined by the Thirty Years' War, and as he succeeded to a weak and impoverished Government, he had no means to help them. The recovery therefore was slow. One of his first cares was gradually to raise funds enough to support an army which would insure the safety of his people and command the respect of his neighbours. His energy, sagacity and high character were invaluable to Prussia at a most trying time. In the latter part of his long reign he welcomed to his dominions nearly 20,000 Protestant refugees from France, who contributed largely to their progress in the arts and sciences. The foundations of the Prussian system were well and truly laid by his grandson Frederick William, father of Frederick the Great, from 1713 to 1740.

At his death in 1740 Frederick William left an army of 80,000, a number which was entirely out of proportion to the population of his kingdom, which, as we have said, was only 2,240,000. In training and equipment it was the first army in the world at that time. But this army represented merely one side of the king's activity. He was himself a model of hard work and frugality, carried to excess at a period when extravagance and profligacy were too common among rulers. He strove to make his kingdom after his own pattern, a model of laborious industry and rigorous frugality. Prussia was mainly an agricultural country, in which the peasantry constituted the rank and file of the army, while the land-owning noble class supplied the officers. The peasantry were serfs—the nobles formed a special caste.

Frederick William energetically promoted agriculture, and carefully fostered such industries as were practicable. The peo of the towns, as being particularly valuable for industry, we exempt from military service. During his reign he was t watchful and consistent champion of Protestantism in German and of justice in Prussia, but, above all, he was the disciplinaris of his people in the arts both of war and peace.

Under such a ruler there was obviously little room for freedom Prussia was the creation of rigid discipline and hard work. B with all his failings and eccentricities Frederick William had high and serious purpose, which he clearly kept in view an resolutely carried out.

Englishmen who have been saved from European dangers b the English Channel, Americans who have been freed from Euro pean entanglements by the whole width of the Atlantic Ocean, can hardly understand how essential a strong army has been to a country like Prussia. As we have said, she had no natura frontiers and she had no great natural resources. These elements of weakness, however, proved to be a most powerful stimulus to the high intelligence and strenuous character of her rulers and her people. Through circumstances which would have been depressing and even ruinous to feeble men, she has risen to greatness.

Frederick the Great inherited a well-organised government, a well-filled treasury, and the best army in the world. He had the genius and energy to use them effectively. Prussia grew in his hands and attained a foremost place among the States of the Continent. It is not our concern here to defend all that he did. The political morality of his time was low. Fraud and force had long been too prevalent in the affairs of nations, and were to continue to be. He worked under the limitations of his time and of his character, which was not perfect. But there can be no doubt that he was an enlightened, energetic and patriotic ruler. He was what he claimed to be, the first servant of the State, the advocate of the poor. The world has known Frederick chiefly as a great general. War occupied only about one-fifth of his reign. It would be truer and more profitable to regard him as a great economist and administrator.

The main point for us to remember here is that Prussia under the House of Hohenzollern has won on her merits; she has risen to greatness because she deserved it. She has seen times of slackness and extravagance. The House of Hohenzollern has not always maintained its own high standard of energy, economy and enlightened devotion to the State. But few countries have had so long a period of able rule as Prussia enjoyed from 1640 to 1786, when Frederick died. It was particularly the very strenuous time, nearly three-quarters of a century, from 1713 to 1786, which

saw the rise and consolidation of Prussia as a Power of the first rank.

The three reigns which cover the ensuing three-fourths of a century, from 1786 to 1861, were quieter and less strenuous. But the Hohenzollern traditions of hard work, of careful promotion of the industrial development of the State, and of care for the army, were never lost even in the worst times. Experience of the bitterest kind under the domination of Napoleon showed more clearly than ever the need for an efficient military system. The new birth of Germany may well be dated from the agony of Jena. In that supreme crisis Prussia learned patience, circumspection and insight. She learned the need of reform in every department of the State, in education and in her social and political organisation, as well as in her military system. And so an event which seemed to be overwhelming ruin proved for her to be a call to a higher life.

Thus in Prussia we see a State which was so situated that a strong army was an imperative necessity. To maintain such an army her poor resources needed to be fostered and husbanded to the very uttermost. Her rulers had the insight to see this primary need, and the strong will to adapt themselves and their country to it. The first duty of self-preservation demanded it. But as time went on a nobler aim disclosed itself. The force which was at first meant for self-preservation and self-respect could be used also for the restoration of German unity and independence. It has been the high historic mission of the Prussian Army to heal the divisions and end the misfortunes of Germany.

For a century after the awful catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War the estate of Germany had been exceeding low. The common people had fallen into the deepest misery and apathy. Too many of her princes aped the Court of Louis the Fourteenth in a style of awkward and brutal profligacy. The period which came after 1750 saw a great revival of German intelligence. Her sons took the foremost place in poetry, philosophy and in historical research. The victories of Frederick showed what German skill, valour and discipline could achieve under the utmost stress of war. The civic and military reforms which followed the collapse of Prussia at Jena bore fruit in the terrible struggle of the War of Liberation in 1813. In the great final struggle against Napoleon Prussia bore the heaviest burden.

But in spite of all these achievements there was no German nation to claim them. There were States in Germany in plenty, but there was no German State. This State came into existence in 1871, as the new German Empire. In this achievement Prussia had its culmination and its close as a separate State. Germany has won, not only a national life, but a full national life. To the

old pre-eminence of her sons in poetry, philosophy and research she has added new distinctions in war and politics, in industry, scientific discovery and social reform. In all the great departments of national life Germany may claim a foremost place among the nations. If generally we compare the achievements of Germans with other peoples, we may fairly assign to the men of the Fatherland the foremost place during the last century and a half.

During the nineteenth century Germany has had two most worthy tasks to perform: to recover her unity and independence and to win a fitting place among the nations. If we study her history in the light of those two tasks we shall find it intelligible and most honourable. The recovery of German unity was a most rational and beneficent revolution, accomplished by the operations of high moral and national forces. It was an event which must be judged as a revolution, and not by the ordinary lights of the routine of politics.

If we are to understand Prussia and Germany, there are certain points which require special attention. Let us try, even at the risk of repetition, to make them clear. Our difficulties in understanding Prussia may be summed up in two chief points: it is a military State and its Government is an autocracy, and these two points are really identical, for the one naturally suggests and even includes the other. An autocracy naturally rests on the army; the military State usually has a single head. Prussia has undoubtedly been a military State controlled by an autocracy; and such a State so controlled, it may be said, usually lends itself to aggression.

But we must remember that such abstract propositions as the above express only a small part of the truth. We have seen that Prussia became a military State not from choice, but from necessity, and we should also recollect that history shows many variations in the so-called military type of State. There have been military States with which it would be the grossest calumny to identify or compare Prussia in any kind of way. There have been lapses in the career of Prussia; but in general it has maintained a high standard of intelligence and of moral purpose. If its Government has been an autocracy, it has been served and even guided and controlled by serious and enlightened advisers.

It would be just as true to call it an industrial as a military State. In the policy of the Hohenzollerns we see a sustained and systematic effort to develop the economic resources of the country. If they have been soldiers they have also been economists and administrators, prompt and resolute to direct and help the industrial development of the country. From our point of view they may have made mistakes in so doing, but there can be no doubt that

their efforts have been serious, consistent and well-intentioned. We must never forget that Prussia was naturally a very poor country. Its rulers and people have made the most of it by intelligent and assiduous culture. Under the direction of her rulers sandy wastes and moors were made to bear decent harvests. Swamps and quagmires were drained, rivers were embanked, canals were dug. On the lands thus reclaimed and made accessible colonies of thriving and industrious peasant-farmers were settled. Building of suitable houses and the making of good roads were urged on. The gift of a good house was not an unusual mark of Royal favour to a deserving subject. Order, justice and education have been a first care of the Prussian rulers. Minute and careful personal inspection of their domains was a part of their administrative policy, to which they attended as carefully as to the reviewing of their troops.

Such a system may be best known by its fruits. Seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has a State been subjected to so severe a test as Prussia was during the Seven Years' War. How marvellously it stood the test is well known. But the soundness and excellence of the Prussian system were even better shown by the rapidity with which it recovered from the effects of the war. Whole regions had been devastated, houses had been burned down, horses and cattle killed or driven away. Even corn in many districts was wanting, to provide food and to sow the fields. Half a million people, or one-ninth of the whole population, a large proportion of whom naturally were adult males, had perished during the war. The situation was not hopeful. Yet in six or seven years the ruin had been repaired. People and Government combined in this beneficent work. Sixty thousand army horses were distributed for use among the most needy farmers. Most of the funds which Frederick had provided for an eighth campaign were used to build houses, to buy corn for food and for sowing, and to procure other needful appliances. As we have said, Prussia recovered in a marvellously short time from the evil effects of a most exhausting and desolating war.

To many minds a military State suggests a predatory State. Such a suggestion is intolerable with regard to Prussia. Industry has been the note of the Prussian State throughout its history, industry ceaseless, thrifty, well-directed and victorious under adverse conditions of soil and climate. War was, generally speaking, a most unwelcome incident to her rulers. Military training was an imperative necessity. The true and constant vocation of the State was rational industry, in which Government and people combined to convert a waste and barren land into a well-ordered and well-equipped country.

Prussia soon became notable as a well-ordered and well-

equipped State. To the seeing eye its good roads and water-ways, the excellent buildings, public and private, of its towns, the thriving and industrious population, both in town and country, marked it out as a progressive country with a most promising future. When it began to take a high rank among the nations, Prussia had equal justice, a good system of education, an energetic and frugal Administration, which was provided with a substantial hoard of ready cash, and a large army which was always ready to march at a fortnight's notice, completely equipped in every detail. In most of these points Prussia showed a striking contrast to its neighbours in Germany and beyond it. Is it a marvel that such a State was rewarded with success? The marvel would have been if it had not succeeded. In short, Prussia was a frugal, hard-working, well-ordered, well-equipped and efficient State when its neighbours in varying degrees were slack, backward, ill-governed, anarchic. The success of Prussia is the simple result of the laws of moral causation, the operation of which in history the candid inquirer is anxious to trace and glad to find.

With regard to the German Army, it should be noted that it forms an integral part of the nation. It is the able-bodied nation trained, equipped, and organised for self-defence. It is the training school of the national physique, a school of patriotism and of civic virtue, as well as of military skill and intelligence. The aim of the army is self-preservation in the widest sense, to maintain the self-respect, the rights and interests of the German people. Service is a civic and patriotic obligation laid on all able-bodied men. We need not wonder, therefore, that the army holds a high place in the mind and heart and daily life of the German people. Nor need we stop to point the contrast to our own army, which finds such a place in the hearts of our people only when a great crisis rouses national feeling to an unusual height.

The new Germany was born in 1871. Before that time the Germans, as we have seen, had won a foremost place in literature and art, in historical and scientific research. Prussia had gained the foremost place in the art of war. By 1871 her economic development on modern lines had begun, but it was not yet sufficient to give her a foremost place among the nations. To her industrial and commercial development Germany has brought the same qualities of science, system, thoroughness and tenacity which had ensured success in other departments. Before the close of the nineteenth century Germany had attained to the highest position as a fully and completely developed modern State. In all the arts of war and peace she was second to none. When we compare her present circumstances with the unspeakable burden

of calamity which she bore at the close of the Thirty Years' War, or even with her position in 1850 after the failures of the revolutionary period of '48, we may excuse the German of to-day if he have a feeling of honourable pride in the high place which his country now holds. It is a place which is well deserved, which has been won by the most sterling qualities of mind and heart against the most formidable obstacles, internal and external. For be it remembered that the most serious difficulties in the way of German progress in unity, independence, and in the realisation of the most precious blessings of national life have been found in Germany itself. To have cleared away the mass of futility, confusion and obstruction that formerly afflicted Germany, in face of so much prejudice, imbecility, and selfishness, was no mean achievement. In such a change we must say emphatically that the best elements of the nation found triumphant expression.

Let us hope that the better elements will prevail in the future. We can see that Prussia survived and has prevailed because she proved herself the fittest. In her career we see the triumph of sustained energy, rationally and systematically directed towards serious and worthy ends. As the one fixed point of orderly progress in North Germany, she was bound to gather round herself into some kind of system the confused and feeble elements that existed there. It has been the victory of character, of the disciplined mind and will, over unfavourable conditions. It has been a great and successful system; but it is not perfect. No system can be perfect which does not give due scope to freedom. Even as an instrument of success in the highest form it is imperfect, inasmuch as it tends to foster routine, to discourage initiative, and the genial expansion of the individual mind and character. So far as organisation tends to the development of the mere machine it signally fails. The awful experience of Jena is a sufficient warning as to the inefficiency of the machine when the directing and moving power is defective.

In England we suffer from the opposite extreme. England and the Empire are to an eminent degree the product of free expansion, of free energy, enterprise and adventure. Government with us has not been the all-controlling factor that it has been in Prussia. On the contrary, it has too often allowed things to take their course when control was morally necessary and would have been practically beneficent. In all departments of our national and imperial life we suffer from the want of wise direction and organisation. Insight into real conditions, the skilled prevision and direction that are based on insight, have been and still are seriously wanting.

For the attainment of the highest forms of society we require the combination of organisation and freedom. We require an

organisation which will give due scope and opportunity for the free play of the individual mind and will. It has been character above all other things which has carried Prussia to a foremost place among the nations. But this character must, from the point of view of the highest modern culture, be regarded as too much the product of the drill-sergeant. The highest character is the result and the accompaniment of the moral discipline which the fully-trained man imposes on himself. Germany under Prussian guidance has won, as it deserved, a foremost place among the nations. It has the means for maintaining such a fitting place. Let us hope that Prussia will henceforth be merged in a Germany in which there will be less need for military discipline, and a widening scope for the free voluntary discipline which secures the highest national character and culture. Hard pressure of circumstance long made it necessary for Prussia to maintain a severe discipline and a rigid social and political organisation. It would be disastrous to the highest human progress if these were continued under the happy conditions in which Germany is now placed.

It is admitted that Germany and England have learned much from each other in past times. The notable differences in their past and in their present political and social organisation, instead of being a ground of estrangement, should be a stimulus to their mutual progress. In Germany there are many features which should awaken reflection, emulation, and even imitation over here. Our chief concern is to do our part in our own sphere of duty and interest. We should be ready to learn from Germany. It is the best-organised country in the world. The study of a system so different from ours should teach us not only to understand Germany but to improve our own methods.

The record of the subjection by warlike nations of industrial peoples who neglected military training, who were excessively devoted to sport and pleasure, or were given up to sloth and slackness, forms a very painful section of history. We cannot be sure that this melancholy chapter in human affairs is ended. Germany has shown us how to end it. The true vocation of Prussia and of Germany under her guidance has been enlightened industry. The pursuit of industry, and of the knowledge by which industry may be wisely directed, has made modern Germany. But she has not neglected the military training by which the results of enlightened industry need to be safeguarded.

There is therefore no mystery or dubiety about the policy of Germany. It is the policy which has been pursued by the House of Hohenzollern since the Great Elector began to rule in 1640, the rational and systematic promotion of the interests of the State. Tested and approved in a small way for many years, it has grown till we now see it exercised on the largest scale in the high affairs

of imperial and world politics. The German Fleet and Army are intended simply to be the instruments of such a policy. We surely need not take the trouble to point out how different such a policy is from that of Louis the Fourteenth or Napoleon, with its fatal mixture of vanity, of the love of '*glory*,' and of the ambition which, by its excess, brings about its own chastisement and ruin. Such a policy as that of Germany makes her a more serious rival than France ever was. But if we understand it rightly, it also gives us the assurance that we may easily be the most cordial friends on reasonable terms. The fact that Germany has had the strongest army in the world for forty years and has not waged a single war should alone dispel the fears that are by some entertained regarding her policy.

What present use can we make of this appeal to history? Our first duty is to clear our minds of the absurd and pernicious idea that the wars of 1864-71 were wars of vulgar aggression. They were waged to secure unity and independence and all the thousand blessings implied in unity and independence for a great people that had for centuries endured the worst evils of disunion and of foreign interference and domination.

Germany, as we have seen, has an exceptionally difficult position to maintain in Central Europe. She has a population of 65,000,000, which is increasing at the rate of about a million a year. She therefore does not suffer from the evils of a slow or arrested development. But she needs room for expansion, as an organism with a high vitality like hers must do. She has sought it overseas, not very successfully. For she came too late to have her share in the times of great colonial expansion, especially in the Temperate zones. But there remained Africa. The map of Africa at the present day shows that of the four Powers chiefly concerned, Great Britain, France, Belgium and herself, she has fared worst by far. We need not wonder at her persistency about Morocco, which may be regarded as the last field for colonial enterprise that is still to be appropriated. In these matters I think it was our duty and our interest, rightly understood, to be friendly, sympathetic and even generous towards Germany, and we have not so been. It does appear that our rulers have not really understood the past history or present position of Germany. Whether it has been prejudice, ignorance, or merely a desire always to have the best of a bargain, or a confused mixture of all three, one cannot easily determine. But the result has come home to us in swollen armaments, in strained relations, and in the insane talk of war.

Germany has also sought expansion towards the Far South-East; the railway to Bagdad under her auspices will probably restore culture and prosperity to ancient seats of civilisation which for centuries have lain waste. We are justified in saying that she

has taken Turkey under friendly guidance and protection. This is the best available solution of the great problem of the Near East. We should have raised no objection to it, but should rather have furthered it in every reasonable way. It is still not too late to adopt a perfectly frank and friendly policy in this matter. The influence of Germany in those important regions should tend to promote the economic development of Turkey, to turn the minds of the Moslems to the pursuits of industry, to encourage peace among the various races constituting her population, and to raise a barrier against the excessive advance of Russia. Above all things, it should be our aim in the future not to create or leave the impression in the German mind that a main object of British policy is to thwart the Fatherland in peaceful and legitimate efforts to secure the expansion which a great and growing people need.

T. KIRKUP.

THE LABOUR REVOLT AND ITS MEANING

DURING several weeks the people in many of the busy harbour towns and of the industrial centres of Great Britain have lived under war conditions. They have lived under conditions which would prevail during a blockade of these islands or in time of siege. Docks and markets have been deserted, factories empty and railway stations closed to traffic. Mobs of desperate and starving men and women, clamouring for food, and ready to loot, burn and kill, have thronged the streets of Liverpool and other towns. We have seen special constables and large bodies of armed soldiers guarding property on land, and armed cruisers and picket-boats protecting the shipping in the commercial ports. Arson, riots and sanguinary encounters with the police and the military have occurred in many parts of the kingdom. We have been given a foretaste of the first consequences of a disastrous defeat of our fleet in the shape of dearth, famine, riot and civil war. At first sight it all seems like a bad dream. It seems incomprehensible that such scenes of primitive savagery should have been enacted by stolid men in peaceful England, that strikes unprecedented in violence and magnitude should have broken out at a time when, as we have been officially informed, our foreign trade is booming and beating all records, and when, at least on paper, the prosperity of the country is unprecedented. Shallow observers have attributed the unparalleled outbreaks and the excesses which accompanied them to an aberration of mind of the masses caused by the extreme heat, but those who are acquainted with the British labour conditions know that their causes lie elsewhere. Only a truce, but not a peace, has been concluded between Capital and Labour. The labour war may be renewed at any moment. Therefore, it behoves us to inquire into the causes and the consequences of the present strike epidemic, into the forces and the aims of the men who are directing it and into the means for preventing in the future scenes similar to those which we have recently witnessed.

During many years our Free Traders have been telling us that, owing to the blessings of Free Trade, the British workers enjoy simultaneously the highest wages and the lowest cost of living,

that they are the most prosperous and the happiest workers in the world, the envy of the workers of the universe, and they have bidden our workers pity the overworked and underpaid workers of other lands, who 'groan' under the crushing burden of Protection. Only a short time ago our leading Free Traders and Free Trade organs told us that the great strikes in France and elsewhere were 'revolts against Protection,' and that similar outbreaks were impossible under Free Trade. In support of their assertions that the British workers are the most prosperous workers in the world our Free Traders constantly quote our Board of Trade statistics, from which it appears indeed that British wages range from 35*s*. to 45*s*. per man per week. These official wage-figures are quite correct, but, unfortunately, they are only nominal wages which are paid for a full week's work to but a few favoured trade unionists. Of the manual workers in Great Britain only about one-seventh are trade unionists, and the Board of Trade gives in its various statistical publications mainly the wages of the best-paid among them. Of the wages paid to the unskilled, unorganised and casually employed workers, who form the vast majority of our workers, the Board of Trade, which might be called the Board of Trade Unions because it draws its officials largely from the trade unions, and seems mainly employed in promoting the interest and policy of trade unionists, takes very little notice. The ideal of Free Trade is cheapness for the benefit of the consumer. The principal cost of all goods consists in the wages paid in their production. To obtain the cheapness of commodities wages must be kept low. As our manufacturers can sell their wares only in free competition with foreign manufacturers, Free Trade tends to keep British wages low. It tends to keep British wages on, or below, the level of wages paid in those foreign countries which are able to compete effectively with Great Britain in both the home market and in neutral markets. Thus Free Trade depresses not only wages affected by international competition, but the general level of wages in Great Britain. In the words of that eminent Free Trader, Lord Brassey: 'The rate of wages in England is limited by the necessity of competition with foreign manufacturers. Employers in England, as elsewhere, only employ labour on the assumption that they can realise a profit by their business.'

The fact that British wages are not only low but are scandalously low in both the skilled and unskilled occupations is apparent from a number of volumes entitled *Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour*, published as recently as 1909 and 1910. An analysis of these bulky volumes shows that in the years 1906 and 1907, when the investigation was

ds, the earnings of almost 6,000,000 of British workers engaged some of our large industries were as follows:

Average Wages paid in 1906-7 during a Week in Full Employment.

1,171,216	workers in the textile trades earn	17s. 6d. per week
1,509,876	workers in the clothing trades earn . . .	15s. 1d. "
1,250,000	workers in the building and woodworking earn .	26s. 7d. "
268,438	workers in the public utilities earn . . .	27s. 3d. "
621,341	railway workers earn	25s. "
956,185	agricultural labourers earn, *including all allowances in kind*	9s. 3d. to 20s. 9d.
5,777,056	workers earn from	9s. 3d. to 27s. 3d. per week

The assertion that the wages of the British workers range from ;. to 45s. per week is untrue. In the important trades enumer- ed they range from 9s. 3d. to 27s. 3d. per week, not allowing for ort time and unemployment, and if we allow for these the fore- ing wages will be reduced by 10 per cent., or by from 1s. to 3s. - week.

The wages paid in the textile and clothing trades are those of en, women and children. Let us now examine the wages of own-up men only. According to the official sources quoted en's wages were in 1906-7 as follows:

Wages of Working Men (exclusive of Lads and Boys).

482,000	men in the textile trades earn	28s. 1d. per week
414,211	men in the clothing trades earn	30s. 2d. "
1,200,000	men in the building and woodworking earn .	32s. "
268,438	men in the public utilities earn	28s. 1d. "
621,341	railway workers earn	25s. "
956,185	agricultural labourers earn, *including all allowances in kind*	9s. 3d. to 20s. 9d. "
3,942,175		

The wages of almost four million full-grown British men in e occupations enumerated are from 9s. 3d. to 32s. per week for ll employment. Allowing for short time and unemployment ey are at most from 8s. 6d. to 30s. per week.

Even in the most skilled and most highly paid British trades e very numerous unskilled workers are wretchedly remunerated. ie skilled workers in the engineering trades, for instance, are iong the most highly paid workers in Great Britain. Yet, cording to a Board of Trade Report published in 1908, the eekly wages of the unskilled labourers in the engineering trades e only as follows:

Blackburn . . .	19s.	In Sheffield . . .	20s. to 24s.
Bolton . . .	18s. to 20s.	In Taunton . . .	18s. to 20s.
Bradford . . .	22s. to 24s.	In Wigan . . .	18s. to 20s.
Derby . . .	18s. to 19s.	In Edinburgh . . .	19s. to 20s.
Leicester . . .	18s. to 22s.	In Glasgow . . .	18s.
London . . .	24s.	In Belfast . . .	15s. to 18s.
Manchester* . .	18s. to 22s.		

From the foregoing pitifully low wages, which come on an average to only about 19*s*. per week, about 2*s*. has to be deducted on account of unemployment, which reduces them to 17*s*. per week.

All the extremely low wages given so far are the wages paid in the more skilled and better employed occupations. They exclude the millions of porters, carters, dockers and nondescript 'general labourers' who make a living largely by doing casual work.

Now the question arises: What is the minimum wage on which a worker can support himself and his family? The minimum cost of subsistence depends evidently not only on the wage but also on good management on the part of husband and wife and on the size of the family. Mr. B. S. Rowntree made in his book, *Poverty*, published in 1901, a most searching and careful investigation into the labour conditions prevailing in the town of York. He calculated that the minimum cost of subsistence for an average family—that is, a family of two adults and three children—on food inferior to that supplied to able-bodied paupers in York Workhouse was then 21*s*. 8*d*. It is worth noting that the minimum cost of living, as established by Mr. Rowntree, allows nothing at all for luxuries such as beer and tobacco, amusements, recreation, newspapers, railway and tram fares, postage stamps, etc. It allows only for the minimum of food, clothing and shelter. Mr. Rowntree's book is ten years old, and as, during the last ten years, the cost of living has considerably risen, the minimum cost of mere physical subsistence for a family of five should now be approximately 24*s*. It appears, therefore, that the *nominal* wages of the 3,942,175 skilled and grown-up male workers given in the foregoing are partly slightly above and partly somewhat below the minimum cost of mere bodily subsistence. Their *real* wages—that is, their wages as reduced by short time and unemployment—would be pretty generally on, or below, the minimum of subsistence. The majority of our workers evidently live on the border-line; that is, in, or at least within grasp of, poverty and want.

Several prominent and conscientious sociologists have published estimates of the extent of poverty prevailing in representative towns of the United Kingdom. The Right Hon. Charles Booth, who investigated during many years the labour conditions of London, found that 30.7 per cent. of its inhabitants were living in poverty. Mr. Rowntree wrote in his book, *Poverty*, regarding the City of York:

> Allowing for broken time, the average wage for labour in York is from 18*s*. to 21*s*.; whereas the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is

. 8d., or, if there are four children, the sum required would be 26s. It is . . . that the wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency. The above estimates of necessary minimum expenditure are based upon the assumption that the diet is even less generous than that allowed to able-bodied paupers in the York Workhouse, and that no allowance is made for any expenditure other than that absolutely required for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. 27.84 per cent. of the people of York are living in poverty.

The italics are in the original. Lady Bell, who made an investigation into the labour conditions prevailing among the workers of the important iron centre of Middlesbrough, wrote in her book, *At the Works*:

Out of nine hundred houses carefully investigated one hundred and twenty-five in round numbers were found to be absolutely poor. The people living in them never have enough to spend on food to keep themselves sufficiently nourished, enough to spend on clothes to protect their bodies adequately, enough to spend on their houses to acquire a moderate degree of comfort. One hundred and seventy-five more were so near the poverty line that they are constantly passing over it. That is, the life of one-third of these workers whom we are considering is an unending struggle from day to day to keep abreast of the most ordinary, the simplest, the essential needs.

The three independent investigations of Mr. Booth, Mr. Rowntree, and Lady Bell made in three different centres strangely confirm each other. All three show that about 30 per cent. of the people are living in poverty. Evidently the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman stated not without cause: 'There are about 30 per cent. of our population underpaid, on the verge of hunger.' Thirty per cent. of the population is equal to about . . per cent. of the wage-earners. Apparently nearly one-half of the workers live in actual poverty. Mr. Sidney Webb stated before the Conference of the National Anti-Sweating League in 1907: 'In the United Kingdom at least 8,000,000 of the people are at the present time existing under conditions represented by adult male earnings of less than 1*l*. per week.' Messrs. Cadbury and Shann wrote in their book, *Sweating*:

The average wage of an unskilled labourer in this country is from . . 6*d*. to 1*l*. per week, so that, even with regular work, such a man cannot keep himself and his family above the poverty line. And very few unskilled labourers get regular work. Generally in the United Kingdom an unskilled labourer does not obtain a wage to enable him to keep himself and family in a state of efficiency—that is, he is a sweated worker.

Workers who receive merely a 'living wage' cannot save money towards their old age. Hence pauperism is terribly prevalent in Great Britain. According to the Board of Trade *Labour Gazette* for February 1909 there were then 2,076,316 paupers in the United Kingdom. That is, about one person in every twenty-two had had recourse to the Poor Law for some kind of assistance

during the year. If we add to this number the pauper lunatics and 'casuals,' numbering about 250,000, who are not included in the foregoing figures, and add further the vast number of poor people who live partly or wholly on private charity, it appears that at least 3,000,000 British people, or one in every fifteen, are maintained by charity. From the Report on Old-age Pensions published in 1907 we learn that of 2,116,267 persons of sixty-five years and upwards residing in the United Kingdom no less than 1,387,984, or almost two-thirds, had an income of less than 10s. a week. Only one-third of the people of sixty-five years and upwards possessed a weekly income in excess of 10s.

The foregoing trustworthy statistics and extracts may serve as a warning against the misleading statements of those Free Traders who have the hardihood to tell us that the workers of Great Britain, who are deliberately, and with disastrous results, exposed by them to free and unlimited competition with the lowest-paid white and coloured labour of all countries, are the happiest and most prosperous workers in the world, the envy of the workers of the universe. The conditions of life disclosed by these figures and extracts are truly appalling. They are sufficient to make men desperate, and it speaks volumes for the patience of the British people that they have not long ago risen in revolt against those scandalous conditions of life which have been imposed upon them by the exploitation of Free Trade. At the time of the recent London Dock Strike I attended a mass meeting at Tower Hill, where about 50,000 men, dockers, porters and other waterside workers engaged in the hardest manual labour, were gathered. I spent a good deal of time in walking to and fro through the enormous crowd, but I saw scarcely any sturdy men among them. Practically all the men were undersized and looked debilitated and insufficiently nourished. Practically all wore discoloured and disgracefully tattered clothes, mere rags, and broken boots unable to keep out the water and fit only for the dustbin. Their appearance showed that they lived under conditions which are scarcely human.

Competent foreign observers are amazed at the frightful poverty prevailing in the 'paradise of Free Trade.' Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, wrote in his recently published book, *Labour in Europe and America*:

My arrival in Liverpool being on Sunday afforded me an opportunity of seeing numbers of gatherings of men in the public squares. A deep degree of poverty was written upon many faces in the throngs which I saw. Men with whom I discussed this matter, and whose statements, no doubt, were authentic, informed me that a large proportion of the workers are in a chronic state of unemployment—that poverty and misery are everywhere in

England, and that the reason for wan faces, tattered clothing, and unshod feet, even on the Sabbath, is to be found in the number of the constantly unemployed. The deepest impression that England made upon me came from its poverty. Everywhere are thrust before the traveller's eyes scenes of deplorable misery. Poverty is on view in all parts of London; slum back-streets border on fashionable thoroughfares; figures in dirt and rags slouch along amid the gay and well-attired promenaders of the parks.

On the 13th of May 1911 the great negro educationist, Mr. Booker T. Washington, laid down in the *Tuskegee Student* his impressions as to labour conditions in England as follows:

It is generally said the negro represents in America the man furthest down. In going to Europe I had in mind to compare the masses of the negro people of the South with the masses in Europe. I know no class among the negroes in America, however, with whom I could compare the men at the bottom in England. My own people in the South do not fully appreciate the advantages which they have in living in a country where there is a constant demand for labour of all kinds. If I were asked what I believe would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the English labourer, I should say that it would be for him to have the same opportunities for constant and steady work that the negro now has in the South.

It is, unfortunately, only too true that, as I have found by my own investigations, even the unskilled American negroes in the South of the United States earn more and live better than the skilled British artisans.

Whether wages are high or low depends obviously not on their nominal amount, but on their purchasing power. British nominal money wages have slightly receded since 1900, and, as, during the same time, the retail prices of commodities have very considerably increased, it is clear that a shilling will not buy as much food and other necessaries of life now as it did in 1900. The fact that British real wages have during the last decade shrunk in a truly alarming manner will be seen at a glance from the following interesting and important official figures, most of which are extracted from a volume of Labour Statistics (Cd. 5458) recently published by the Board of Trade:

	Average Wages	Retail Prices in London	Retail Prices of Bread	Retail Prices of Bacon	Retail Prices of Sugar	Paupers in England and Wales	House-breakings
1900	100.00	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	688,505	11,248
1901	98.56	101.9	94.4	118.3	111.8	675,727	12,989
1902	96.96	101.6	101.4	111.8	100.00	692,875	13,192
1903	96.21	103.2	109.00	104.4	104.2	703,473	14,769
1904	95.56	104.3	108.1	108.9	110.1	722,070	15,749
1905	95.94	103.7	109.00	110.8	130.9	764,589	15,854
1906	97.60	103.2	104.3	121.1	110.4	774,209	15,691
1907	101.79	105.8	104.6	120.1	117.0	759,160	16,432
1908	100.97	108.4	112.8	113.8	115.6	772,346	18,804
1909	99.41	108.2	119.9	128.2	108.3	798,551	19,883
1910	99.70	109.9	114.6	138.9	124.3	790,496	—

Bread, bacon, and sugar are the most important foodstuffs purchased by the poorest workers. According to the official figures given in the foregoing, bread cost 14.8 per cent. more, bacon cost 33.9 per cent. more, and sugar cost 24.3 per cent. more in 1910 than in 1900. Clothing, boots, furniture, and many other items required in the household have also greatly risen in price. Yet our working-man's wages have, according to the careful and painstaking investigations of the Board of Trade, not increased by 20, 30, or 40 per cent. as they ought to have done, but they have slightly shrunk during the last ten years. Our workers were poor and are getting poorer. Therefore the number of paupers has increased by more than 100,000, and the number of burglaries has nearly doubled during the decade under review.

The Liberal Government supports simultaneously Free Trade and Social Reform. The foregoing figures and extracts show that the British workers suffer principally from the inadequacy of their wages, which are automatically kept low by putting British workers into free and unlimited competition with the worst-paid workers in any and every land. Mr. Lloyd George and his friends have proclaimed during many years that with their social policy they would create 'a new heaven and a new earth,' that they would 'banish poverty from the land,' etc. They have raised high hopes in the breasts of our workers, but what have they achieved? They have juggled with words and figures, and they have introduced a number of new taxes which have handicapped our industries, with the result that our workers are not better, but considerably worse off than they were in former years. The old-age pensions have not raised the insufficient wages of a single working-man, but have more likely reduced them. The Workmen's Compensation Act, which costs the employers about 3,000,000*l*. a year, has led to the dismissal or the non-engagement of many thousands of the weaker or the older workers who were still able to work, and has converted them prematurely into paupers. Regarding the Workmen's Insurance Bill Mr. Lloyd George stated himself at Birmingham: 'The employer does not contribute. It is the industry that contributes.' Industries working under Free Trade and exposed to foreign competition can bear heavy additional charges in the shape of new taxes for old-age pensions, or in the shape of contributions to the Workmen's Insurance Scheme, as a rule only by reducing the cost of production; that is, by reducing wages. Mr. T. Gavan-Duffy, a very prominent trade unionist, wrote, not without cause: 'The great mass of the workers, living now from hand to mouth, are too poor to pay anything by way of insurance out of the miserable wages they get. Many thousands are so poor that they cannot pay a few pence per week contribution to a trade union to protect their labour and their lives. These

12,000,000 of our population who are "living in the grip of perpetual poverty" are to have *4d.* per week squeezed out of their poverty in the case of males, and *8d.* per week in the case of females.' I remember reading in a trade-union journal: 'Mr. Lloyd George is trying to benefit the British working-man by feeding him on his own tail.'

The striking seamen, lightermen, dockers, porters, carmen, etc., received much sympathy from the public, because it was generally known that the majority of them live in poverty, but the strike of the railway-men created general astonishment. The railway-men were believed to be well paid. Their strike was considered a wanton act. That widely held assumption is not founded on fact. During the last ten years the average wage of the railway-man, according to the figures published by the Board of Trade, has been as follows:

Average Wages Paid to Railway-men in the United Kingdom.

Year	*s.*	*d.*	Year	*s.*	*d.*
1900	25	0¾	1905	25	3½
1901	25	0¼	1906	25	5¼
1902	24	11¼	1907	25	10
1903	24	10½	1908	25	0
1904	25	0½	1909	25	4½

While the wages of railway servants have remained practically unchanged since 1900, the prices of most necessaries of life have greatly risen, bread having in the meantime increased in price by 14.8 per cent., bacon by 38.9 per cent., sugar by 24.3 per cent. Consequently the real wages of the railway workers—that is, their wages as measured by their purchasing power—have severely declined. The wages of our railway workers as given by the Board of Trade are very near to Mr. Rowntree's poverty line, but they are considerably lower than appears from the Board of Trade figures.

Railway workers may be divided into two classes: the men who come into contact with the public, and those who are not usually seen by travellers. The former, such as ticket-collectors, passenger-guards and passenger-porters, look spick-and-span. They are comparatively well paid, and their salary is added to by travellers' gratuities. On the other hand, the vast army of signalmen, shunters, loaders, platelayers, goods-porters, carriage-cleaners, engine-cleaners, carmen, etc., are very poorly paid. The average wage of about *25s.* earned by railway servants, which is usually officially quoted, overstates the men's wages, because the Board of Trade statistics of average railway wages include the wages of all persons entered upon the railway companies' wage-books, such as clerks, station-masters and inspectors,

who receive rather a salary than a wage. In 1907 the Railway-men's Union published an exhaustive and very valuable Census of the wages and hours of labour of railway-men, compiled by Professor Layton, the accuracy of which has never been questioned. From that report it appears that the average wage of the railway workers, exclusive of station-masters, inspectors and clerks, is 28*s*. 5*d*. in England and Wales, 22*s*. 4*d*. in Scotland, and 18*s*. 7*d*. in Ireland, the average for the United Kingdom being 23*s*. 2*d*. per week. It should in fairness be mentioned that most railway workers receive from the company their uniform, which represents the value of an additional 1*s*. per week. According to the report mentioned, the average pay of railway carmen is 19*s*. 11*d*., that of goods-porters 19*s*. 8*d*., that of platelayers 19*s*. 6*d*., that of carriage-cleaners 18*s*. 5*d*., and that of engine-cleaners—many of whom are boys—14*s*. 8*d*. per week. Of the railway workers regarding whom returns were obtained, no less than 184,000, or 42 per cent., earn normally less than 20*s*. per week, and as of these, at the time of investigation, at most 25,000 were boys, about 109,000 grown men received less than a sovereign per week. Of these 109,000 men only a very small fraction, certainly less than 20,000, were in the position of having their meagre pay supplemented by *gratuities*. Railway-men of all grades work very long hours. According to the Railway Census of Professor Layton, 67 per cent. of the railway workers work during ten hours, and 25.2 per cent. work during twelve hours per day. Moreover, their work is exhausting and dangerous. On an average every year 500 railway servants are killed, and 15,000 are more or less severely injured in the performance of their duties.

Long hours, low pay and strict discipline make men discontented. Dissatisfaction has for a long time been as great among the railway workers as it has been among the casually employed dockers and carters. Only it was less vocal. A man dismissed at the docks can easily get another job, but a dismissed railway servant cannot so easily secure employment elsewhere. Besides, he loses his uniform and official overcoat, an important consideration for a man who earns a 'living wage' and who has no superfluity of clothes of his own.

During many years the Socialists have been preaching their doctrine of discontent, and in view of the pitiful position of a very large portion of our workers their success has naturally been great. The trade unions have become permeated with Socialism. Until recently the trade unions were sectional in character. In the building industry there were seventy-two unions, in mining eighty-two unions, in the metal industries 207 unions, in the

textile industries 271 unions, etc. Altogether there were 1153 unions for fourteen industries. Many unions were small and weak, and they quarrelled among themselves. At the Rhondda Valley strike the hauling-engine men below and the winding-engine men above belonged to different organisations. They had separate agreements with the owners, and quarrelled among themselves. A few years ago the whole of the engineering and shipbuilding on the Tyne was laid idle by a dispute between the Fitters' Union and the Plumbers' Union as to which had the right to fit piping 2½ inches in diameter. They were agreed above and below that size, but could not agree as to where the dividing line should be. Instances of this kind could be given by the hundred. Intelligent labour men and Socialist agitators recognised that sectional unions quarrelling among themselves had little chance of obtaining by strikes better wages or fewer hours from the more or less united employers of labour. Hence during many years proposals to amalgamate the small unions into a few large ones were made, but they met on the whole with very little success. The ideal of the reformers of trade unionism, many of whom called themselves industrial unionists, as distinguished from trade unionists, was to have but one single union for every industry, a Cotton Workers' Union, a Woollen Workers' Union, etc., a strike of which would not merely hamper an industry, but bring it immediately to a standstill. 'One for all and all for each' was to be the motto. They thought that, pending the amalgamation of trade unions, the solidarity of labour against capital should be practised. They preached that if the men in a sectional trade, let us say the boiler-makers, should strike, the workers in all other unions of the iron industry should strike in sympathy, in order to close the works. If, nevertheless, production should be attempted with outside labour, the miners should stop the coal supply, the railway workers should refuse to transport the strike-breakers and the needed raw materials, in order to vanquish the capitalists. In case of need, intimidation and destruction of property should be resorted to. This revolutionary policy, which was preached and practised in France under the name of Syndicalism, was highly approved of by Mr. Tom Mann, who, with Mr. Ben Tillett, had engineered the London Dock strike of 1889. He had gathered experience in the direction of large strikes in Australia, and had returned to England in 1910. Shortly after his return he founded a little monthly, *The Industrial Syndicalist*, of which the first number was issued in October 1910, and it is principally written by Mr. Mann himself. Mr. Mann is a born orator, and he exercises the greatest influence over the workers. He is responsible for the enormous strikes

which we have lately gone through, and their wonderful success is bound to increase very greatly his power and prestige. Therefore it is very necessary to study the policy which Mr. Mann has laid down in various numbers of the *Industrial Syndicalist* as follows:

> *It is a big order* we are here for: nothing less than an endeavour to revolutionise the trade unions, to make Unionism, from a movement of two millions, mostly of skilled workers whose interests are regarded as different from the interests of the labourers who join with them in their industry, into a movement that will take in every worker. We are here to declare that we know full well that the time has arrived when organisation by mere trade cannot carry the working class any further. A recognition of that fact will make for real headway; not to cry out against the capitalist, but frankly to realise that the workers are the enemies to their own progress. Undoubtedly the time is now ripe for industrial action as distinct from trade action. We are here to consider the interests of the workers as a class, and to proceed to organise upon lines which will meet the requirements of the whole working class. The carman, carrying foodstuffs for the scabs, is a member of his union. The carpenters who make to order the fittings to house them are unionists. It is these union men, and not the capitalists, who beat the other unionists trying to resist reduction or obtain increases. And so it must continue until we can organise by industries and not merely by trades, until we can unify the Industrial Movement into one compact fighting force.

It is Mr. Mann's ideal to make war to the knife upon owners of property. To him employers of labour are apparently *Hostes humani generis*. In the Middle Ages the doctrine prevailed that faith need not be kept with heretics. Similarly, Mr. Mann teaches that faith need not be kept with employers. He wrote:

> *No more agreements.* It is entirely wrong for the unionists to enter into agreements with the masters. The object of the unions is to wage the class war and to take every opportunity of scoring against the enemy. It must be remembered that the capitalists are always carrying on the war. Scarce a month passes but some new machine or method is introduced which enables the capitalist to reduce his wages bill by throwing surplus workers into the street. And this goes on continually and quite irrespective of agreements.

He quotes with approval the following extract from the platform of 'the Industrial Workers of the World,' an American labour organisation:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life. Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world, organised as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system. These con-

ditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all. It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Mr. Mann's doctrine and the policy and methods which he advocates are deliberately and avowedly revolutionary:

You cannot change the world and yet not change the world. *Revolution is the means of, not the alternative to, Evolution.* I simply state that a working class movement that is not revolutionary in character is not of the slightest use to the working class. But what will have to be the essential conditions for the success of such a movement? *That it will be avowedly and clearly Revolutionary in its aim and method.* Revolutionary in aim, because it will be out for the abolition of the wages system and for securing to the workers the full fruits of their labour, thereby seeking to change the system of society from Capitalist to Socialist. Revolutionary in method, because it will refuse to enter into any long agreements with the masters, whether with legal or State backing, or merely voluntarily; and because it will seize every chance of fighting for the general betterment—gaining ground and never losing any. 'Unite,' was Marx's advice long ago, but we have never thoroughly acted upon it. Now is the time to do it, and we will do it right here in England. We will lead them a devil of a dance, and show whether or not there is life and courage in the workers of the British Isles.

Mr. Mann greatly admires the violent policy of the Confédération Générale du Travail, which has elevated the wanton destruction of property into a fine art and an act of heroism, and he urges British workers to emulate the French in sabotage:

There are 700,000 Unionists in France; and a large majority of these are covered by the C.G.T. They possess the fighting instinct. They are genuinely revolutionary. They, too, seek to secure better conditions *en route*, always giving attention to the reduction of working hours. And they are bent on an international propaganda for the overthrow of the capitalist system. They have eliminated the antagonisms and sectional craft interests, and they prove by their behaviour, that they dare fight, and know how to fight. They declare themselves revolutionary. They favour resorting, when advisable, to the general strike. But while working for the Revolution they do not neglect to do all possible to secure general betterment. They are, for the most part, *anti-patriotic and anti-militarist, e.g.*, they declare that the workers have no country, and are not prepared to fight in the interests of a bureaucracy; but most distinctly *are* prepared to fight for the overthrow of Capitalism in France and elsewhere. Now, without urging a close imitation of the French or any other method, I strongly believe that, on the average, the French policy is one that will suit us best; for whilst the temperament of the French is undoubtedly different from that of

the British, their interests are exactly as ours, and their enemy is also as ours—the Capitalist system.

Every number of the *Industrial Syndicalist* contains a full-page advertisement of Hervé's Text-book of Anti-Patriotism translated into English.

If Anarchism is the doctrine which denies the necessity of the State, and preaches hatred and hostility to it, Mr. Mann is an Anarchist:

No Board of Trade official dare do anything to advance the interests of the men. The Board of Trade is a Government Department. The Government is in essence, and in detail, the machine of the Plutocracy, through which, and by which, they keep the workers in subjection. For any man to imagine that a Governmental Department may be seeking to do anything that will facilitate the overthrow of the ruling class is to declare himself a fool. To 'tie the workers down,' that is their work. Tie them down by assisting the capitalists to get them pledged to five year agreements; and to renew these agreements often enough so that it shall ever be an offence against the compact, or conference decision, or the law direct, for the worker to take any action to overthrow the parasitic class. How healthy, and glorious, and stimulating, and inspiring is this action of the French railway workers and their comrades who are backing them, in comparison to our 'tied-down' slaves!

A big strike among all the British transport dock and railway workers, such as we have recently experienced, was urged by Mr. Mann six months ago:

The three days' stoppage from work on the part of the North-Eastern railway-men, in spite of the fact that they were covered by an agreement (also for five years), gave a comforting indication that the Syndicalist spirit is already appearing, and entitles one to hope that it will, under suitable conditions, assert itself. What a shaking it gave the company when only a partial, sectional stoppage took place! What, then, will the companies be able to do when once industrial solidarity is an accomplished fact? We ought not to have these little spasmodic affairs, playing into the hands of the 'peace at any price' party. If we are to fight, let it be a real fight over the whole system, shipping and railways as well.

The shipping and railways, the trams and cabs, taxis and motor 'buses, motor cars and char-a-bancs, all being included in the transport industry, a stoppage on all these would simply be all-powerful to enforce anything the workers desired; in three days the whole of the activities of Britain could be tied up as no other force could do it; and we are definitely laying ourselves out to bring this about unless redress be obtained speedily by other means.

Mr. Mann's policy is both destructive and constructive. He intends not only to bring about a revolution, but promises also to abolish poverty by the limitation of the hours of work:

If the workers dared to declare that the first charge upon industry should be an adequate income for every worker, and acted accordingly, poverty

would immediately disappear. *Reducing the hours means employment for all.* To establish an eight-hour day on the railways would necessitate 60,000 additional men. A forty-eight hour working week at the docks throughout the country and another 90,000 men would be required here. Reasonable working hours for present carmen would necessitate another 7,000 to 8,000 men in London alone. I submit there is no other method whereby substantial economic betterment can be achieved comparable to that of reducing the working hours.

Socialism means to transfer all existing property from their owners to Society or to the State. Industrial Syndicalism proposes to transfer all property to the workers themselves. The cotton-workers are to have the cotton-mills and factories, the iron-workers to own the ironworks, etc.:

Industrial Syndicalism aims at making the existing movement a real fighting agency capable of scientifically conducting a *Class War*, the aim of which is *to capture the industrial system*. Industrial Syndicalism aims at perfect organisation, so as to enable the workers *to manage the industrial system themselves* once they have seized it. The word 'Syndicalism' should serve to remind us that we must combine with our native ability for organisation something of the fine revolutionary spirit of our French comrades.

Inquiry in the best-informed quarters shows that the trade-union leaders did not bring about the recent strike epidemic. The strikes were brought about by the men themselves, who had been inflamed by outside agitators. Even in the case of the highly organised railway workers, trade-union discipline broke down. The trade-union leaders were compelled to follow the men who had become unmanageable and who were determined to act upon Tom Mann's advice. The railway-men made the despatch of the twenty-four hours' ultimatum necessary. The triumph of the transport workers of all kinds was due to Tom Mann's policy of solidarity. Everywhere the trade unions which had received all the concessions which they had demanded, and which had signed agreements to return to work, refused to go to work until the demands of all the other striking trades had been conceded. True to Tom Mann's principle that faith need not be kept with employers, many trade unions signed agreements stipulating for a certain rate of pay, and immediately struck again for higher pay. On the 19th of August the Government was anxious for an immediate settlement of the general railway strike, not only because of the inconvenience which it caused, but because the engineers, numbering 100,000, the South Scottish miners, and the South Wales miners, who supply the Navy with smokeless coal, threatened to strike in sympathy. These threats forced the Government's hands. We stood before a general strike which would have crippled simultaneously our military and our naval

resources, a risk which might, perhaps, have been taken had the political horizon been free from clouds, but which could not possibly be run in view of the delicate and threatening position of foreign affairs. So a settlement between the railways and their men had to be made at any cost, and it was brought about by appeals to the patriotism of the representatives of the railway companies and the men, alternated with threats against the railways.

The position taken up by the railway-men is a peculiar and an interesting one. In 1907 the railway-men had agreed to accept Mr. Lloyd George's Conciliation Boards, which were to settle all disputes between the companies and the men, and to abstain from all strikes until 1914. Following Mr. Mann's advice, the men simply tore up that agreement. Their reasons will be found in a booklet by Mr. Charles Watkins, which will soon be published, with a preface by Tom Mann. I have seen a proof of it. The writer does not seem very dissatisfied with the Conciliation Boards as instruments for settling the differences between masters and men, but he complains that the 162 sectional Conciliation Boards threaten to split up the 'Industrial' movement among the railway-men. Besides, he is on principle opposed to arbitration and agreement with employers, who are to be crushed by the workers without mercy:

> For the class in possession, conciliation and arbitration agreements are of good service; but for a class that has yet to achieve its emancipation, they are a repudiation of the purpose of its own existence, and a denial of the reason for any further development. No matter how perfect the scheme, conciliation in the long run is bound to lead to sectionalism. There can be no conciliation on matters that fundamentally affect the class interests of either party; these, by their very nature, are ruled outside the area of peaceful persuasion and compromise. When a class issue of any importance is raised, Might makes Right, always and everywhere. The policy of 'conciliation' is altogether a mistake at this time of day, with capitalism approaching its climax. Never in the history of the working-class movement was it so necessary for it to keep itself free from capitalistic entanglements, so that it may determine for itself how and when it shall fight its battles. With the accelerated speed of economic developments by which the workers' conditions are being so completely transformed, and with the increasing intensity of class antagonisms—necessitating on the workers' part common action against the whole of the forces of capitalism—the methods of conciliation and agreements are a fundamental source of weakness.

If the views here expressed are held by many railway workers, what then will be the binding force of any agreement between the companies and the men which is to supersede the broken agreement of 1907? If the spirit of Tom Mann influences the coming negotiations between the railways and their employees, the so-

called Railway 'Settlement' concluded on the 19th of August, with the assistance of the Government, will simply be a short-timed truce. The railway war will have to be fought over again, and will then have to be fought to a finish. After all, what is the use of voluntary or compulsory arbitration if the workers believe that in labour struggles Might makes Right?

Many trade unionists in the railway service favour railway nationalisation, and many Liberal politicians believe that railway nationalisation will prove the panacea which will solve all railway labour troubles. But can anyone guarantee that the workers on future British State Railways would abstain from striking? Mr. Mann and his followers are, however, absolutely opposed to railway nationalisation. They think that the railways should belong to the railway workers. In the words of Mr. Watkins:

> The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants are now endeavouring to work up a movement for the State ownership of railways. With their recent experience in mind, railway-men have little reason for placing any great degree of confidence in the State as an employer. As being the highest form of capitalist concentration and organisation, State ownership of the railways may offer to the trading and travelling public certain facilities and advantages it does not get at present, but in its relationship with its employees it is likely to be as unscrupulous an exploiter as is the private corporation. And this need hardly be wondered at. The State is essentially a ruling-class organisation, and its functions are chiefly coercive. Its main functions have always been the protection of ruling-class property and the keeping of the masses in subjection. The only interest the working class can have in the State is in wresting it from the grasp of the present ruling-class.

Labour has discovered a new weapon of tremendous power. It has begun to use it, and it will surely abuse it. During the last month the private employers, the great railway companies, and the Government itself have had to capitulate to labour. Apparently labour is all-powerful. Apparently the workers can obtain whatever wages and hours they care to demand. Apparently Mr. Mann is the coming dictator. However, there is an end to all things, even to the success of the new labour tactics. Intoxicated by its recent victories, the new labour movement will overreach itself and bring about its own defeat. In support of but 250 tramwaymen whom the Liverpool Corporation refused to reinstate Tom Mann ordered 80,000 transport workers in that town not to return to work, and on August the 23rd he threatened to bring about a national general strike unless these 250 men were taken back! How long will such tactics answer?

The present labour revolt will have the most far-reaching consequences. The demand for higher wages will not be limited to

the transport workers of all kinds. The factory workers throughout the country also will demand higher wages, and many of them will obtain them. We are apparently only at the beginning of a movement which will shake British industry to its foundations. Great Britain will cease to be a land of cheapness, of a cheapness which is based upon the merciless exploitation of labour devised by Free Traders. Employers can by the threat of bankruptcy be forced to increase wages and to reduce hours, but they cannot be forced to continue their business or to employ men whose productions can no longer be sold. The effect of increasing wages and restricting hours of labour is to increase the cost of production. Such a sudden increase is always fatal to the weaker employers, and many of these will disappear. The remaining large employers of labour will combine in order to be better able to hold their own against labour. Thus business will tend to become concentrated more and more in fewer and in stronger hands. As in the United States, the dearness of labour will compel employers to replace man by the machine wherever possible. That is not to be regretted. The cheap labour which Free Trade has given to Great Britain has been a curse to the country. It has degraded the nation, undermined the physique of the people, and has made for inefficiency in our methods of industrial production, which are incredibly far behind those of the United States. In many British works the same work is done by three cheap men which in the United States, with superior machinery, is done by one highly-paid man.

Under Free Trade conditions it is, of course, impossible for British employers to pay much higher wages than those which have prevailed hitherto. If Free Trade continues to be our policy, the British manufacturers, who are compelled to pay higher wages, will no longer be able to compete with foreign manufacturers and their low-priced labour. They will fail, their works will be closed, and ruin and distress will become general throughout the country. The masters can pay much higher wages only after the abolition of free and unlimited foreign competition in Great Britain. Free Trade implies internationally competitive wages. Therefore, Free Trade cannot be combined with high non-competitive wages. Our underpaid workers can apparently be no longer bamboozled by Free Trade politicians with fairy tales of their prosperity, the high amount of their wages, and the cheapness of living in Great Britain. They have become keenly aware of their poverty, and they demand higher wages. The present revolt of labour is in reality not a revolt against capital, but a revolt against cheapness and against the exploitation of labour under Free Trade. Mr. Mann has at a stroke altered the character and basis of British

commerce and industry. He has, perhaps without knowing it, killed Free Trade.

The most important social reform is not education, or thrift, or better housing, or the promotion of temperance, or workmen's insurance, but higher wages. A man who has to keep a family on twenty shillings a week lives in poverty, and will continue to live in poverty even if all the social reforms promised to him should be introduced. Double that man's income and he is likely to become a more self-respecting, a more sober and a better citizen, who will insist on better housing, better clothing, and better education, and who will either insure himself or provide for his future by thrift. If we double the wages of our workers—and they can be doubled under a Tariff—we shall destroy the worst of our social diseases and improve and elevate the race.

Of course, we cannot make the people more prosperous merely by doubling their wages. People neither eat money nor do they wear it on their backs. The prosperity of the people can be increased only by increasing production. By doubling production we shall double prosperity, for the additional articles produced will be consumed. To increase production we must have improved labour-saving machinery. A considerable rise in wages will make the introduction of the best labour-saving machinery indispensable. Thus by increasing wages we shall increase production, and by increasing production we shall increase prosperity. The labour revolt may prove a blessing in disguise. It should prove a most powerful stimulus to commercial and industrial Great Britain, and it may herald the beginning of a new economic era.

The revolt of labour is apparently only beginning, but the State cannot afford to keep neutral in the coming struggle, because it threatens to endanger its own existence. We must have security that labour will not cripple simultaneously our Army and our Navy, as it threatened to do during the railway strike. Full provision for the immediate militarisation, or the temporary nationalisation, in case of danger, of those industries on which our Army and Navy depend must be made in time of peace. There are more than 100,000 motor cars and lorries in the country. An alternative means of transport should be created by the War Office, by preparing the organisation of a national motor transport system if the railway service should break down. Our workers must be taught that they have the right to strike, but not the right to terrorise, assault, loot and burn. The forcible prevention of men from working by huge threatening mobs in the name of 'peaceful picketing' must be stopped, and the people must be taught that the destruction of railway stations and signal-boxes, the tearing up of the permanent way, the cutting of telegraph wires, and attempts

to stop and to wreck trains are not ordinary incidents of labour warfare, but crimes against Society and the State. A permanent force of special constables able to be called out at a moment's notice should be enrolled, and if the national and local authorities should refuse to take adequate measures for the protection of the citizens, the latter must create powerful voluntary organisations devised to repel by force mobs bent on violence and plunder. Lastly, legal proceedings should be taken against those who, from a secure distance, incite the mob to plunder, arson and civil war. We must prepare for the possibility of a revolution.

J. Ellis Barker.

THE HYBRID ART

The distinction between prose and verse, so well maintained through all the centuries of good literature, is now in some danger of being questioned and discredited, perhaps even of being obliterated; for at least one writer of modern repute has published work[1] which he seems to describe as poetry borrowing from prose without ceasing to be poetry. This is but one among many recent signs of a growing or returning restiveness or reaction against the beauty of symmetry and the wholesome restraint of verse form.

Among other signs of this tendency to confuse the boundaries of poetry and prose we may note the following: The first proceeds from a recent poet laureate—Tennyson himself—as recorded in his *Biography*: 'Verse should be *beau comme la prose*. . . . Almost any prose can be cut up into blank verse . . . (Of De Quincey's prose), Not poetry, but as fine as any verse.'

I will next quote Aytoun as another modern poet infected with what I must regard as a heresy. 'Poetry,' he says, 'is the art which has for its object the creation of intellectual pleasures by means of imaginative and passionate language, and language generally, though not necessarily, formed into regular numbers.' What we complain of in this definition is the intrusion of the words 'generally, though not necessarily.'

For the third example I will quote from the *Chronicle* for the 28th of January 1911:

> A poets' dinner . . . was held last night at the Hotel Richelieu. . . . The diners had assembled to hear a paper read by Professor Selwyn Image, whom Mr. Robert Ross justly called 'The poet's poet and the artist's artist.'

In his address he maintained that to draw a hard and fast line between poetry and prose would be to cut oneself off from some of the finest literature the world has seen. The translators of the Bible were poets, though they wrote in prose. So also Sir Thomas Browne was a poet, and Matthew Arnold.

> . . . . A lively discussion took place, and the general opinion seemed to be in agreement with that of the Professor. Mr. Herbert Trench went

[1] *The Agonists*, by Maurice Hewlett. Macmillan, 1911.

to the heart of the matter when he said that the time is approaching when we must recognise that the old distinction between poetry and prose must go. The test of a poet was his fertility of imagination, combined with his emotional equipment, as expressed in the medium of his choice. It would be absurd to deny the title of poet to Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, or Ruskin. They were essentially poets.[2]

I have no space for a longer list of backsliders or innovators, as I may perhaps venture to call them; many names of eminence must be omitted; and some reference might be made to the doubtful immortality of Walt Whitman, and even to the fictitious renown of Martin Tupper, who are still within living memory.

But although this disregard of verse *form* has never been asserted with such instance and authority as in our own day, the innovation or the tendency is by no means without precedent; it dates, indeed, almost from the very birth of verse. Nevertheless, any brief history of poetic forms will convince us of the rightful and the unvarying triumphs of metre over unmetrical rhythm. Let us turn for a moment and take the retrospect; it need not extend beyond the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, for here we have an eloquent review of the Greek and Latin methods of verse, written by a poet of insight and experience. From this we learn that although from time to time experiments were made in the direction of freedom, or even licence, all the best work produced by the Greek and Latin poets has the primal qualities of simplicity and symmetry; and the writer sternly condemns 'degeneracy into licence, and violence'; while he exhorts attention to the best Greek models. It will be enough to add for our own part that the one very great poem produced by the Latin literature stands for all time as a model of perfect form.

Nor will it be necessary in our retrospect to glance at other ancient literatures and their poetic methods—the Hebrew, for example, wherein verse is least predominant; it will be enough if we pass at once to our own poets, making perhaps occasional reference to the French and Italian. What we have to chronicle will be chiefly the changing fortunes of variety and uniformity in our verse systems. We learn that verse itself is a gradual triumph of uniformity over variety; our Anglo-Saxon systems 'acquired a good deal of exactness in time.' But here, again, in our own literature, we have a convenient judicial and impartial summary in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*; and again the verdict is for precedent and perfection of form. Pope makes every allowance for experiment and innovation.

[2] Surely we have a strange assemblage of names in this extract: Arnold, Browne, Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, Ruskin. Does this imply that none of these writers wrote verse?

> Some beauties yet no Precepts can declare,
> For there's a happiness as well as care.
> Music resembles Poetry, in each
> Are nameless graces which no methods teach,
> And which a master-hand alone can reach.

This might read like a surrender to the enemy, but Pope adds, and with stern emphasis:

> Moderns, beware! or if you must offend
> Against the Precept, ne'er transgress its end.

And earlier in the *Essay* he writes:

> Learn hence for ancient rules a first esteem;
> To copy nature is to copy them.

And under this head he tells us that Virgil was an apt pupil of Homer.

The only objection I can raise against these sensible couplets of Pope is the fact that in dealing with the subject of licence they make no distinction between music and poetry; however, it was not until after Pope's day that these two arts—'a sister and a brother,' as Shakespeare styled them—drifted apart; Pope, therefore, is not to blame. As to Horace, the music he mentions is either an infant in the arms of some maturer muse, or a handmaid at her table. But the importance of inquiring into the exact relationship between poetry and music will appear as we proceed.

What we learn from Horace and Pope we learn also from the French and Italians; and although the latter strayed now and then from the path of true form, the return soon followed, and, again, simplicity and symmetry are the rule, and they culminate in the great achievement of Dante.

In the foregoing brief reference to our own literature I had room for little more than the summary of one poet; much therefore was left unnoticed, including treatises and discussions, and even controversies on the subject of verse methods; and some note might be taken of Macpherson's *Ossian*.[3] But my purpose is gained if I merely draw attention to the fact that while symmetry has prevailed, doubt and theory and experiment in the matter of poetic forms are by no means confined to our own day. It will be interesting, however, to remark that the attempts to ignore metre as an element of true poetry, and to extend the meaning of poetry till it includes imaginative prose, are mostly found in writers of prose; as to the poets, they rarely preach deviations from verse-form, and in practice they respect it; and I prefer the opinion of poets. Yet the others must be reckoned with, but still more briefly, and we begin with Plato; he seems to have realised the

[3] *Samson Agonistes* will be examined later.

importance of poetic form more fully than did Aristotle, who had little respect for metre, and who appears to be followed by Bacon —as often his disciple; but here we will quote:

> Poesy is a part of learning in measure of words for the most part restrained, but in all other points extremely licensed, and doth truly refer to the imagination. . . . It is taken in two senses, in respect of words or matter. In the first sense it is but a character of style, and belongeth to arts of speech, and is not pertinent for the present. In the latter it is (as hath been said) one of the principal portions of learning, and is nothing else but feigned history, which may be styled as well in prose as in verse.
>
> —*Advancement of Learning*, ii. iv. i.

Coming nearer to our own times, we may cite the words of one who was poet as well as prose-writer: 'Prose,' said Coleridge, 'has as its opposite—verse; poetry, fiction, creation, has as its opposite—actual fact.' Here also lurks the heresy of Bacon and the others; to get closer to the truth we must—as I venture to believe—supply an omitted clause in the definition—viz., 'but poetry must take the form of verse.'

At this point I may reveal my own opinion of the relationship between prose and poetry. I admit at once that prose may be emotional or unemotional, imaginative or practical, æsthetic or intellectual; and that it may or must be rhythmical; yet I shall endeavour to prove that there is no debatable border-ground between poetry and prose, no serving of the two masters, no halting between this God and this Mammon of literature; and that the distinction between them is real, enormous, and *to be jealously guarded.*

In fact, this confounding of the two arts is primarily a matter for schoolboys. I have before me some 'scraps of sallow manuscript' written when I was a youth, and headed 'A new style of poetry, simply this: poetical thoughts and expressions not arranged in any cramping metre, but more as in rhythmical prose, etc., etc.' I was afflicted with the malady common to beginners (and some others), an impatience of formal metre, and a desire to return to rhythmical yet formless prose.

Next I will state more precisely my main contention; it is as follows: Although metre of itself does not constitute poetry, there is no poetry without metre, and, I may add, there is no prose with metre. Further, the art-value of metre has been seriously underrated.

With the exception of rhyme and systematic alliteration, which ally themselves to metre, other differences between poetry and prose are more or less debatable. This at least is certain, that unless we keep close to metrical form as to a centre, we shall find ourselves talking round our subject in an infinite number of circles that widen infinitely.

But in the history of evolution metre is both preceded and followed by rhythm, which must therefore claim our attention. There are first the vaguer and more indefinite rhythms of nature unaided by art: the song of the bird, the ripple of the brook, the 'lute of leaf and bough.' Next we have, as a transition, what Cowper calls 'the sweet music of speech'; this, still vague, still formless, may nevertheless be highly cultivated, as in oratory and the finer prose generally; but at this stage it has usually gained a grace from the more definite harmonies already created by metre. Next there is the rhythm that is superadded to metre, its modifications; for the skeleton must be covered with flesh; the mere metrical structure (as in our modern verse) of foot and line, and perhaps rhyme, must be pervaded and vitalised and unified by a plastic rhythm due to the variable elements of pause, quantity, pitch, assonance, emphasis, and alliteration.[4] This is the rhythm that follows metre.

Now, the claims of metre are opposed on two grounds: it is sometimes urged that the natural and formless rhythms are sufficient in their beauty; or, again, that the function of metre is quickly superseded and forgotten in the finer rhythms of poetry.

The first objection we meet in this way. While copying nature, art seeks to improve, to idealise; and does this chiefly by the processes of selection, exclusion, and arrangement. In the realm of sound, for example, articulate or inarticulate, it supplies a metrical element, an element of proportion, a definite relation of parts to one another and to the whole. That the resulting organic harmony is an added beauty is proved by the mere existence and popularity of poetry and music.

Verse, then, is the result of the principle of proportion (and selection) introduced into articulate sound, and music of the same principle introduced into inarticulate sound; and the primary method employed to produce this effect of proportion is the same in both, in verse it is the 'foot,' in music the 'bar' or 'measure.'[5] To these are added other metrical and structural elements, and the result is an organism advanced in complexity and shapeliness.

But let us take an illustration from the natural world. We regard for a moment the invertebrate and the vertebrate, a

[4] Of course we must add an occasional change of foot, and the occasional use of extra syllables.

[5] Throughout their earlier development, singing, dancing, music, and verse are intimately associated; and the element that creates the regularity, the proportion, the harmony, is the same in all. It is a principle of time-measurement based chiefly on the human footfall in march or dance—'nunc pede libero . . . nunc Saliaribus'—based also on the intervals of respiration and other bodily movements. 'Pede libero,' for in verse this measuring element is aptly called a 'foot.' Originally this 'foot' was a measure of *quantity*, modified, however, by accent; in modern verse and in music it is a measure of beat or stress or *accent*, with a slighter regard to quantity. Metre, it may be

mollusc and a man, and at once, referring to Shakespeare, pronounce man to be 'the paragon of animals.' Briefly, and returning to our main subject, prose, in a sense, is the invertebrate mollusc, poetry the vertebrate man. For by virtue of his intelligence man carries on the work of nature; under this head, again, we have nothing more apt than the words of Shakespeare: 'Art ... does mend nature . . . but The art itself is nature.' Thus we explain the remarkable statement of Browning, where he tells us that objects of nature 'are better painted'; and in Shakespeare, again, we read:

> In sweet music is such art,
> Killing care and grief of heart
> Fall asleep, or, hearing, die.

And lastly, referring to the art which is our subject, we may quote Tennyson on Virgil: 'Wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man.' From all these we gather the true function of art, and the true nature of poetry.

The other objection, that metre in poetry is unnecessary or is lost in rhythm, may also be answered by an appeal to Shakespeare. Was this greatest of poets the better or the worse for his metrical experiences? Could his rhythms have been developed independently of these? Can they be detached from them? To the first question I reply, 'Better, by all means,' and to the others, 'Certainly not'; the practice and the resultant of metre more than justify its existence, and it remains an integral part of the resultant, a law within the law; for the enveloping law of rhythm cannot exist alone; we cannot have our man without his bones. Or we may put it thus: we may as well expect to separate rhythm from metre as to grow a rose without a tree, or that our flower will not wither if gathered. We cannot detach the form from the substance, the variety from the uniformity; the most finished reading of Shakespeare can only disguise, and never destroy, the metrical structure.

This principle applies also to music, to which some attention must now be given; for to this art—vainly as I think—appeal is made by the inventors of the hybrid product. In fact, the modern development of music has increased the tendency to confuse poetry with prose, and given a new vigour to the age-long struggle between form and formlessness.

At the outset, music and verse were more closely related; the

added, is effected chiefly by a *predetermined* regularity in the use of long or short syllables, or of accented and unaccented syllables. Larger metrical and structural elements follow, such as the line, which includes definite groups of feet, and phrasing, which is chiefly an inner line arrangement formed with the aid of the pause, and thus it helps to fashion the paragraph. And it is much the same in music.

musical sound accompanied the articulate in a more literal sense, note for syllable, and so forth; and in the later evolution of either art some common tendencies are discernible, such as a growing identity of substance with form, the amplifying and multiplying of the formal elements, and an increasing desire to disguise them and to be independent of them; and finally (I now speak of verse only, for comparatively music is a new art), because variety in art is imperative, and whatever is beautiful must also be new, there were periodic returns to more evident form. New tastes are ever being created; here, also, in the realm of art, fashion not seldom prevails; we cannot always wait for the true perspective of time; and already perhaps we are inclined to revolt from the poetry of Browning and the prose of Meredith. But absolute formlessness we need not fear, whether in verse or music; it is as unattainable as it is undesirable.

And what is the history of prose? as briefly, this: left destitute of definite art-form, which was reserved for verse and sound, it developed its rhythms—its phrases and cadences and periods—with the aid of the more definite and loftier harmonies already created by poetry and music. But, forgetting their nature and the reason of their existence, forgetting at the same time its own primary purpose, it first envied those harmonies, and then sought to imitate them, and at times even to encroach upon them.[6] At this stage it must suffer rebuke.[7] In prose, however, as in verse, we shall recognise periodic returns to simplicity, whether in substance, form, or colour.

It was noticed above that after the days of Pope the arts of poetry and music became yet more distinct, but there were always fundamental differences. To begin with, in language we have prose, and there is little in music that corresponds to prose; we use formless language, we do not as yet use formless music. Therefore, in comparing poetry with music, we have first to remember the existence of prose, and the danger of confusing it with verse. Next, although the various prose styles were evolved later than verse, the imperative need for which was earlier felt and met, verse nevertheless was developed from the prose material already matured as a means of expressing rudimentary thought and lower emotion. It follows that any attempt to break down verse systems is in reality a return to prose, a fact of degeneracy, a reversion from art to artlessness. But on other grounds under this head the analogy between verse and music fails; we must take

[6] I could point to many examples of modern prose in which metre is introduced, apparently by design.

[7] It appears, therefore, that although through the exigency or the ingenuity of art, prose and verse may at times approach, they cannot meet without changing and destroying their nature and their purpose.

into account the intellectual element that exists in the word-symbols whether spoken or written; they are heavily weighted, and rendered unfit for the lighter, more complex, and more extended combinations and effects of the inarticulate sounds, their suppler and more varied cadences and phrasings, which are impossible to verse. In music, again, the structural elements are more numerous and less formal, and some of them are more minute; and of course the inarticulate sounds have a far wider compass than the articulate. Whatever liberties Wagner may have taken with his purely instrumental music, he had the genius to recognise the limitations of verse. But in music he never really abandoned form, though he often discarded conventional formality; the principle of the beat, for example, so vital to the art of both poetry and music, is carefully maintained by him; his scores are always 'barred,' and form is always present, or felt as an unseen presence; it is never destroyed. In music, moreover, the relation between the material and its expression is closer and more immediate than in verse; this is partly because the musician appeals primarily and directly to a cruder and a readily responsive sense—the outward ear; music, indeed, is the only art that wins upon the animal intelligence, and a butcher-boy will soon catch and piece out a melody.

From this follows the unsuggestiveness of poetic motive and poetic context as compared with music;* in this art the atmosphere is charged with suggestion, and indeed vibrates with it, and a temporary suspense, a rapid change of form, is possible where anything of the kind in verse would be disastrous. Yet in verse we have more than compensation, for, strangely enough, this very dependence on form is due to the greater subtlety of the music; 'Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard Are sweeter'; as we have seen, these silent melodies of verse are vital with thought as well as with emotion, and Shakespeare is greater than Wagner; this is true also of the colouring of verse. Through no outward sense, therefore, but through the mental ear and eye these subtle effects of sound and colour pass into the very soul, but only when they are presented in some comprehensible and perfect form. That all great poets have felt this must appear from the easily recognisable symmetry of their best productions. But this brings me to what I regard as by far the most important consideration of all; for in this quality of perfect form in poetry (and again, with a difference, it is true of music, and I now bring the two arts nearer together), we may comprehend not only a finer beauty, but also an ampler use. Whatever the circumstances may have been that brought poetry to its birth, our forefathers were not slow to dis-

* In prose, again, this suggestiveness is still weaker. See later remarks on poetic form as an aid to memory.

cover one priceless power inherent in its measured and symmetrical utterance; it made language *rememberable*; it served not only for pæan and elegy and 'chorus hymeneal,' but also for history and biography; thus the first great epics grew from form to form, and orally, and from generation to generation; and for myself let me hazard the confession that for every thousand lines of verse I commit to memory I could reckon perhaps only a dozen of prose; and let me further testify that when I repeat to myself some of these thousands of lines that are in my brain, I live another and a better life, a life that is always at my command. Poetic literature, therefore, appears to be not only grander, more beautiful, more impressive, and more permanent than prose or any commixture of prose; it is also more capable of retention and more available, and therefore also more vital; as we have seen, and must venture to repeat, it can be retained and assimilated till it pulses in the veins and becomes the very essence of our being.

Yet more, the metrical, the verse form of beauty which is beyond the genius of any prose or prose compound to assume, is a symbol—*the symbol of some immortal idea*; let it therefore remain as perfect and as jealously guarded as whatever may be in our limitations of space and time; let it be a Shape of supreme yet comprehensible loveliness, lawful and flawless; let it be of itself and through its form an available inspiration and aspiration; so one such masterpiece of art will create another, as when Keats wrote his sonnet on looking into Chapman's Homer, or that on a picture of Leander, or his Ode to an Urn. However, to explain the principles of art is not my purpose; but it is my purpose to prove that poetry is an art, that prose, if an art, is of a lower order, and that any mixture of poetry and prose is no art at all.

Of course, I am not speaking of prose as a separate element in poetic drama—in Shakespeare, for example; but even this great artist had to learn his craft. Indeed, if we turn to *Richard II.*, one of his earlier plays, and notably a play of attempt and experiment, we find a curious passage that allows us, I believe, to see him 'trying his hand'; and for the purpose of this article it will be of immense interest and profit to watch him for a moment. After reading the disorganised verse of II. ii. 98-122, we imagine the poet thus debating with himself: 'That ought to do for an experiment in making the speech proclaim the man; the emergency is too much for York; his old wits are bewildered and confused like the blank verse of his utterance—verse? But is it verse? It is neither verse nor prose! Well, let it pass, and serve as an experiment, though a poor one; and it must not happen again. I have decided to write my drama in verse, and what is the use of trying to produce an effect by destroying the ideal medium of utterance that serves my higher and more comprehen-

fine purpose? I gain nothing by letting doubtful art in at one door, while good art goes out at another.'

This passage is regarded as corrupt; that may be; yet it may not, for, on the other hand, *the former speech by York* (ll. 87-92) *is precisely the same in structure, a mixture of verse and prose.* Further, at the close of the second speech, in the rhyming tag:

> All is uneven,
> And everything is left at six and seven,

the poet seems to take it for granted that we have noticed the correspondent unevenness of his blank verse.

So also, when Gaunt has declared that

> the tongues of dying men
> Enforce attention like deep harmony,

Shakespeare proceeds to give us a specimen of 'deep harmony' in couplet and quatrain. Yet more, while the queen is mere woman and her feelings are mere sentiment, her language is invariably enfeebled by conceits; but when she becomes tragic she speaks the finest and most forcible verse in the whole play. So also, when York has recovered his presence of mind, he gives us 'As in a theatre the eyes of men,' etc. There was a time when even Shakespeare had to make his ventures, and feel his dramatic and poetic way.

From our second great poet, Milton, we must now learn something of importance to our subject. The same tendency to destroy definite form is observable in rhyme systems as in metrical systems; chiefly, however, where the rhymes occur in metrical systems that are themselves irregular, as in most of our English odes. I must therefore give some attention to the subject, for in my opinion irregularity of rhyme produces the same destructive or irritating effect as, for instance, the occasional rhymes (*terminal*) in the blank verse of Shakespeare * and Milton. These are much rarer, however, in the later poet; I note only six examples in the First Book of *Paradise Lost.*

But in two of his poems, *Lycidas* and *Samson Agonistes*, Milton will furnish the best illustration available for the subject I am now discussing—namely, the combined irregularity of metre and rhyme. Successful as this irregularity must appear in *Lycidas* (Johnson, however, thought otherwise), the exception should only prove the rule; the licence is less suited to our language than to the Italian from which Milton borrowed it; and it proved disastrous in *Samson Agonistes.* Opinion may differ, but

* This has no reference to the rhyming couplets often employed by Shakespeare at the end of a scene, chiefly as a kind of bell to announce the fall of the curtain.

this time I think Johnson gets nearer to the truth;[16] at least, I recognise in this poem more than one sign of decadence. A growing laxity is discernible in many writers of verse whose term of authorship extends over many years; it may be due chiefly to desire of change, and to weariness of the long struggle between impetuous thought and prescribed art form; and it may verge on licence, not freedom. And if this is true of some of Shakespeare's later work, it is still more true of Milton. In *Samson Agonistes* even the blank verse is becoming disintegrated, and from this we may infer an undue licence in the other parts. The chorus on our modern page is often shapeless or artificial; to my thinking, we miss gesture and quantity and music and song and other elements and agencies that once helped to give it being and a composite beauty; and whatever the irregularities in classical drama, those in *Samson Agonistes*—especially of the Chorus—often seem to transgress the bounds of art. Possibly by employing rhyme at unexpected intervals, the poet thought he would gain something of symmetry; but again, from my point of view, the effect is disconcerting.

And now, in respect of metre in poetry, let us venture to repeat that disregard of form is no evidence of skill or power or good taste; it may imply, not mastery, but incompetence or impatience; and this impatience is not confined to beginners nor to great poets like Shakespeare and Milton, who have given us bountifully of perfect form; it occurs now and then—and at times it abandons all composite harmony—in some lesser poet, and may bring him notoriety for awhile, a vogue, but no immortality. Such poets, I fear (and the same may be said of all who confuse prose with verse), have not the genius to understand art form, or they will not take the trouble; it is easier to produce some hybrid compromise, but, again, it is not art.

II

With the aid of the principles briefly enunciated in the foregoing pages, we shall be able to form a more reliable opinion of such a work as Mr. Maurice Hewlett's *The Agonists*, which may be regarded as a type of the Hybrid Art. It involves, indeed, all our preliminary considerations. Independently of these, however, if we may judge from his Preface, the writer condemns his own methods. As stated above, he admits a combination of

[16] In *Lycidas* the irregularity exists only in the intermittent rhyme, and the occasional use of a shorter line. Even thus I cannot admit the usual defence that the poem must be regarded as 'a piece of music with its phrases and concords and discords'; nor in this instance is the defence necessary. As I have shown, there is no truth in the analogy; and, further, we should have to find the same analogy in *Samson Agonistes*, which is certainly impossible.

prose and verse; and certainly he gives us of his abundance; indeed, he reminds us irresistibly of Artemus Ward, who praised his prison fare because, as he said, it was not stinted, and it had plenty of variety, for there was always beans and bacon, and if he didn't hanker after beans, he could help himself to bacon. Still, we may doubt whether *The Agonists* possesses even this pleasant variety. Tom Hood once read on a notice-board 'Beware the dog,' and he forthwith took a piece of chalk and wrote underneath, 'Ware be the dog?' It is really much the same with this notice-board of Mr. Hewlett: where are the beans or the bacon? Each becomes either; their beings mix; where is the poetry, where is the prose? I must be pardoned this jesting, for the matter has in it an undeniable element of humour. This may appear even from a short passage, such as the following, which is taken almost at random:

Pasiphaë! where is she?
Minotaur ravens—O king, have mercy!
[*The Priest intervenes.*
PRIEST.
Praise we the Gods!
[*Minos in ecstasy of pride.*
MINOS.
The Gods! I am a God—
Son of all-seeing Zeus! See to him, there—
Give him meat and drink—anoint his feet
With wine and oil; heap a shield
With golden treasure; let flocks,
Fatlings and firstlings, be his.
Let his name be glorious, call him
Augur of Minos; let his place be set
High at our table, who hailed our son,
Olive-crowned, Victor!
[*He turns fiercely to Daedalus.*
Ho, thou
Ill mist, scowling upon us,
Darkener of days, thou boaster!
Gird, twist thy fork, scorpion!
Lo, the World-Disposer,
Disposing of thee, maketh sport
Of thee and thy mumblings there.[11]

The verse (when we can find it) of which this passage is an example, is to be read as prose (and the prose as verse?); and, still more wonderful, when the process of intellectual digestion is com-

[11] *The Agonists*, pp. 69, 70. In fairness I quote not fewer than nineteen or twenty lines—but are they lines?—and are they nineteen or twenty? I am ill at these numbers; I have not art to reckon. My ear gives no help; I must ask help of the eye—the printer, and read 'Ho, thou,' as part of the line preceding. This cannot be determined by metrical scheme or art-structure; and there are plenty of 'lines' of two syllables on other pages.

And now, suppose that I learnt twenty pages of this composition by heart,

plete, the resultant 'ought to be revealed as verse.' These 'Directions for Use' are as bewildering as the ingredients of the mixture, and, again, they are certainly amusing; they remind us of bygone devices to indicate stage scenery—'This is a tavern'; so on the paintings of our childhood we may have written, 'This is a cow.' But, to be exact, let us take some of this Preface word for word. I am afraid that it reads as a striking example of the French *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse.*

First, by way of defence for such a passage as the above, the writer has 'considered more the beauty of the whole.' I have heard that the very greatest of artists will not scorn attention to detail; where shall we find a flaw in *Othello?* And this idea that the whole must atone for the parts—why, the architect may forget his corner-stone or his buttress, or put a bonnet on the head of a caryatid, or a tobacco-pipe into the mouth of a gargoyle. But it is too early yet to lose our patience, and we proceed.

As we have learnt on our former pages, in poetry more than in any other art, more even than in music, we comprehend the whole by virtue of the symmetry of the parts, and by this alone. With ease we learn by heart Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and *Minstrel*, but who could assimilate in such fashion so much as one fourth of *Ivanhoe?* And who could assimilate and so gain real mental comprehension of *The Agonists?*

But let us return to the 'Directions for use'; they at least will guide us. Yet surely, the author ought to have said, 'You must read it *as if it were poetry*,' not 'as if it were prose,' for we presume that he intended to put poetry before us. Yet how can we be sure—how can we be sure of anything in this *Hybrid*—or in the Preface? Here, in the same paragraph, the writer speaks of his 'versification,' his 'prosody,' his 'metrical system conditioned by the subject'; yet, for all this, that 'poetry may borrow from prose without ceasing to be poetry'; that 'the verse be read to them as prose' and '*the indicated pauses followed*'; how shall we find the concord of this discord?

on what principle could I mentally arrange them in lines? Why should I not re-arrange the passage before us after this fashion? :

> The Gods! I am a God—
> Son of all-seeing Zeus!
> See to him, there —
> Give him meat and drink —
> Anoint his feet with wine and oil;
> Heap a shield with golden treasure, etc., etc.

This arrangement, I venture to think, is more musical—and it is more metrical. I may be in error; yet at least I turn with relief to some passage in *Shakespeare*, such as the Death of Cleopatra. Here we have that utmost freedom in dramatic blank verse which was examined in the former division of this article; but the metrical system, however modified, is by no means destroyed. We may note, moreover, that the waiting-women serve in some slight measure as a chorus.

But let us attend seriously to the following directions:
(i) The verse is to be read as prose,
(ii) With the stresses where they would naturally fall;
(iii) Full value is to be given to the vowel sounds of ordinary speech;
(iv) The indicated pauses are to be followed.

We take the last of these: what are the indicated pauses? Are they the lines of this composition, its metrical bars? but—and this is the crucial question—if any intelligent principle is involved, why may we not 'indicate' for ourselves?

So with the rest of these directions; they are either gratuitous or meaningless; and were not confusion worse confounded, nothing would be left to the intelligence of the reader.

Perhaps I should not be disposed to condemn these intrusions so emphatically had they appeared for the first time in a volume of this scheme and scope; but the fact that they exist in embryo as 'directions' for the reading of three short lyrics in the writer's former volume, *Artemision*, makes them doubly irritating. Whatever may be said of them here, there was no excuse for them in the other book; the claim that the darkness of irregularities (including rhyme) will vanish in the light of the vast whole, is there invalid; it is invalid here.

Again, 'the music which I have certainly heard, but am incapable of rendering otherwise than by rhythm'; what rhythm, of prose or verse? 'One conventional measure'? certainly not, we admit; but we must have *measures*. Then there are statements unintelligible because they are so astounding —'The burden of the iambic pentameter has been too many for the poets—and it seems, for their hearers.' (What does *many* mean?) When I recover from the astonishment that overwhelmed me on reading this statement, I may venture to urge, 'But there was a poet called Shakespeare; I have dared to admire him; indeed, I know him almost by heart, and by virtue of these very pentameters!'

In regard to this Preface, I am concerned only with modes of expression, and not with fable or philosophy; but I must add a note on this curious passage—'a philosophical underflow, which, if I have been rightly inspired, ought to have been discernible in my music.' Now, whether music will ever become articulate, we cannot say; but it is not articulate at present; we still live on words, not on inarticulate sounds. But again, where is the music? Vainly the author appeals to Wagner, whose 'libretti were written on a strict metrical system; but his music was not.' Wagner, therefore, knew something of the difference between poetry and music, and, as I venture to believe, might have taught this writer a good deal that he has not learnt. As to the music

of Wagner being unmetrical, that question was examined in the former part of this article, where also it was pointed out that the wider and more indefinite phrasings of music are absolutely impracticable in verse.

It seems scarcely worth while to pursue the subject any further, but I have yet to notice the irregular rhymes in *The Agonists*; here, however, I need only refer to the former division of this article, and add that in my opinion the irregular employment of rhyme in Mr. Hewlett's *Agonists* adds certainly to the general confusion, the bewilderment—the chaos.

MORTON LUCE.

ALCOHOL IN AFRICA

A GOOD proportion of the space in that section of the British Press which deals with African missionary and philanthropic problems, besides journals of more general scope such as *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, has been taken up recently with the question awaiting the decision of Europe and especially of this country on the importation of alcohol into Africa, its manufacture there, and the sale of it to natives. It is being asked if the restrictions at present in force in the Conventional Basin of the Congo (including nearly all Central Africa), and in British Northern Nigeria, should be universally applied all over the rest of West Africa, in the Egyptian Sudan,[1] in Madagaskar, and in such parts of South Africa—German, Portuguese, and British—as those wherein the native still has more or less unrestricted access to ardent spirits.

In French, German, British, Portuguese, and Spanish West Africa (including the Portuguese Province of Angola), in Portuguese East Africa and Zambesia, in the Anglo-Egyptian and French Sudan, in German South-West Africa, Cape Colony, the Orange State, the Transvaal, and Natal alcohol may, under licence, be given or sold to negroes or negroids, or may be imported by them, just as it may be to or by white men. In the Belgian Congo (except the coast strip), in Northern Nigeria, much of British East Africa (except the coast) and Uganda, German East Africa (except the coast), Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland, the giving or selling of alcohol in any form to a native of negro blood is a punishable offence, except of course

[1] Since Article XC. of the 1889-90 Brussels Conference pledged the Powers of Europe to forbid the importation of spirits for sale to natives, or *their distillation* in a broad zone across Africa between 20° N. lat. and 22° S. lat., the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, like the French Sudan, should have been a 'prohibition area.' But somehow these stipulations seem to be evaded in French Somaliland, the Egyptian and the French Sudan, and French Nigeria. Abyssinia under the last years of Menelik's rule was seemingly prohibitionist. In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Greeks seem to do much distilling of spirit from grain, an art they have taught to many of the Sudanese negroes, who now provide their own ardent spirits, and in spite of Muhammadanism are becoming a very drunken people : that, at least, was my impression ten years ago.

when administered as a medicine by a qualified medical man. In all these last-named regions the importation of alcohol or its local manufacture are hindered rather than helped by local laws. They are what would be termed in America 'prohibition' countries, so far as the natives are concerned.

It is understood that the Brussels Conference dealing with this and other African questions is about to meet again, and that possibly fresh legislation may spring from an agreement between the Powers assembled at that Conference, which may extend to West Africa, and, it may be, to South Africa and to the Sudan, the provisions now in force in regard to a vast area of Central Africa known as the Conventional Basin of the Congo (including parts of British Central Africa, of French Congo and the Cameroons), and all British Northern Nigeria.

At the present time the struggle in the United Kingdom between those who bitterly oppose the dissemination of distilled alcohol amongst the natives of Africa, and those who if not favourable to the trade are at any rate of opinion that it does no particular harm, is concentred on the British Protectorate of Southern Nigeria; and the protagonists on either side are the missionaries of the Church of England and of other Protestant Churches at work in West Africa (who are uncompromising 'prohibitionists'); and Mr. E. D. Morel, lately a special correspondent of *The Times* in those regions, and celebrated as the champion of native rights in the Congo Basin, on the Gold Coast, and in other directions. That Mr. Morel, who has hitherto worked so heartily with the missionaries in defence of native rights to land and to complete freedom of commerce, should have in any way seemed to disparage attacks on alcohol in Africa, has come as a great surprise to the missionary party and to certain philanthropic societies, and has aroused some bitterness of feeling.[1]

The officials working under the Colonial Office in West Africa (and, before the Union, in South Africa) have also exhibited signs of divided counsel, besides the philanthropists. Articles which have appeared in this Review and elsewhere have in former times

[1] By those who feel this bitterness we are referred to Mr. Morel's former utterances on this subject in his book *Affairs of West Africa*, published in 1902. 'The European Missionary also denounces drunkenness, and with a fervour at times which is not always discriminating. But he is terribly handicapped (1) by the European trader, about one-fifth of whose total trade consists in the importation of freshly distilled liquor, often but not invariably containing various impurities, and in quality not exceeding that which is sold in low public-houses in this country, and which, freely mixed with water, may not be very injurious, but drunk neat, as for the most part it is in the *coastal* regions of West Africa, is—we have overwhelming testimony to that effect—harmful; (2) by the European Governments who, although they do now and again raise the duty on spirits in deference to public opinion, tacitly encourage a traffic without which their whole administrative machinery would become temporarily paralysed, seeing that from 45 per cent. to 75 per cent. of the revenue of their

denounced the evils wrought by distilled alcohol in the Sierra Leone coast strip, and have made clear the desire of the local administrators of the Sierra Leone Protectorate that distilled alcohol should be as far as possible excluded from the interior of that flourishing possession. It was almost a matter of course down to a few years ago that officials directly appointed by Downing Street to work in South Africa took the side of the Temperance party in seeking to restrict the sale of distilled alcohol to natives of South Africa. Especially has this been the case in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, Swaziland, and Zululand, while from the very beginning of the British protectorate over the regions north of the Zambezi it is clear that all responsible officials have cordially co-operated with the orders of their Government in maintaining very strictly the regulations initiated by the Brussels Conference in regard to prohibiting the sale of alcohol to the natives.

Perhaps a temperately written article on this subject may not be without its use at the present time, when the national mind is making itself up in the direction either of intensifying restrictions regarding the manufacture of distilled alcohol in Africa or its importation from abroad, or the actual prohibition of its sale to natives of the country.

The distillation of alcohol from various fermented juices of fruits, such as the grape, apple, or pear, etc., or from liquors derived from honey, malted barley, rice or other grain, arose, probably, in Asia and Eastern Europe as far back as four thousand years ago, and whisky was made in Ireland by distillation in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Arabs in the Mediterranean basin developed distillation during their five hundred years of enlightenment, and invented the word 'alcohol' (*al-kohl*, a powder, paint, or essence), though owing to the Muhammadan prohibition of intoxicants they made little use of their stills for manufacturing any strong waters for drinking purposes. In England, France, Spain, Italy, Southern Germany, and the Netherlands spirits were scarcely drunk, except as a cordial or medicine, until the beginning of the 17th century.

Though fermented drinks were early invented by primitive man in Africa and America, the manufacture of ardent spirits by means of distillation was unknown till it was introduced by Euro-

Colonies is derived from this traffic. These circumstances may, or may not, be preventable. They exist, and cannot be ignored.' He adds in a foot-note : . . . 'The merchants are sometimes violently attacked on account of this trade. Personally, I detest the West African liquor traffic. I look upon it in the same light as the opium traffic in the Far East—a blot upon the escutcheon of Christian Europe. But those who denounce the merchants might just as well, and more logically, denounce the Governments. *Per se* the liquor traffic is not a lucrative trade to the merchant, but to the local administrations on the coast it is the backbone of revenue.'

peans. In Africa a disregard of the methods of distilling alcohol was largely due to the spread of the Muhammadan religion over the northern and eastern parts of that continent—a religion which not only shut off Negro Africa from contact with mediæval Europe for a considerable period, but was a faith which in its basic principles forbade the use of wine and other intoxicants. It was not, therefore, possible to establish a taste for foreign and for distilled alcohol until European nations reached the coasts of Negro Africa by sea, and were independent of any Muhammadan opposition; or until, with the opening up of Egypt during the nineteenth century, Greek traders were enabled to spread the rudimentary ideas of distillation amongst the negroes of the Egyptian Sudan, while simultaneously the non-Muhammadan Indian traders imported the same ideas into the Zanzibar coastlands.

The drinking of distilled alcohol began to take root in West Africa during the seventeenth century. It was not, indeed, common amongst the European soldiers, seamen, and merchants, before that period. They drank wine or beer, as the case may be; 'strong waters,' cordials, 'the water of life' (as brandy was first called) were only used as expensive drugs. Then the Portuguese took to the distilling of the juice of the sugar-cane into rum—aguardente—and imported it into West Africa from Brazil and into East Africa from India. The French and British conveyed large quantities of brandy to enraptured African chiefs, delighted at this speedy method of obtaining complete intoxication. Holland was well to the fore with her gin.

By the eighteenth century distilled alcohol was playing a tremendous part in the evolution of human affairs in West and South Africa. In West Africa it ranked almost above gunpowder as the chief inducement to capture prisoners in warfare and raids, or to condemn them as malefactors in civil life, so that they might be sold as slaves to the Dutch, British, Portuguese, Danes, and French, who required them for the opening up of Tropical America. Distilled alcohol, in fact, was the chief bait used for the establishment of that devastating slave-trade in the West African coastlands between the Senegal on the north-west and Angola on the south-west, which brought natives from the very heart of Africa out of a life of absolute savagery to one of comparative civilisation in America, but a life which—especially in all parts of America under the British and Dutch flags—was positively an infernal existence to the unfortunate negro. Yet these several millions of black people performed a gigantic task under the superintendence of Europeans in laying the foundations of a civilisation in North-Temperate and Tropical America which is already producing astounding results.

To obtain brandy, rum, or gin, the negro of West Africa would

perform marches of hundreds of miles, and risk his life perpetually in battle, either with his fellow-negro or with the forces of Nature. By means of the lure of alcohol the white man has got at many of the secrets which the Dark Continent was loath to yield. An explorer would be followed almost anywhere if he had alcohol to distribute as a ration.

Yet it was obvious, even as early as the eighteenth century, that distilled alcohol was ruining many negro tribes. Together with smallpox, it accounted for some hundred-thousand Hottentots in Dutch South Africa, who drank themselves dead or imbecile on the gin and brandy imported or distilled by the Dutch colonists, or who were so weakened in constitution by their potations that they were still less able to resist the encroachments of disease, both native and foreign. When distilled alcohol touched the fringe of the Bantu peoples and its ravages became obvious to the minds of this more intelligent type of negro, it was viewed with horror by their native chiefs. The Dutch authorities had prevented the early missionaries of the Moravian churches from preaching a too vehement temperance propaganda; but when after the British occupation of the Cape there came out bold Scotch Presbyterians, English Nonconformists, and French Evangelicals, who brooked no check or interference from the civil or military authority, the native chiefs of Bantu South Africa soon found teachers who sided with them in denouncing the sale or consumption of spirits. It is probably due to the action of British and French missionaries in the southern third of Africa that distilled alcohol has had so little effect for evil on the native population; but I think it can be shown by the evidence at our disposal that it had already done for the Hottentots south of the Orange River.

In Portuguese Guinea, in the coastlands of Liberia, the Gold Coast, Dahomé, Lagos, the Niger Delta, Kamerun and Congo, between 1882 and 1907 I have encountered negro tribes that have been seriously affected in their physical stamina and *morale* by distilled alcohol. I have found that it distinctly diminished their natural increase,[3] and that it led to incessant quarrels, which sometimes grew to the dimensions of civil wars; that the tribes most given to the consumption of ardent spirits (with the exception, perhaps, of the Kru people) were lazy and unenterprising, and were constantly obliged to give way either to the more vigorous and less alcoholised peoples of the interior or to foreign negroes imported by Europeans.

At the same time I have been fully aware, through other journeys and experiences, that the disgusting squalor caused by this perpetual craving for drink (stimulated by imported spirits) was only a worse phase in the West African coastlands of the

[3] By provoking abortion and still-births amongst the women.

alcohol nuisance existing generally throughout all non-Muhammadan Africa, and even within the areas covered by that faith. In former times, travel in East Africa, in the central basin of the Congo, in South-central Africa, and in the Nigerian Sudan, was again and again rendered difficult by the drunkenness amongst the natives or amongst one's own porters. Every living African traveller of old times can tell the same story, and can tell it of regions perfectly innocent of distilled alcohol. Here, of course, the people drank the fermented sap of palm-trees, or beer from bananas or from grain.

The difference between these liquids and brandy, rum, gin, whisky, etc., was, of course, much greater than that between distilled alcohol and the wine and beer of civilised countries (see note 4). These native fermented drinks might make people quarrelsome, but did not make them mad. They affected their health but little, at the worst perhaps producing certain gouty symptoms. On the other hand, to the mind of the native, palm-wine and maize-beer, as compared with the distilled alcohol of the European, were 'as moonlight unto sunlight and as water unto wine.' Like the farmer at the rent dinner in the fifty-year-old *Punch* joke, who got 'no forrader' on claret, the negro had to drink quarts of his palm-wine or his sorghum beer before he even felt a slight elation,[4] while he certainly never lost consciousness

[4] For the convenience of the reader I might give here a comparative table showing the approximate amount of *pure alcohol* contained in the principal fermented drinks of the world, and in the types of distilled spirits imported into Africa or manufactured there for human consumption.

Name of liquid		Proportion of alcohol to volume of liquid Per cent.
Whisky (Irish)		60 to 74
Whisky (Scotch)		45 to 72
Rum		68 to 82
Brandy		46 to 67
Gin	about	50
Trade gin (as imported into Africa)	about	44
Port wine and sherry	an average	19
Champagne and Burgundy wines	from	12·5 to 16
Bordeaux wines clarets)	from	10·3 to 11·5
Moselle, hocks, and other light German wines		9·5 to 11
Stout and porter beer		4 to 6·1
English ales		3·6 to 5·5
German beer		3·5 to 4·5
Indigenous African fermented drinks:		
Raphia palm-sap, one day old		2·1
Ditto, after one week's keeping		3 to 4
Oil palm, borassus, coconut, and other palm-saps		3 to 3·5
Beer made from maize	about	2
" " " sorghum or millet	about	1·5

I have taken these figures from trustworthy authorities, but I fancy that the proportion of alcohol in *old* fermented palm-wine is a little underrated. I should

and become a god under the influence of these wines and beers. But one small glass of Portuguese rum, Schiedam or Hamburg gin, of brandy or whisky would send a glow through his lethargic body and brighten his wits temporarily; and another glass might give him all the crude joys of intoxication.

It is somewhat the same with the European in Tropical Africa. Wine and beer may be agreeable to his taste, but if very agreeable may as likely as not be provocative of gouty symptoms or headaches. A stiff glass of whisky-and-water, a gin cocktail, a nip of brandy, will seem to give him at the time the fillip, the energy, the enterprise he demands. Their later effects on his system will be far more pernicious than those produced (in some cases) by wine and beer. But as this effect does not immediately follow on their consumption he will attribute the various complaints of the liver, kidneys, and stomach which they produce to the African climate or to other causes.

Herein lies one of the difficulties of the settlement of the alcohol question in Africa. Distilled alcohol is not only as bad for the European as it is for the negro, but its effects are perhaps worse, or at any rate more patent to the eye, in a land where men of European race are still rare, and each is, so to speak, under special observation. Yet the European in Africa is very loath to part with his liberty in regard to his dietary, the majority of them, especially those of Nordic race, still clinging to their whisky, brandy, rum and gin in the belief, which not all the united opinion of the greatest physicians and surgeons of the day can shake, that alcohol is a stimulant and, taken in moderation, a harmless one.

I am timid about expressing my own opinion in this direction, because to attack alcohol nowadays is a more dangerous emprise than to attack the principles of established religion. The manufacture of alcohol or fermented drinks has created such vast vested interests which have so permeated the Press in parts of the United Kingdom and of the United States, of Germany, Holland, Portugal, France, and South Africa, that to denounce distilled spirits as a poison to the human system is to call down on one abuse which is not argument. I can only say that in my own personal experience any form of distilled alcohol is a poison, especially to a system enfeebled by much malarial fever. I know that, physically, most other Europeans in Africa are, as I am, unable to drink distilled spirits, even diluted with water, without suffering more or less directly. I am also aware that the consumption of brandy, rum,

be inclined to think certain types of palm-wine, especially from the Raphias, after some weeks' keeping might show about 6 per cent. of alcohol; but in this condition they are so nasty that they are probably not drunk to excess. From this table it will be seen how weak in alcohol are the native drinks of Tropical Africa compared with the weakest wines of Europe.

gin, etc., has been disastrous to European enterprises in Tropical and in South Africa. It has lost us battles, it has provoked many needless quarrels with native races, it has led naturally honest men into dishonest courses, and has blighted and ruined many a promising career. I formed these opinions after my first visit to Tropical Africa between 1882 and 1883, and from that visit came back a convinced abolitionist and teetotaller, so far as ardent spirits were concerned. I do not take quite the same view in Africa or anywhere else regarding the consumption of wine and beer. Personally, to my great regret (because I like their taste), I am unable to drink either, on account of their effect on my health; but no one can prove that the natives of Spain or Portugal, of France or the Rhine Valley, of Italy or Greece, derive any material harm from drinking their home-grown unfortified wines; and I have no doubt similar things might be said of California, Cape Colony, and of Australia. The reason why wine-drinking in England is often so unwholesome and, in fact, leads to alcoholic poisoning, is that almost all foreign and colonial wines, except some that come from France, have, before they are exported to Great Britain, to be fortified with added alcohol. The Englishman who goes to Germany and drinks Rhine wine and finds to his surprise that he is not one whit the worse, nevertheless gets ill when on his return he attempts to consume similar quantities of imported hock. Sherry in South-western Spain is no doubt quite as wholesome as is unfortified port in Portugal; both port and sherry are unwholesome in Britain.

The non-Muhammadan native of Africa craves for a modicum of alcohol, and if he cannot get distilled spirits is miserable without fermented drinks, either those locally manufactured, or such as might be imported in the form of wine and beer from abroad. Mr. Morel, when acting as *The Times* correspondent in West Africa, published an interesting interview with the Governor-General of French West Africa, at which the latter apparently put forward the idea that the negro's craving for alcohol—at present met by the importation of brandy, rum, gin, and whisky—might be satisfied if these distilled spirits were ousted in favour of wine and beer imported from Europe. At the same time to create a market for French wines in West Africa might be a splendid thing for French viticulture, an industry which has certainly been hit at the present day by the diminished consumption of wine in Britain and the United States owing to the spread of total abstinence.

The idea is not one which should be heedlessly denounced, if only the beer was no stronger than French or German lager-beer, and if the wines were unfortified. Is it really necessary to 'fortify' so many foreign wines if they are imported to England? The

Portuguese export to their West African possessions a red wine of excellent quality and taste, which is unfortified, and at the same time pronounced by not a few doctors to be an excellent blood-making and stimulating drink, especially diluted with water. I do not see why in the French possessions (where, curiously enough, this Portuguese red wine is very popular) its place should not be taken by French-grown wines, and why such French wines should not spread far and wide through the negro countries of Africa, displacing not only the execrable distilled spirits (which I personally would exclude *absolutely* from the consumption of Europeans and natives alike) but also the various wines and beers made from the sap of palm-trees or from native-grown grain. It must be remembered that one of the arguments adduced by Mr. Morel and others for not interfering unduly with the importation of distilled spirits, is that unless you can give the native something to displace palm-wine in his affections, he is going—as he increases in numbers—to affect for the worse a good many African industries which are based on the growth of more or less valuable palm-trees. A palm-tree that is tapped for wine produces no dates, no coconuts, no oil nuts (according to its species) which are of any value, and the values of these fruits of the different palms far exceed in importance the sugary drink furnished by their sap.

In the same way in South Africa, if the white men could be trusted to play fair, and not under the name of wine circulate strong waters, there would be no reason to condemn the sale of home-grown wines produced in Cape Colony. I have met with Cape wines, even in early days, as far north as the Ovampo country, where they competed with the wine brought from Portugal. Both were good and seemingly quite wholesome.

Anyone who has the patience to go through the vast mass of recently published correspondence, official and unofficial, would be made aware that there is scarcely anyone with authority to speak who can assert the wholesomeness of distilled spirits to white or black living in Africa, and there are many who specially denounce the quality of the spirits—the gin and bad whisky more especially—that are imported for native consumption. Here and there a doctor is found to say that a bottle of trade gin submitted for analysis is not more deleterious than a bottle of so-and-so's whisky or of ordinary brandy. But I doubt if any doctor of reputation could be brought forward who would assert over his signature that trade gin was fit for consumption by a European. One of the last and worst things that can be said of a white man in West Africa is that he has taken to trade gin. The end is not then far off. Only, unfortunately, it is generally preceded by a period of complete moral irresponsibility. Now, I should like the apologist for trade gin to bring forward a pathologist of repute

who would assert and prove that what is bad for the European mentally and physically, is innocuous to the negro. The negro has a very tough constitution in some directions, and perhaps may resist a little longer than the white man the effects of constant potations of ardent spirits, but he seems to me to be just as surely poisoned by the bad whisky, bad brandy, bad gin, as the European, and not to resist very much longer the superior brands of such spirits. Apologists for the trade, dismissing for the time being the effect of distilled alcohol on the coast, plead that it does no harm in the interior, because on the journey thither it is boldly diluted with water by the negro vendors, and consequently only reaches the people of the interior in the form of grog; and to support this thesis quotations are made from my own writing of the eighties, in which I have described the process by which the middlemen or negro traders of the coast halt on the outskirts of interior kingdoms and mix their gin freely with water, thus doubling the quantity which they have to sell. But these are old-fashioned arguments now. It is overlooked that in nearly every European colony in West Africa (to say nothing of South Africa) there are railways penetrating far into the interior. The negro marches with the times—marches faster than most of us have any idea of in Europe. If there is a railway, you may be quite sure that negro coast-traders (to say nothing of the European traders) will not send their goods in slow, easygoing fashion on men's heads. The cases of gin, the demijohns of rum, the casks of brandy, landed from the ocean-going steamer, are sent immediately by train to depots far inland, if they are intended for the interior trade. Moreover, sophisticated natives of the interior, who, ten, twenty, thirty years ago were actually prevented by the negro coast-merchants from visiting the coasts, not only come to the coast stores now to purchase their alcohol, as it arrives from Europe, but are quite able in their distant homes to tell whether it has been adulterated or not, and to refuse it if much diluted with water. In short, distilled spirits now are penetrating a good deal of Negro Africa which has hitherto been sealed to them. They are even being drunk by the Muhammadans, who hitherto have thought that drunkenness was the vice inherent in pagans and Christians. Still, to do it justice, the spirit of Islam throughout Africa is as much as ever on the side of abstinence from alcohol, with the result that a good many Muhammadan negro nations are of better physique than the pagan or Christian negroes of the coast.

Some enlightened native chiefs, anxious to preserve their people from the effects of drinking distilled alcohol, encourage Muhammadanism even if they do not adopt it as their own religion. They realise that if their people become Muhammadans they will not only be temperate and sober, but they will gain greatly in self-

respects and in warlike qualities. This tendency accentuates the hatred which the Christian missionary and the far-sighted politician is beginning to feel in regard to alcohol. I admit, with some sorrow, that the attitude of the Roman Catholic missionaries has not been so doggedly on the teetotal side as has been that of the Protestant Churches. Many of the Catholic missionaries are natives of countries like France, Spain, Portugal, Rhenish Germany and Bavaria, where wine is a customary drink and a harmless one, and where an occasional thimbleful of liqueur or brandy can be taken without its provocation to further excess. They do not realise the Nordic weakness or the negro weakness where access to fierce spirits is concerned. Yet missionaries of all branches of the Christian faith deplore (as do a few far-sighted politicians) the spread of Muhammadanism in Africa, and the hold which it has obtained over such a large proportion of the continent. And they do so nowadays, not so much from shallow-minded ideas about worship and faith, but because to their thinking Muhammadanism arrests men at a mediæval stage of human culture from which little real progress can be made. Civilisation based on the Koran and on the traditions of Muhammad's teaching carries the negro many stages beyond his cannibalism, fetish worship, and squalid dirtiness of existence. But it cannot produce a complete and a wholesome civilisation like that of the leading negroes of the United States, of the French West Indies, of Jamaica, Natal, and Brazil. For the same reason, politicians anxious for the prevalence throughout the habitable globe of the white man's principles of life, based on modern science and on Christian ethics, must view with apprehension the spread of Muhammadanism in Africa.[5] And if this spread is to be encouraged in order to save the negro from abuse of alcohol, the politician should be still more ready to adopt a drastic policy of excluding distilled alcohol as an import into Tropical Africa, or of not allowing it to be manufactured there, except for purely industrial purposes.

As before remarked, it is chiefly on the protectorate of Southern Nigeria that attention is concentrated from an 'anti-alcohol' point of view at the present time. Here it would seem that the greatest proportionate amount of spirits is imported and consumed per head of native population; here drunkenness is—according to the accusers—most flagrant and most harmful to native life. The coast regions of Lagos and the Niger delta have been celebrated for drunkenness (on distilled European alcohol) since the experiences of Clapperton and the brothers Lander in the early nineteenth century; and when I lived in this region as a Consular officer in 1885-88 it justified the same distribes as it does now.

[5] I gave reasons to explain this in my article in *The Nineteenth Century and After* [illegible]

I hesitated then, however, as now to denounce these negroes of the Egba, Edo, Jekri, Ijô, Ibo, Akwa, Efik, and Ibibio tribes, because of the hard life they lead in this country of dense rainfall, frightful thunder-storms, blazing sun, stinking marshes, gloomy forests, insect-infested sand, and jungle haunted by leopards, puff-adders, tree-cobras, and all-devouring ants. European and negro alike in this exhausting and unhealthy climate crave for some stimulant which may enable them to resist its depressing effects on mind and body. The land is amazingly rich in natural products,[6] and for the biologist in zoology or botany is a storehouse of wonders.

According to the expert testimony of highly qualified medical men well versed in chemistry and pathology, distilled spirits are of no avail whatsoever, even in the most diluted form, as a stimulant to the flagging energies of mind and body in Equatorial West Africa. On the contrary, the use of them is said, especially among negroes—to pave the way for the ravages of tuberculosis, besides producing cirrhosis of the liver, and other more or less dangerous complaints. Indeed, the relations of alcohol to tuberculosis form a question of the utmost seriousness which has not been sufficiently investigated by British pathologists or politicians. The Congress of Colonial and Tropical Agriculture held at Brussels in May 1910, which included amongst its members some of the most advanced men of science on the Continent and in the Americas, decided that 'alcohol was the most active and widespread element in the demoralisation of the native races, and that everywhere it prepared the ground for tuberculosis.' Certainly, tuberculosis (though it existed among negro and negroid races in the Egyptian Sudan three or four thousand years ago) has of late, and coincidently with the introduction of distilled alcohol, increased its ravages amongst the negro population of the West Coast of Africa and all those parts wherein spirits are sold to the natives. It is perhaps most of all in the United States of America and the West Indies and Pacific archipelagoes that the coincidence of spirit-drinking and the increase of tuberculous diseases has been most clearly noted, as has been the diminution of tuberculosis quite recently within the areas wherein prohibition has had most time to take effect. Likewise, in the United Kingdom, where there has been most alcoholism and where there is most at the present day (parts of Scotland, Ireland, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Midland England, which are far more shockingly drunken than the worst part of West Africa), the ravages of tuberculosis are such as to become a national question of the first importance.[7]

[6] It does a trade with the outside world, mainly Great Britain, of an approximate annual value of 9,200,000*l*. So it is worth 'bothering about.'

[7] The races who have shown themselves most prone to abuse of alcohol have been the Nordic Europeans, the northern Mongols and the Persians, the North American Indians, and the Negro; and these are the races most prone to tuberculosis.

An impartial and honest investigation of the evidence—especially of the evidence that meets the eye—of the harm which is being done by distilled alcohol in West Africa (and to a lesser degree in South Africa),[8] leads one to the conclusion that in Southern Nigeria, for example, the importation of distilled spirits should be absolutely prohibited (except as a drug to be used by qualified medical men). But what would be the effect on the revenues of this Protectorate of such a course, is the question next to be asked. From the latest statistics which have been obtained and published by the Duke of Westminster's Committee (the 'Native Races and the Liquor Traffic')—statistics which I have not seen refuted—there were imported into Southern Nigeria during 1910 for consumption by six and a half millions of people 4,700,000 gallons of spirits (distilled alcohol). This was nearly a million more gallons than the amount imported during 1909, and the highest figure yet reached (as far back as 1905 the yearly amount imported into Southern Nigeria was only 2,670,000 gallons). The sum realised by duty on imported spirits during 1910 must therefore have been considerably over 800,000*l*. (The figure given for the amount realised by duties on imported spirits for 1909 was 691,186*l*.) Yet the total revenue of Southern Nigeria for the year 1910 was probably not much more than 1,600,000*l*. (In 1909 it was 1,388,243*l*.) Consequently, if these figures are approximately correct, the Administration of Southern Nigeria in prohibiting the importation of distilled alcohol would sacrifice a present revenue of over 800,000*l*.—a half of its revenue, in fact.

This revenue has been needed sorely in the general interests of the natives (even more than of the Europeans) in extending sanitation to improve health (which, it must be admitted, is largely balanced by the harm done by alcohol), in building railways, cutting roads, clearing obstacles out of canals, creeks, and streams, and so improving navigation: in short, in opening up the means of carriage all over the Protectorate, so that men may go hither and thither in safety and comfort to trade, and so that the enormous wealth of the forests may be brought even from the most remote parts of the Protectorate for sale to the European merchants. And as this native wealth of the country belongs mainly to its indigenous inhabitants (the reverse, in fact, of the policy of

[8] Mrs. McFadyen and other white women who have had the courage to speak out recently on the question of black man and white woman in South Africa attribute the recent cases of indecent assault on the part of the negroes in the Transvaal entirely to the maddening effect of the alcohol (presumably 'dop' or Cape brandy) which is allowed to be sold to them at the licensed stores in the Transvaal, Orange State, and Cape Colony. Read also on this subject that remarkable novel—one of the cleverest ever written on South Africa—*The Dop Doctor*. Abuse of distilled alcohol prompted in the United States innumerable sexual crimes among whites and blacks, which have singularly diminished where prohibition has been put in force.

the Congo), the more Southern Nigeria can be opened up to commerce, the richer will become its millions of indigenous negroes.

But those who are on the attacking side say: 'What is the good of all these public works if the Europeans are constantly subject to fall into alcoholism and die from the complaints it induces; and if the natives are becoming weaker and weaker in constitution from the same cause? Had you not better get rid of this poison, even if its exploitation brings you in 800,000*l*. a year?'

It must be noted that the same arguments are held to apply to the stoppage of the liquor traffic in other parts of British West Africa—namely, if the importation of spirits is prohibited, how is the administration to become self-supporting? We should have to furnish subsidies from the imperial purse, which is hard on the British taxpayer. To answer this question one is led to consider how this problem is dealt with in East Africa, Uganda, and British Central Africa (Nyasaland and Rhodesia). There, no great revenue can be raised by the exploitation of spirit-selling. Yet as the introduction and maintenance of law and order and the construction of public works are of immense benefit to the negro native, it is only fair that he should contribute according to his means to the country's revenue by some form of supportable taxation. The question has been solved in these countries by export duties and the institution of a hut tax, which is more or less cheerfully paid, and is beginning to contribute a most important sum to the annual revenue of these lands. Why, then, should not export duties and a hut tax be instituted in Southern Nigeria and on the Gold Coast, as a set-off to the abolition of the revenue levied on distilled alcohol? Mainly because merchants object to the former and in regard to the latter the British Government fears to grasp its nettle firmly.

Nor is it altogether to blame. In 1897 Sir Frederick Cardew, when Governor of Sierra Leone, having to take over the large area of the Sierra Leone Protectorate behind the little coast colony, had to raise a revenue for its administration, and did so by instituting a hut tax on similar lines to the hut tax already initiated by the present writer in British Central Africa, or to the hut tax in force in Natal, etc. Unfortunately, with this quite justifiable measure* was associated a too sweeping assertion of the rights of the British Crown over the land of the native chiefs of the Sierra Leone Protectorate. Moreover, the tax was put in force abruptly, even stupidly, by a subordinate officer. The result was the Sierra Leone rising of 1898, which was not put down without stiff fighting and considerable bloodshed on both sides. Since that time, except in the tiny Gambia colony, the Colonial Office has been timid of

* Which the Colonial Office after some consideration and change finally adopted.

reintroducing this question of the hut tax in West Africa. The very people—some of them—who are now attacking the Colonial Office in this matter of alcohol inveighed against it for even entertaining the idea of a hut tax in British West Africa, though a little reflection would have shown them that it was quite reasonable that natives should be taxed in moderation for the infinitely superior conditions of life which British intervention had brought about, that they should not become a burden on the taxpayer of the British Islands, and that they were able to see for themselves in every year's accounts how the money thus raised *in* their country was spent *on* their country only. But to avoid 'rows,' and possibly occasional punitive expeditions to put down lawlessness provoked by this idea of direct taxation, the British Government has preferred to support its Protectorates and Colonies in West Africa mainly on alcohol, rather than to send diplomatic officials to explain patiently this whole matter of taxation to the native chiefs and peoples, and get them to agree—as they did voluntarily in Nyasaland and Uganda—to some reasonable system like a hut tax, which would make every able-bodied native contribute at any rate a tiny quota annually to the expenses of administering his own country.[10]

This end was gained—and in Uganda certainly, it was gained peacefully and happily—largely by the enlistment of the missionaries as negotiators. The native had come to feel that the missionary, whether or not his doctrine regarding spiritual matters was believable or acceptable, was really a disinterested friend of the negro, passionately anxious to help the negro to a better position, physically and morally, and ready at all times to defend him against injustice or abuse. Therefore, if his missionary advisers recommended favourably to his notice this idea of direct taxation under proper guarantees, his acceptance of the principle was a rapid one, and his adhesion to it has been now undisturbed (in East, South, and Central Africa) for something like eleven years.

I know Southern Nigeria sufficiently well to feel sure that if the question was put fair and square to the people of that country and to the chiefs, in the course of two or three years the mass of the natives would agree to pay a small hut tax, especially if they were told that rum and gin were the undoing of their land, and that the entrance of these liquors would forthwith be abolished. I would not suggest any obstacles being put in the way of the importation of unfortified wines and wholesome European beer. French

[10] A hut tax levied throughout Southern Nigeria, an end not to be attained for perhaps ten years, would at most bring in about 200,000*l*. The deficit caused therefore in the present revenue would have to be met by increase of customs duties on other imports now lightly taxed, or by an export duty on native products, or by a grant-in-aid from the Imperial Parliament. None of these are popular expedients to put forward.

and Portuguese wines (not port or sherry) not only could do little harm, but might be positively beneficial, especially drunk diluted with water. Of course, officialdom would have to be constantly on the alert (assisted by the missionaries) to see that under the guise of wine nothing stronger than mere wine was introduced.

I have dealt quite frankly in the text and in a foot-note with the financial difficulty which will arise if the introduction of spirituous liquors into Southern Nigeria is hurriedly stopped. A prudent Colonial Office may meet with some sympathy if it at any rate takes this point very carefully into consideration before acting. But where it cannot expect any sympathy at all, but strong condemnation, would be if in addition to the already vexatious 'vested interests' created by a two-hundred-year-old trade in imported spirits it proceeded to create new vested interests and new means of alcoholising Southern Nigeria by means of the establishment of local distilleries to manufacture alcohol out of sugar-cane, palm-wine, etc. (except, of course, alcohol for purely industrial purposes). Yet the anti-alcohol party was startled by the promulgation in 1910 of local regulations approved by the Secretary of State which actually made provision for the possible erection of distilleries in this Protectorate, and there was nothing in these regulations or the published correspondence thereon to suggest that the alcohol issuing from these establishments would be a chemical agent or fuel only, and not a liquid for human consumption.

The present problems of South Africa show us what a sickening nuisance can become the vested interests of winegrowers and distillers, who acquire wealth and who misuse that wealth and influence to force their poisonous wares down the throats of ignorant and helpless people. The 'brandy farmers' of the Cape dominate ministries and are perpetually trying to warp legislation in Cape Colony, Orangia, the Transvaal, and Natal, so as to find wider and wider markets for the 'dop' spirit which has wrought such infinite harm among blacks, whites, and yellows in British South Africa. Similarly the new Republican Government in Portugal is finding it difficult to cope with the clamorous demand for increased facilities for rum-distillers in Angola, and for the raising of any embargo on the sale of rum to natives. France has to open North Africa and such other parts of the world as she can influence, not only to her wines, but likewise to her brandies, which are far less wholesome. To gratify the planters of Réunion and Martinique, Madagaskar is being flooded with fiery rum (the introduction of spirits was prohibited by the Hova queens from 1868 onwards), and the Malagasy tribes are already suffering in physique and morale from the abuse of distilled alcohol.

It is obvious that if Britain is to initiate a prohibition policy

in Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone, and United South Africa is to do so in Africa south of the twenty-second degree of South latitude, this anti-alcohol action must be international through some Brussels Conference, and not confined to Great Britain or to her daughter nation of South Africa. In South Africa the German authorities on the west, and the Portuguese on the east, must be induced to adopt a common policy in regard to prohibiting the sale of distilled alcohol to natives; otherwise there will be constant evasions of the law by means of smuggling, or natives will leave British territory to settle in the adjoining regions where they can indulge their taste for rum or gin to their hearts' content. Likewise in West Africa, it is no use taking drastic steps to exclude alcohol from the ports of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Southern Nigeria, if there is not complete co-operation on the part of France, Portugal, Germany, Liberia, and Spain. If between the northern parts of French Congo and the Senegal River there is any one port or strip of coastline which may serve for the importation of strong waters, these will be disseminated amongst the natives. That, at least, is the argument of those who would excuse our own Colonial Office from taking further action in Southern Nigeria *unless* it can induce other European nations to adopt as drastic a policy. But the critics of this inaction, especially the missionaries, say that we should set a good example, even if the others will not follow, and should not allow the impression to continue that whereas the British Government strongly disapproves of alcohol in Northern Nigeria, it is indifferent to its ill-effects in Southern Nigeria, and that whereas it endeavours to make the large Protectorate of Sierra Leone a temperate country, it is cynically unmoved at the drunkenness of Freetown City and at the gradual dying out of the old Sierra Leone colonies of freed slaves from an unrestricted affection for brandy, rum, and gin. I would hope that the next Brussels Conference may agree to exclude distilled alcohol (except as a drug or a chemical agent) from all the coasts of Tropical Africa, and Madagaskar, and that the Union of South Africa may be led to take measures similar to those in vogue in the Southern States of North America to exclude or prohibit all forms of distilled alcohol as beverages for human consumption by white as well as black. When this is done, as material an improvement will take place in the home politics of South Africa as has followed the adoption of these happy measures in the United States. But I should do nothing to discourage the importation and circulation of unfortified wines and of light beers.

Yet this concession leads me to consider another phase of the alcohol question in Africa. Why is it that in Western Equatorial

Africa white men and black men alike have this craving for alcohol? Even the healthy European newly arrived and not naturally inclined to stimulants feels in the exhausting and depressing climate of the African coastlands a sinking, a loss of energy, a craving for some pick-me-up about the hour of sunset. If he cannot have something to stimulate his brain, stomach, and limbs, he feels without even the necessary energy to sit down to a meal. This and similar episodes of lassitude are met by the Muhammadan negro of West and West Central Africa with the chewing of the kola-nut. The nut of the kola-tree is intensely bitter, so much so that a draught of water afterwards seems inexpressibly sweet. But there is no doubt that it is a great nerve stimulant. Like all such things, it can be abused, and will no doubt, as its vogue increases, create a special malady—'kolaitis.' But in anything like moderation it seems to produce a most beneficial effect, exceeding that of tobacco, and far superior to alcohol, on both natives and Europeans in Africa. Kola now enters as an important ingredient into several forms of cocoa and of nerve tonics that are much advertised in the Press. Would it be possible to manufacture from the kola-nut some drink which would be a palatable and *wholesome* stimulant? The worst of alcohol is that besides being unwholesome it is not really a stimulant. It produces a false stimulus for about half an hour at most, and is followed by a period of depression of the vital energies that to a European in Africa, saturated with malarial parasites, is positively dangerous. But one does require—negro and European alike—something in one's diet to stimulate the brain and the stomach in Tropical Africa. Tea, to some extent, meets this want, but only partially, and too much tea is bad for nerves and digestion. Coffee is, perhaps, a better stimulant than tea in Africa, and yet, though Africa is the native home of coffee, it is so little cultivated there, and, comparatively speaking, so rare as a wild plant, that it is actually less easy as a general rule to get coffee than to obtain tea. The temperance cause would be much benefited, however, by the spread throughout Tropical Africa of good, cheap coffee. Bovril and similar preparations of beef might become useful stimulants. A cup of hot bovril drunk instead of a cocktail might serve the purpose of a stimulant far more effectively, and leave no harm behind. Yet, of course, to those (of whom there are many in Tropical Africa) who have weak kidneys, bovril and similar essences of meat are dangerous. All who have studied the question agree that in many parts of Africa the climate and the conditions of life of black men and white men call urgently for a stimulating drink or form of diet, and that this need lies at the root of the craving for alcohol. Yet alcohol is a poison more or less diluted, but always a poison. Let us

strive earnestly to keep this poison out of the reach of backward races unable as yet to protect themselves by a knowledge which is only very partially spread amongst the foremost nations of the world. But let us at the same time try to find for them, as for ourselves, a stimulant which shall really stimulate and yet leave behind it no harmful effects.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

One last suggestion in the nature of a postscript. To deal wisely with this, as with other subjects of diet and hygiene, we want the accurate knowledge of specialists, not the biassed decisions of diplomatists or the rash measures of the emotional and unlearned. Previous international Conferences at Brussels may have pretended that they were called together to effect philanthropic purposes on the mute body of Africa. In reality we all know—the crocodile tears of the late Baron de Lambermont notwithstanding—that they were summoned to legalise the ambitions of various European Powers and potentates to found African dominions. Let this next Brussels Conference on the question of alcohol in Africa be a *real* thing, and its component members be composed of physicians, surgeons, anatomical chemists, pathologists, anthropologists, missionaries, clerics, colonial governors, and a few educated natives of Africa. Let the President be a person of sound common sense like Theodore Roosevelt, Lord Cromer, Herr Dernburg, or Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. Let us learn once and for all authoritatively that distilled alcohol *is* a poison or a provocation to disease, and secondly that it *is* essentially harmful to backward peoples like the negro; and on such a definite, indisputable pronouncement our Governments can act.

H. H. J.

SOME ORDINARY OBSERVATIONS ON EXTRAORDINARY CCCURRENCES

PERHAPS because the germs of a subject once generated insist ardently on taking shape, every book I pick up haphazard, every chapter left by an interrupted reader, every page turned down by accident of circumstance points to the framing of that subject into some tangible form.

A volume found under my hand of Carlyle on the *French Revolution* opens at this phrase, 'that man is what we call a miraculous creature with miraculous power over man; and on the whole with such a life in him, and such a world round him as victorious analysis with her physiologies, nervous systems, physic and metaphysic, will never completely name, to say nothing of explaining. Wherein also the quack shall in all ages come in for his share.'

Here is matter directly applicable to that borderland between miracle and mind, that delicate function of the nervous system that cannot always balance between conscious and unconscious fraud where psychical and physical experiences meet.

Again, in a country house, I find a thoughtful hostess has placed a carefully selected tome for the sleepless by my bedside, Charles Lamb's *Essays of Elia*, refreshing by virtue of its wonderful literary method, exhilarating by the variety of its ideas, not too exciting to thrust the reader headlong out of bed in pursuit of some new-fangled discovery, but stimulating enough to give a pleasing direction to the thoughts of insomnia, and probably because it *is* midnight it opens at this phrase in 'Witches and other Midnight Fears':—'It is not books or pictures or the stories of foolish servants that create these terrors in children . . . these terrors are of older standing . . . they date beyond body . . . or without the body . . . they would have been the same.'

Clearly the sign-posts on the road of my intention impel me to write down the hustling thoughts that point in the direction of miracle and mind. There are scattered along our wayside of life always these white finger-posts, wilfully ignored by those who aim only at a desultory walk through existence and refuse to acknowledge any driving power save that of self, ignorantly overlooked by most who are none too observant of the symbols of their

line; finger-posts converging perhaps in the end by apparently circuitous routes only to one centre or terminus, but leading through such a widely divergent country of experience that the mind of the traveller may look at things in a new light and colour at the goal of his journey.

There would always appear to be a confusion between the Divinity that shapes our ends and that much rough-hewing that we are able to accomplish for ourselves. Of how much or of how little education can accomplish, let us leave to the reasoning of the sentimentalist who desires to organise entertainments for the criminal classes; but of how much character and environment have to do with ultimate human destiny there is no doubt whatever. That predisposition to certain hereditary weaknesses will develop if there be opportunity for them, or, what is better said, if there be temptation for them, is a well-established fact. The whole problem of vicious habits and their gradual development consists in how far circumstances will either repress or encourage such vice. If, therefore, a human being is born with a predilection for evil or good, shall it be to his credit or his discredit if he succumbs to evil or cultivates good? If a happy philosophy assumes that we are all born with a balance of both natures, what, then, becomes of the dogmatic formula that we are all born miserable sinners? That at once disposes of any free volition on our part and comes back to the heathen doctrine of Fatalism. Our destiny is surely shaped for us by a Higher power, but we have so much of liberty left us that we may choose the road by which we arrive at it. All are fulfilling a destiny beyond and above the control of the individual.

The popular fallacy is that if the individual were to know exactly what advantages will eventually come to him he would make no exertion to acquire them, or, inversely, if he were made to dread the future he would not go to meet it. This is obviously absurd. Let us, for instance, assume that in the horoscope of two men of varying calibre it is foretold to each that he shall make a fortune in gold-mines. The spirit of adventure in the one leads him to the Rand or to Klondyke to survey the ground for himself. The spirit of adventure in the other takes him no further than Throgmorton Street to gamble in gold shares; yet both are adventurers who have attained the same object with the means congenial to each, and neither would have accomplished it by expecting fortune to wait on him without further effort. No, the signs are not wanting on our road as to which way we shall go, but there is a choice of many turnings . . . there may be a *cul de sac* at the end of one, a ford to cross at the bottom of another, a savage dog to beware of half-way down a third; these things are not recorded on the finger-posts, we take the risk of them as we shape our way

unknowingly or knowingly to the *ultima Thule* of our journeying; but the task was set us before we started without so much as an asking of our consent.

Because it was a pagan custom to consult the oracle, any endeavour to peer into the future by seeking the advice of crystal-gazers and tellers of cards is forbidden and soothsaying as a profession is punishable according to the English law, for the endeavour of all modern preventative legislation is to protect the credulous from their own follies. It is to be taken for granted that there is always a number of people of feeble intellect who expose themselves to the subjection of unscrupulous persons, and are thus used for undesirable purposes, but though it is no doubt advisable and right that a State should protect its subjects, much useful experience of life and much beneficial acquaintance with hard facts are thus lost to the weak-minded, and the fool, saved from the consequences of his own foolishness, remains a fool to the end.

It seems to me that this sectarian dread of horoscopes and fortune-telling is at the most or worst only superstitious, and the evil influence is merely a question of how much or how little there may be in the power of *Suggestion*. If, as would appear to be the case, a horrible murder story told at great length and in many special editions of our newspapers brings in its train a number of similar crimes, then suggestion must count for something and journalism is responsible for much of the criminal record of the day. Why then do we not legislate against the recital of such horrors and why do we not prosecute the editor for regaling us with every loathsome detail, instead of directing all our fury against the fortune-tellers who are but striving to earn a living just like any newspaper?

We hear from time to time of a crusade against the fortune-telling sibyls of Bond Street intermittently conducted by the police at the instigation of a silly season campaign on the part of some halfpenny paper, and we are tempted to speculate how much good is done in saving the shillings of the credulous, and how much evidence is lost to the student of psychic research? By the Bond Street sibyls are meant those high priestesses of prophecy, whose brass-plates outside an open door bear the cryptic inscription of 'Palmistry,' and invite the passer-by into the shrine of mystery where the future (or more truly the past) will be unveiled for a small financial consideration. It is given to all of us to stand at the parting of the ways at some time in a career and to wonder which of several roads will lead to the desired goal. The heads and tails of a coin flung into the air more often than not come down with advice contrary to our inclinations, but precisely because all life depends on the energy or spirit we put into a

throw, the tossing of a coin is as useful to us as the evidence of an expert who can after all only give us *his* experience at similar cross-roads. The most astute King's Counsel at the Bar, though he can advise us on a point of law or recommend a course of action based on his knowledge of legal precedent, cannot determine the humour of the judge nor the effect made by the manner of a witness on the twelve good men and true of the jury. The tossing of a coin may have been of more service, therefore, than the opinion of a K.C.!

It is the natural instinct of blind human nature to turn for a solution of the future to those who—giving them the benefit of the doubt—may have some gift of second sight. Indeed, the conquerors of the world—Darius, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon—have all consulted the astrologer. Who shall say whether part of the monstrous self-confidence of those giants was not brought about by belief in the prophecy of the seer, by the force of auto-suggestion induced by the prophecy, that curious activity of the mind with which our waking consciousness has so little to do? Who shall determine whether the fortune-teller is not merely an instrument that visualises what is already known if not remembered by his client, or whether indeed the oracle is able to do more than telepathically record that dormant conviction of which, deep down in his subconscious mentality, the consultant is aware but not actually cognisant. If this is so, then the clairvoyant is but practising a form of self-hypnotism by which he is able to project himself into the mind of the sitter and all question of fraud disappears. It becomes a mere experiment that may be or may not be successful, and is no more a case for the police courts than an endeavour on the part of a medical man to alleviate pain by the simple process of suggestion.

I have a recollection of some soothsayer in Bond Street having a machine that registered will power just as there are machines for the trial of physical strength. If my memory does not play me false this one had a magnetic needle and it called for some mental energy to drive the needle to a given point. It does not dwell in my mind that I witnessed any abnormal gyrations of the needle when I touched it, so that I assume I was deficient in whatever it proved, but it may have been an ingenious piece of Bletonism in order to fit some clue to the disposition of the client. This magnetic will-power machinery seems to me harmless enough if it accomplished what is very clearly necessary to any successful effort at clairvoyance, that is if it set up a current of understanding between the medium and the subject. The person who keeps a jealous and rather antagonistic guard over tongue and facial expression is almost as baffling to the medium as the over-garrulous person who betrays at once the object of the visit. A

sympathetic neutrality is the best atmosphere for psychic potentialities, and under the latter heading I should be inclined to class some of the most interesting experiments that I have seen in palmistry, if even undertaken for gain. One lady, who has adopted palmistry as a profession, has the gift so highly developed that she is able to read names in the lines of the hand quite glibly and without previous acquaintance with the client. Here is no longer matter for either magistrate or priest, but one of investigation for the professor, and any excursion into the land of mystery, where the mind, detached from its envelope, exhibits some force independent of the accepted canons of nature, should be encouraged and not persecuted. These experiments are, however, held to be an attempt to tamper with the powers of darkness and as such are forbidden to the faithful. As to the science of astrology, authority considers that merely a subject for children's fairy tales and so it does not come within the scope of the law like theomancy.

We may attribute a bad harvest to the planetary system or a cold summer to the unwelcome intrusion of a comet's tail, but we will not admit that one or the other can affect the infant emitting its first feeble cry in some obscure corner of the earth. Everything is to be reckoned by mathematical calculation, but such attributes of the human mind as genius, depravity, virtue, or vice are put down to a mere accident of birth. If so, to what accident? To the selection of parents? How comes it then that no two children of the same parents are alike either in form or disposition? Why should one member of a family *have* an ear for music and another have *no* ear at all, but perhaps a good eye for drawing, where both have the same mother and father? We endeavour by deliberate crossing to reproduce dogs and other animals with exactly similar points; we try by the most careful nursing to grow flowers so infinitely like one another that each blossom on one stem shall be uniform; yet no one has ever succeeded in giving birth to the *facsimile* of brother or sister. The nearest approach to likeness in feature exists quite frequently in twins though their characters and mental attributes may be different; would not that point to the fact that being born within a few moments of one another, the same planets are present at their birth? Yet in an age of mathematical precision we refuse to consider as ludicrous that most mathematical of all occult sciences, the science of astrology and the influence of the planets on the human being at the hour of his first appearance on earth.

Here then we come back to the belief of the ancients and the superstitious faith of almost all the great figures in history in the infallibility of their horoscope. The effect of this on the fortune of war may not be underrated. It is the same that can be observed

in the play of individuals at public matches of cricket and other games of skill and is queerly ascribed to nerves, but is in reality more closely associated with the subtle force of suggestion than any physical quality. Again, the belief in the horoscope is to a certain extent a form of fatalism that leads—if not to resignation—at least to philosophy. As many have been helped to do great deeds by the hope that a thing *is* to be as have been comforted by the reflection that it was *not* to be. Hamlet's reflection,

> There's a Divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them how we will!

is no less fatalistic than Napoleon's belief in his star, but the poet bends his phrase to meet his creed, and by the insertion of the word 'Divinity' bathes it in the omniscience of Him who sees the fall of a sparrow.

It has always been the endeavour of the Christian divine to reconcile the conception of an All-powerful Will with the theory of man's capability of controlling his own volition. 'It is the will of God,' says the priest over one shoulder, administering solace to the afflicted. 'It is your weakness that leads you into sin,' he scolds over the other shoulder to the penitent, and, in the struggle to preach submission on the one hand and conquest of self on the other, he flounders in his logic and loosens the faith of his flock. We pity with a compassionate commiseration the shivering Lascar who rolls overboard in a storm murmuring 'Kismet' without making any effort to save himself, but if a Christian drown after fighting for his life we whisper that it was the will of the Almighty. For fatalism as such is abhorrent to the teachings of the Church, and in the attempt to make both ends of the argument to dovetail a horrible presentment is produced of a revengeful Deity that will not be appeased.

The trouble about a serious interest in all psychic phenomena, is that so enormous an amount of fraud, wilful or unwilling, is mixed up with it that it tries the patience of the earnest-minded. I do not refer to those who are unfortunately compelled to try to make a living out of it, they are necessarily obliged to simulate reality if even the reality is not always present, but I refer to the amateur as distinct from the professional dealer in psychic wares. Among amateurs there appears to exist a quite unaccountable vanity in desiring to be considered mediumistic which is an awkward stumbling-block in the way of genuine research.

The girl of the seventies and eighties who hoped to make herself interesting by taking to her bed and pretending to have lost the use of her limbs or refusing to eat in the presence of others was no doubt a remnant of the earlier Victorian young lady who indulged in fainting fits and megrims. Both have disappeared in

these days of hockey and golf; but they have given place to the visionary who perceives 'auras' round the heads of her perplexed companions, communicates with the 'dear dead,' and refers the conduct of her affairs generally to her 'spirit guides.' How much of all this may be voluntary or involuntary self-delusion, though certainly a matter of inquiry for the school of pathologists, considerably obstructs any claims to mediumship. Or given that the subject is allowed a pencil and affects to write automatically at the dictation of some of these influences, how often does this writing reveal a message of importance to us? Seldom anything but a mass of ethical twaddle in which there is little that is convincing, although it has often the merit of fluency. We find in it for the greater part the cheap metaphor and hyperbole coming from nowhere and leading to nothing that is to be met with in most tracts purporting to be of a religious nature.

The great anxiety is to distinguish how much is inspired and how much is self-induced in all this 'crank-spiritualism,' as the Americans would call it.

Anyone who has tried automatic writing with the help of a Planchette or a Ouija board, or the more simple process of an alphabet and a reversed wine-glass will have observed the mixture of irritating platitudes and trite sentimentalities that are recorded by these instruments, to say nothing of the rather rude remarks that are written down without our apparent connivance, all of which may be the effect of unchecked human nature masquerading under the disguise of a visitant from 'beyond' and revelling in freedom from restraint. Then suddenly, embedded in this unconvincing rubbish, there appears some significant phrase, some obscure sentence bearing the imprint of importance, gleaming with an intelligence that we are only able to understand long after by the light of later knowledge. The truth is that every delusion, if not inspired by deliberate intention of fraud, must have originated from some incident and more likely than not there have been at some time some slight psychical phenomena that have given rise to it, and—what is more important still—there may be a recurrence of them. Yet because at a given hour there has been a genuine manifestation of such phenomena, it is not said that there will be a satisfactory repetition of it or even a repetition of it at all. If this were admitted by the mediums themselves, we should be spared many irritating imitations of what may have been at some moment a real demonstration of those mysterious forces which science has only recently acknowledged as worthy of investigation. In England, although there is a distinct bias in the direction of the *horrible*, there is very little general interest in the *occult*. A lapse of memory, a dual personality, or a telepathic communication at the time of death is left to the examination

of a very small section. For myself I should frankly never have been drawn towards the whole question had not my imagination been arrested by a prophecy the explanation of which has never been furnished and which for obvious reasons has never been published before.

On the 27th of June 1902 the grave news of the late King's illness cast a gloom over London and the postponement of the Coronation was announced, no date being given at the moment for its probable accomplishment owing to the serious condition of the Royal patient.

On the Sunday immediately following upon that, I was staying at a country house in the Eastern Counties, when the talk came up of an article in a periodical of that week on the subject of table-turning and table-rapping. We adjourned after luncheon to a cool panelled room of Elizabethan date, and there being several people present who had taken part in the discussion, I suggested trying an experiment in table-turning. One other guest and I then placed our hands on the surface of a small round mahogany table, and to our astonishment it responded in a very few moments by tilting very markedly. We established at once a code by which each tilt represented the letter of an alphabet, the tilting to cease at the letter intended; two tilts for 'no' and three for 'yes' completed our very primitive, if laborious, method of communication.

The first question I put very naturally concerned the late King's recovery.

'Will the King get well?'

Three tilts for yes.

'Will he be crowned?'

Three tilts for yes.

'Shortly?'

'Yes.'

'Spell the date.'

'August.'

We scoffed at the idea that the King should be dangerously ill in July and yet be well enough to be crowned in August. The table tilted violently, as if in annoyance, repeating August.

'What date in August?'

'Twelfth!'

Now the first probable date given out was the 12th; it was later altered to Saturday, the 9th of August. There were four or five witnesses on this occasion and we dismissed it with some impatience at the time, thinking the answers had been at random.

A few minutes later a still more extraordinary prophecy was made in the same manner, but as it concerns the tragedy of a broken engagement and a hasty marriage, it is still too recent to

make it public even in the interest of psychical research. Subsequently both dates and prophecies given proved to be right. What, then, can be the explanation of this? If the physicians knew in the first week of the late King's illness that it was not sufficiently critical to prevent his being crowned, then we may assume it was a telepathic communication. In the other case, the person whom the prophecy concerned was present and still engaged to be married, and therefore unaware of the other entanglement, although the latter may have been known to others at a distance. I can offer no explanation of either, and indeed these are the two only instances of direct prophecy that have ever come within my observation, nor have I ever again been able to get any equally satisfactory results from similar experiments. It would seem by that as if only the uninitiated were vouchsafed a glimpse into this world of mystery, and as if the veil were not to be lifted for more methodical or disciplined exploration.

At one time on a protracted theatrical tour I employed my spare hours in making some notes on the spiritualism with which the northern provincial cities are riddled. I visited, among other places, meeting-houses devoted to the cult of spiritualism, fitted with benches or pews, and hung with texts relating to the spirit and the life hereafter. These halls appeared to be frequented by the respectable poor, and may have taken the place of more sectarian places of worship. But beyond the rather commonplace assertion of some high priest with an illiterate accent that he saw my spirit guide standing behind me in the person of an old man with a beard whom I failed to identify by the description, I saw and heard nothing that did not point to the most ordinary self-delusion. In the same city I was photographed, accompanied by a blurred figure in vague garments of an early Victorian outline, an old negative being no doubt used for the purpose of the modern picture. In another busy city of the North I was introduced into a spiritualist community, consisting more or less of town councillors, shopkeepers, and of middle-class society generally, who held Sunday meetings, at one of which I came across a medium who was afterwards caught red-handed in London in a very clumsy effort at deception. On the first occasion at which I saw him the tests were no doubt too severe for him for nothing noteworthy happened, but I was struck by the fervent interest on the part of these North-country folk. On the second occasion, when I met with the same medium in London, no tests were imposed on him, in order to leave him to work his own wicked will in the way of grey gauze hallucinations, but the séance was chiefly curious on account of the attitude of a well-seasoned journalist who sat by my side, and who insisted on recognising the features and voice of his departed wife in what was obviously a very ill-educated man

imitating a woman's voice and manipulating some yards of smoke-coloured muslin. All these unintelligent attempts at fraud are distinguishable only for the immense opportunity for suggestion and auto-suggestion that are often produced by them.

As the whole theory of suggestion was first established by the Nancy and later by the Charcot school of pathology, it is perhaps natural that it has permeated into the practical life of the day more in France than in other countries. Certain it is that the plea of suggestion has been set up as a defence for criminals in the French Law Courts for many years, more especially where women have been concerned in a more than usually dreadful crime; but though there is nowadays a growing sentimentalism over here when any *cause célèbre* is engrossing public attention, it is well to remember that pathologists very distinctly assert that it is not possible to suggest evil to a well-disposed character even in a trance condition and that the *virtuous* waking personality cannot be influenced to do anything *vicious* even under hypnotic suggestion. This defence then falls to the ground, and should be sparely used to create sympathy for a confirmed evildoer. The plea that in the case of a woman an absorbing affection for some man compels her to overlook in him what would fill her with horror in others, though it leans towards the sentimental creates a more wholesome sympathy than the effort to clothe a crime in pseudo-scientific wrappings.

I have always felt that the Church of all ages encouraged the theory of suggestion by its linked-up form of continual supplication from the prayer wheel of the Buddhist to the endless prayer chain of the present day. The latter, by the way, sent anonymously by post, known to most of us whose names figure in a directory or book of reference, possesses some of the worst features of mental blackmail ever invented by unscrupulous ingenuity to frighten the superstitious. It commences by a prayer that is ascribed to some dignitary of the Church of England with the request that the recipient shall write it out on nine consecutive days and post it unsigned to nine others. If this command is at once complied with an immediate boon may be looked for from a benign Godhead, but if neglected or ignored, disaster and catastrophe must invariably and shortly happen. Thus, an unseen and unknown correspondent playing Providence clearly relies on frightening the credulous by bringing about some disaster through mere weakness of mind.

In Lancashire I assisted at an exhibition which, if not directly ascribable to suggestion or deception, I do not pretend to explain. It appeared to me to be genuine; but I only assisted at it on one occasion, and had no later opportunity for any revision of my first impression; I have not since heard that the medium was ever

found guilty of fraud. It was presented to me under such very simple conditions that it disarmed suspicion, which may, however, have been part and parcel of the skill of the *metteur-en-scène*; who was a working-man verging on seventy employed as a weaver in a neighbouring mill, the scene being the back kitchen of this old man's cottage. He was fetched from his loom on my arrival, and asked leave to tidy up while I waited. I had, therefore, ample opportunity of inspecting the premises. They presented nothing more than an ordinary stone floor and a round deal table, on which the old man's wife had been making bread, and which she pulled into the centre of the room while I was there; all this offered no indications of traps and machinery. On the return of her husband, she drew down the blind and lighted a small oil lamp covered with a piece of red material leaving rather more light than is necessary for developing photographs. Her reason for using the bare back room rather than the more comfortable front one was, she explained to me, to avoid the curiosity of her neighbours if they should see the blinds down so early in the afternoon. The medium was not absent many minutes, and had not, as far as I could see, changed his clothes in that interval; he was of bowed and grizzled figure, and in ordinary intercourse painfully deaf, though when addressed a little later, in a state of trance, he could hear everything even if spoken in an undertone. If either of these conditions were assumed, it required a good actor to simulate and a good memory to maintain this deception. I had two companions with me who seated themselves as I did at the round table.

The customary deep sighs and groans from the old man heralded the approach of the influences attempting to communicate. Here, then, we have our weaver in a trance muttering messages in broken English—his controls being, I believe, of foreign nationality. The wonder was that they spoke English at all! These are points on which I am however always ready to indulge the medium; they have really very little to do with disproving any actual phenomena. After some lapse of time, he called out to me to place my hand in his, and then instantly, with something of a whirring and buzzing that may have existed only in my imagination, for I was too much surprised to observe my own sensations at the moment, the table flew up to our clasped hands and fell to the ground as he released them. My natural conclusion was that his feet were curled round the legs of the table and that he obtained some leverage by pulling my arms across it. The next time it was repeated, therefore, I groped with my feet for the medium's, I pressed the foot nearest to me in his boot; the one I kicked being firm and immovable, I did not gather that he had freed his foot from it. An interval of silence followed, which was presently broken by the medium

starting up and crying out to me: 'Give me your chair, friend!' I rose and complied. He placed it on the table, and then invited me to step up. I mounted the table and took my seat, the chair being of a common Windsor pattern, with my back to the medium, but facing his wife and my friends. At his request I held on to the chair, my arms being straightened backwards away from my body, and he laid his hands on my wrists. When I turned my head, his eyes were on a level with mine; he must, therefore, have been standing up. Again I heard a curious rustling sound, and felt the table gently rising towards the ceiling. Neither on my journey up or down was there any jolting, and I do not remember any pressure on my wrists, of which he let go when the table returned earthwards. Next he invited one of my friends who accompanied me to the séance to jump up and sit beside me. We put an arm round each other's waist so that we might not fall off, and each clasped the chair with the other free hand. Again the medium placed his hand on our wrists, and we travelled quietly through the air and back to earth. If human and mechanical force was used on this occasion, it demanded certainly a considerable test of its quality, for it had, both collectively and singly, two very solid bodies to move!

Not content with these manifestations, the chair and my friend were removed, and I was asked to stand on the medium's hands, placed palm downwards on the table. Thus, with my left and right foot I stood on the right and left hand of the medium, who on this occasion sat down. If he lifted me by getting a purchase with his legs on both legs of the table he had, at any rate, the sheer weight of me on both his hands. I do not know whether ju-jitsu is accountable for a solution of this, but I went up and down very smoothly and steadily without a jar. I think I remember that my two companions held my hands standing on each side of the table to save me from a fall. Nor was the medium short of breath, or otherwise discomposed after these efforts, though he seemed rather fatigued when he awoke from his trance, and his previous hardness of hearing returned. The blinds were then drawn up, the lamp extinguished, and we were pressed to partake of a luxurious Lancashire tea, with new bread and buttered scones of the old wife's baking. The small fee which I induced them to accept for the lost afternoon's work can certainly not have been the motive for the séance, to which the medium only reluctantly consented because I had been introduced by a professor well known to be interested in psychic matters. I have never returned to the scene of my levitations since then, and have only once heard of the medium again, when I think he had been invited to give a séance at an hotel in another city which was barren of results. This to the incredulous will prove conclusively that the necessary

staging and machinery being absent there was of course no performance. To the student there may be a second explanation. It is possible that in his own environment saturated with his personal element, the medium would be more *en rapport* with his controls, or with whatever it was that produced the phenomena I witnessed, than in a hostelry of necessarily shifting influences, where rooms are nightly inhabited by different travellers and from which one person's magnetism would displace the other.

Assuming that the old man had hypnotised me into believing what in reality I had never seen, then my companions must equally have been hypnotised, and if so, why should I have had sufficient reasoning power left to try and verify whether the medium had his feet on the ground or not? Again, assuming that he had lifted the table with his legs, we have to remember that he was an old man past the prime of life and bowed by work. If his strength was equal to lifting two rather solid people seated on a deal table of considerable size, then we should have heard of him as a strong man on the music-halls instead of earning a few shillings a week as weaver in a mill.

Of my two companions at this séance, neither can be said to be very useful witnesses. To the one—who is ready to attest this in evidence—this was an entirely new excursion and she had at any rate the advantage of having clean tablets of memory on which no previous psychic experience had been inscribed. The evidence of the other is useless, as she belonged to the order of what I must call the confirmed spirit-drinker, by which I do not mean one who is addicted to alcohol but to spiritism; and, like the dram-drinker ready to swallow anything from absinthe to methylated spirits, the confirmed spiritualist is ready to believe in anything that proclaims itself as hailing from the land of shadows, *whether assisted by the strains of a concertina played by* invisible hands or reflected in mirrors covered with phosphorescent paint. It is by the way a more than suspicious sign when the medium asks for a musical accompaniment to help him to a trance condition. It is very usually a pretext to cover the rustling of garments while assuming some disguise for the impersonation of a materialised shape.

With the semi-darkness that is customarily a condition of spiritualistic séance I do not quarrel, although the only instance of a prophecy I have cited was delivered in the bright sunlight of a July day. Obscurity, it is urged, is more propitious to the development of phenomena, and this may be explained by the fact that the sitter's attention is not distracted by external things. The whole paraphernalia dear to the medium's heart has, after all, little to do with the origin of any phenomena, though it may have a direct bearing on its effect. Whether a seer demands

a crystal, a black mirror, a glass of water, or a pack of cards, or the unattractive ingredients of the *pot-au-feu* concocted by Macbeth's witches, the setting of the scene and its accessories are immaterial—they have but the object of focussing the mind's eye on the question involved and of obtaining the answer by concentration of purpose. The Thane of Cawdor's fate was not decided by the 'cold toad' and the 'fillet of a fenny snake' thrown into the cauldron, but by the *suggestion* made in the words, 'All hail, Macbeth, that shall be King hereafter!'

Sometimes we are tempted to think that, like the herbal remedies of old wives' tales, it is the intention that effects the cure and, save for the prescriber's reputation, the herbs might well be left out. The friction of a golden circle on an inflamed eye (preferably a wedding ring, I believe) is surely a remedy of tradition only, yet many a child's nurse has applied it to the swollen eyelid of her charge, and it would seem to have as much curative value as the nursery-rhyme-process of 'Kissing the place to make it well,' which has an immediately soothing effect on an infant. Be it remarked, however, that a child that has hurt itself cries on account of the nerve shock of the accident and rarely on account of the pain caused by it; the scheme of relieving the pain by a kiss therefore makes a direct appeal to its imagination and thus indirectly to its nervous system. On how much or how little suggestion has to do with the miraculous cures of Lourdes, I think even scientific men hesitate to pronounce. That religious exaltation may produce a state of anæsthesia is an accepted fact, but that this should lead to a permanent cure of disease or a cure outlasting even a few hours, is not conceivable; yet such is undoubtedly frequently the case. Moreover, when at Lourdes some years ago, I myself witnessed the cure of a severe case of neuritis in the arm at a moment when there was no pilgrimage and no religious enthusiasm, and when the only other visitors were country people assembled for worship at Christmas-tide and not intent on asking for miracles to be performed. Nor was the patient a very ardent believer in such miracles, although a Roman Catholic. The immediate disappearance of the neuritis coeval with the bathing of the wrist in the sacred spring in the colder spirit of inquiry rather than in the heat of great faith is at any rate a coincidence worth noting. The cure in this case was maintained for some years.

The Brahmin who with a verse of exhortation compels the lotus trees to bow their branches to him (I have heard this attested by the wife of an eye-witness), the countryman who whispers his secret to the bees, the Russian actress who gratefully accepts the images of seven elephants from seven women who wish her well, all are but repeating a formula of incantation, a sacrificial offering to that unknown force that lives, if they but knew it, within

themselves. But there is something awe-inspiring and fearful in any hidden power of which we cannot discern the mainspring, especially when we feel that we are carrying it about with us whether we will or no, and that every movement and thought of ours is recording it; left somewhere in the bricks and mortar in the stones and plaster of our dwelling-houses or in the arbours and shades of our gardens. It is in consequence of this that the atmosphere of some houses and rooms has an essentially home-like feeling of welcome, while in others a sinister sensation of foreboding or a depressing narrowness of purpose meet us at the threshold, quite independent of architects and builders, or of the taste of the furniture and equipment.

Most stories of haunted houses are nevertheless usually the outcome of tradition and are due to suggestion by the memory of some fantastic or horrible crime that has been committed there. Yet in such ancient cities as Florence, where few houses are of later date than the sixteenth century, and where the antique palaces and villas are still inhabited by the descendants of those whose blood dyed the stones and walls of the city—in that city whose history is stained with the stories of family feuds, of racial jealousies—it is curious to note that few, if any, stories of haunted houses have survived. Nevertheless witches and witchcraft were more than usually fashionable from the earliest records of Florence and still contrive to flourish there. The fact is, I think, that ghosts are not encouraged or reared in Roman Catholic countries owing to the habit of saying masses for the repose of the dead, thus preventing all subconscious suggestion of an uneasy spirit's return by *removing the motive of its visit.*

The great difficulty of getting any corroborative evidence of a ghost story would always seem to me a most doubtful circumstance. We are told of stories of haunted houses that, when sifted, recede further and further away from us, and until I have heard of a ghost from an eye-witness, I must content myself with believing that most of the records of apparitions seen in places that are notoriously haunted are merely vivid dreams, the result probably of the involuntary dread produced by the remembrance of the legend. I myself, after spending a good deal of time over psychic literature, have had very vivid dreams of such phenomena, and I have had this curious experience: that the room in which I have been asleep is as clearly seen by me in my dream as in a waking condition, and that the short interval between my dream and my complete return to wakefulness produces much the same effect on me as a return to consciousness after a fainting fit, to which I attribute the very common reply made by those who think to have seen a ghost. To the question, 'When and how did the ghost disappear?' the usual answer is that the seer had fainted away with

horror and that on recovering consciousness the apparition was gone.

Weighing one story with another from hearsay evidence, there seems finally to be nothing in any of them to lead one to assume that they are not emanations of the brain and no sort of proof that the visitants are from another world. At one of the séances presided over by the now notorious Husk at which I was present, the figures that appeared on the table before me, very clumsily stage-managed though they were, all purported to be the spirits of those who had passed over, and many people round me declared that they recognised in them the likeness of departed friends, and I even heard them holding converse with what was very evidently a person with a mere theatrical 'make-up.' I recollect taking the precaution of not being introduced to the medium so as to have a better opportunity of observing his methods than I should have had, had he singled me out for his demonstrations, and a rather amusing incident was the result of this. Someone next to me remarked aloud that though everyone else had been flicked by spirit hands or blest by a supposed Church dignitary with the sign of a luminous cross and visited by an apparition, I alone had been neglected, upon which the figure of a man with a black moustache and a white veil sprang up before me. Everyone asked eagerly whether I recognised him, and I hastily cast about in my mind for some initials by which to address him. Anxious to test the genuineness of this materialisation, in my confusion (at the general attention I was attracting) I could recollect no letters of the alphabet except R. Y. S., from which Club I happened to have that morning received a letter. 'Are you R. Y. S.?' I asked, with the solemnity that befitted the ceremony, and the would-be spirit bowed his head in assent, the medium taking it for granted that these were the initials of someone I had been thinking of and wished to communicate with.

What I am obliged to think was telepathy came under my notice some little time ago while staying at the house of a relative in Essex. I had retired to rest early and fallen asleep almost immediately on going to bed.

Half an hour later I dreamed that I was standing in a lane that skirted the park in which the house stood and that a heap of cobble-stones as for road-mending was deposited in a pyramid on my left. I then saw one stone detach itself from the heap and roll down the rather muddy roadway. I watched it bounding along faster and faster to the bend of the road when it gave a lurch into a ditch, and I was roused up with the distinct consciousness of having received a message to go at once to find what was hidden there—where the stone had fallen. Not yet quite awake, I bounded up, and hastily collected my clothes. A few

es later, having ascertained that the night was dark and , second thoughts prevailed, and I retired to bed again, still in uneasy feeling that I was obstinately neglecting a mission. ollowing morning I told the story to my hostess, and she . to accompany me after church to the scene of my dream. luncheon there was a heavy storm, and though I still felt nfortable in my mind about not going out, I succumbed in dy to the comfort of a warm fire. It was not until Monday ing that my hostess came and told me that a man had been 'dead in the ditch at the edge of the chase,' which was a paces from the scene of my dream. Subsequently it was to be a case of manslaughter; a brutish story of a public- brawl on a country road—a quarrel at closing time between nen the worse for beer, *a flint picked up from the roadside* flung at the head of the other, a dazed journey through the across which there was a right of way, and a fall into a ditch, the man succumbed from loss of blood. That he had lly walked along the lane of which I had dreamed came out wards, when it was found that he had knocked at the door bailiff's house, quite close to the spot, and had been refused ittance by some person who had taken him to be a belated tryman staggering home under the influence of drink, and not seen in the darkness of the night that he was wounded e temple.

This is clearly the case of a soul in its death agony giving out e of this unsuspected and unconscious force that reaches the on most susceptible to it in the neighbourhood, but it reaches ind unfamiliar with this untabulated, unformulated type of sage, and it remains unanswered, leaving the man to bleed leath. The difficulty in our ultra modern method of life is nake time or opportunity to *obey* these telepathic calls on the rument of our sympathy. We so often record after some ible tragedy or accident that we had a distinct presentiment vil previous to it, but frequently when we have risen in morning with this same presentiment nothing of moment occurred at all, whereas some unsuspected catastrophe has uck us as a bolt from the blue when life's barometer was set fair; so that until there is more definite scientific understanding telepathy, it is wisest to investigate everything in the nature with the aspect of a warning. It is better to have the mortifica- n of many false alarms than to overlook one real message.

The trouble of all psychic experiment is that to most people purpose and ultimate result mean nothing at all. To have ended to the ceiling on a kitchen table seems—broadly speaking most unprofitable form of entertainment. And when it has en proved that there has been no fraud or delusion, what then?

unlike the utilitarian, because, to the average mind, the first meeting of an unknown force is totally void of interest. When radium becomes a marketable commodity at a thousand guineas for a fraction of an ounce it has justified the attention that has been given to it. When a heavier than air principle has taken shape in a vehicle that can be ordered from a coachbuilder, it is beginning to be of importance; but so long as levitation cannot save us the cost of an aeroplane, or telepathy does not help us to dispense with the telegraphic apparatus, the subject is not one that calls for general interest. That some day, sooner or later, that force, which is neither of the mind nor of the body but has something of both, may be adjusted to practical purposes is just as much within the realms of possibility as that electricity can be adapted for household use.

To the greater multitude there is something alarming in the supernatural only because, as the word implies, it is above the ordinary. To them the age of miracles is over and science holds the day. That miracles may even have a scientific explanation has not yet penetrated the popular mind.

For those who are convinced of its significant importance three qualities are indispensable—namely, patience, perseverance, and prudence. Patience to wade through the wearisome repetition of frivolous communications; perseverance to proceed in spite of ineffectual and abortive experiments; and last, but not least, prudence to sift and weigh every atom of evidence rather than accept even the smallest particle of doubtful authenticity. As to the far-reaching subject of suggestion, that is one that has passed into the region of science and is no longer looked upon as a superstition, although it may be said that

All superstition is but suggestion in its unacknowledged and unconsolidated shape.

GERTRUDE KINGSTON.

THE ETHICS OF MEDICAL PRACTICE

The intr ion of the National Insurance Bill—into the merits of wh piece of experimental social legislation I do not prop —has been the occasion of a certain amount of critic tion of the medical profession in relation to that mea lic. T e generally of the relations of doctors to the pub side of m has not lacked frankness, nor has it erred on th 'being y. The medical profession has been described a Review 'de es.' A writer in the July number of this by Mr. Lloy e medical profession as having been 'roused and united a s proposals as it has never been roused before, what has rou ver been united before,' and goes on to ask cally, whatev nited it. The answer is effective rhetori- charity. 'W said for it from the side of truth and fear that the used it? What has united it? Not the medical practic lead to a lessening of the efficiency of the Bill can be possibility that by careful modification of medicine fro at instrument for removing the practice doctor in a posit d commercial associations, placing the practice of his h he can devote himself entirely to the teaching, so far the real work of doctoring—that is, living; not that a ws them, the true laws of healthy may be able to forg eems some possibility that the doctor one half of his att and devote to his patient not merely he has been wont also that other half which hitherto none of these th entrate on his patient's pocket. It is which seems al has served to rally the doctors, but that —namely, the the representatives of vested interests further informed by incomes are in danger.' We are doctors have sent to riter that 'to read the letters which in the medical Press ers, to read the articles and reports the British Medical e attended the recent meetings of medical profession ca one would never guess that the the national health.' for the dignity of its craft or for ent does not stop here. 'The

¹ Nineteenth Century and Af and National Policy,' by Harry Ro The Insurance Bill, the Doctors,

work of the 20,000 private practitioners, who constitute the overwhelming majority of doctors in this country, is being almost wasted'—so this gentleman informs us, 'so far as the health of the nation is concerned. The work of doctoring, as conducted at present, where it is not pure quackery, consists almost entirely in "curing" or relieving the symptoms of disease, rather than in preventing disease or in improving the health and vigour of the race.' As a final compliment we are assured: 'After all, the medical profession, sugar over the truth as we [illegible] is at present parasitic upon diseased persons; and so long a[illegible] [illegible]tem of fees which obtains at present is continued, to stan[illegible] [illegible]ease means for doctors the destruction of their host.' T[illegible] [illegible]ly Societies, not having got their way in the House of C[illegible], have joined in this tirade, and so far from confessing [illegible]y have in the past sweated the doctors, fling back the [illegible] that the real offenders are the doctors who sweat their [illegible]s.

Many of my professional brethren pro[illegible] [illegible]gard these accusations and innuendoes as unworthy of no[illegible], still less of serious refutation. They may hold that their position in the body politic calls for no defence, that their work needs no vindication. They may point to a recent division in the House of Commons, whereby one of the chief demands of the medical profession in relation to the Insurance Bill was conceded by 387 votes to 15, as a sufficient proof that, when united, its influence is practically irresistible. I grant all this, but I am not sure that slander should go unrebuked, or that it is always wise to allow the enemy to blaspheme. We may fairly ask some of our critics what are their credentials, what do they really know of the conditions of medical practice, its difficulties, dangers, and responsibilities, and whether they are prepared to give some plausible proof of the truth of these accusations of quackery, selfishness, venality, and lack of the elements of honour and public spirit. A great statesman of a past generation once used the famous words that 'he did not know how to draw up an indictment against a nation.' Few wise men will venture to draw up an indictment against an entire profession. Every profession has its seamy side, its black sheep, its residuum of inefficiency, pretence, and moral failure, but it is not by such things that any profession can be justly judged. We do not despise the legal profession because there are scurrilities in the police courts, or the clerical profession because some curates talk nonsense. If the cheap surgery, the shilling or the sixpenny doctor, offers an easy target for scorn, we may admit that the scorn is natural, and perhaps not wholly undeserved, while we remind the critics that the public gets what it pays for—that and neither more nor less.

I do not propose to make any extravagant claim for my profession, or to ask that there should be conceded to it 'a character

for exceptional philanthropy and nobility'—a claim at which the writer already quoted sneers. My contention is a more modest one—viz.: that doctors should not be held up to undeserved contumely, that they should be recognised as filling a useful and indispensable office in the Commonwealth, as not inferior in honesty and public spirit to any similar body of educated men, and as inheritors of an ancient and honourable ethical tradition, older than recorded history and in the main—in spite of the faults of individuals—preserved untarnished. The Hippocratic oath—too familiar to demand quotation—sounded the note of moral responsibility and ethical obligation which has never ceased to vibrate, and which is not silent to-day, although the medical profession does not encourage vows or creeds. *Facta non verba* has always been its motto, and by that motto it abides. 'By their fruits ye shall know them' is a sound principle, not to be gainsaid by any profession or by any individual. Can the science and art of medicine abide that test? I think it can, but before we consider that point let us inquire what are the charges brought by the present-day detractors of the medical profession. They would appear to be three in number—viz.: (1) That it is selfish and mercenary in its attitude towards the National Insurance Bill, and, I presume, in other matters and relations; (2) that it devotes itself to 'curing' disease, the 'cure' being often mere palliation, while it neglects the real work of prevention; and (3) that much general practice is sheer humbuggery—'Everyone in the know,' so we are informed, 'is aware that, with a few exceptions, drugs have no useful influence on disease at all.' This is a formidable indictment. Is it a true indictment?

Let us look at these charges in order. Doctors are probably as regards care for self and regard for the pocket not very different from other men of their own social position and educational standard, but the point is rather this: Are the traditions of the medical profession conducive to selfishness and greed? Does a young practitioner on commencing his life-work find himself in an atmosphere where personal profit takes precedence of professional honour, where pocket and reputation come first and regard for the interests of the sick comes second? There is, I would submit, a very general impression that the precise contrary is the fact. No profession does so much unpaid work as the medical profession. No men so often give their services where the prospect of any financial reward is doubtful as the doctors. If the frequent complaint of the general practitioner that 'the doctor is the first to be called in and the last to be paid' is not literally true, it is at least, as we say of some works of fiction, 'founded upon fact.' If the general practitioners of the country were to take the world into their confidence on the subject of bad debts they could a tale

[illegible]. When the head of the household is removed by death and leaves behind an impoverished family, the widow and the orphan know well that in most cases the doctor will be the last to insist upon his pound of flesh. Our great hospitals—not the least of the glories of our present-day civilisation—set the standard and pitch the key. Their staffs are unpaid. Mr. Jordan Lloyd, in his address to the British Medical Association at its annual meeting in Birmingham last July, stated that 'not less than 600,000 operations were philanthropically performed last year in the United Kingdom.' If we reckon the average money value of these operations at the low figure of five guineas each, we find that the surgeons gave the nation in one year a present of 3,000,000*l.* The physicians may fairly be credited with an equal sum, so we reach the conclusion that through the medium of our hospitals alone the public receives annually six millions' worth of gratuitous service from the members of the medical profession. I shall not attempt to estimate the money value of the gratuitous service rendered by the medical profession through the agency of our numerous philanthropic institutions—other than hospitals—and in private practice. Such a calculation would manifestly be a guess, but the total is without doubt enormous. It is not agreeable to have to insist upon such facts, but it is right that the nation should be reminded of them. No individual and no profession should look for gratitude in this world. That is an extra, which may or may not be accorded. But everyone has a right to ask for justice.

The assertion that the opposition of the medical profession to the National Insurance Bill has been dictated solely by selfish motives and fears of loss of income cannot be sustained. In the first place, that opposition has not been unconditional. The authorised exponents of medical opinion have from the first recognised that the measure was a bold attempt at grappling with admitted evils; and that it was capable of satisfactory amendment. In the second place, the measure is so complicated, and the dislocation of medical practice which would ensue upon its operations is so great, that no one can predict with certainty what its financial results to the medical profession would be. Some doctors would lose financially; others would gain. The net result remains doubtful. The attitude of the medical profession towards the Bill—and this point was made quite clear by the memorandum issued by the College of Physicians of London—has been largely determined by the conviction that contract medical practice—of which the Bill contemplates an enormous extension—can never be entirely satisfactory and is the prolific parent of many and great evils. Unless this attitude is understood, criticism of the position of the medical profession is a mere beating of the air. What are the conditions

which should regulate the relations of doctor to their patients. These can be readily defined. The patient or those responsible for him should be free to select the medical practitioner in whose skill, experience, and character he or they have confidence. The practitioner should give the case adequate care and attention at a scale of remuneration which satisfies him. The relation of doctor and patient should be terminable on either side for adequate cause. Now, all these conditions are more or less violated in the case of contract practice, of which club practice furnishes the most common and the least desirable variety. The patient has not a free choice of his medical attendant, but must accept the services of some one chosen for him. The practitioner is in many cases over-worked and underpaid, and under too great a temptation to neglect his 'contract' clients in order to devote himself to his private patients. The relation of doctor and patient is not terminable on either side in case of dissatisfaction arising, but is compulsorily continued even when relations have become strained. Is the medical profession to be accused of selfish motives if it views with great concern a proposed immense extension of a type of medical service the existence of which may be a financial and economic necessity, but which can never be quite fair either to doctor or to patient? Granted that contract medical service seems in our present stage of civilisation to be the only mode in which certain classes of the community can obtain any medical service whatever. Granted, too, that the evils of contract medical service vary widely from being gross, clamant, and intolerable to being relatively trivial and harmless. The system can never be good so long as human nature remains what it is. It has been well said that the aim of all wise legislation is to make it easy to do well, hard to do ill. Contract medical practice reverses this wholesome principle. It encourages pretence, imposition, malingering, and unreasonableness on the part of the patient, and it puts too severe a strain upon the strength, staying-power, and good faith of the doctor. Mr. Lloyd George seems to think that in promoting a huge development of contract medical practice he is appreciably hastening the [illegible] of the millennium. He will find himself mistaken. E[illegible]ce in Germany should act as a salutary warning. The Leipzig Union of Doctors pledged to decline service under the National Insurance Act has now a vast membership, numbering many thousands. It is easy to represent a movement of this kind as a piece of mere trades-unionism, but surely a body of professional men are within their rights in declining to serve under a system which they honestly regard as inimical to professional honour and detrimental to the best interests of the nation.

I take it, then, that the charge that the medical profession is a mercenary profession is not capable of being sustained, and that

the suggestion that doctors devote one half of their attention to the patient's health and the other half to his pocket is simply an unworthy gibe, reflecting light upon the temperament of the writer but none upon the objects of his criticism. George the Third is reported to have once said that 'Shakespeare was a very dull fellow, but that it did not do to say so,' upon which statement the only possible comment is that it throws no light upon Shakespeare but much light upon George the Third.

The second charge, viz.: that doctors devote practically all their energies to more or less abortive efforts at curing disease, but little or none to its prevention, is even more surprising. Has the writer been enjoying a Rip Van Winkle sleep that he is so little alive to the spirit and performance of present-day medical science? Is not this the age pre-eminently of preventive medicine? Is not the sanitarian or the public health reformer, now so much in evidence, either himself a medical man or engaged in applying the results of medical investigation? To what do we owe the spectacle of nations freed from the ravages of small-pox and typhus fever; a regenerated Cuba, a Panama Canal with a normal death-rate, West Africa no longer the white man's grave, the average duration of human life rapidly increasing, tuberculosis undergoing a steady and almost rapid extinction, the decline in the sickness and disability rate of our benefit societies, if not to preventive medicine? The two great organisations which concern themselves with this subject—the Royal Sanitary Institute and the National Institute of Public Health—as it happens, have held their annual meetings this year in Ireland, the former in Belfast and the latter in Dublin. The programmes of their proceedings are before me, and the share taken in their work by members of the medical profession is a large, almost a dominant one. While such questions as water supply, sewage disposal, house construction, and the regulation of industries naturally figure largely in these discussions, no less attention is devoted to matters directly within the purview of the medical profession, such as the prevention of typhoid fever and tuberculosis, medical inspection of schools, the compulsory notification of disease, infant mortality, and the new science Eugenics. To suggest that the medical profession is silent or apathetic with regard to such questions, or grudges the time and labour necessary for their elucidation, is simply absurd. In Ireland we have at present a widespread and active organisation for the suppression of tuberculosis—inaugurated by her Excellency the Countess of Aberdeen, and largely carried on by women—which has already borne rich fruit and is destined to change the face of the country from the health point of view. Has the medical profession obstructed or discountenanced this most necessary and beneficent work? Quite the

century. Some practitioners have held aloof, whether from indisposition to join in any form of propaganda or from pressure of other duties or from motives into which it is not necessary particularly to inquire, but in all parts of the country doctors have been ready to give their services as lecturers and demonstrators, and to add their quota of sympathy and moral support. To suggest that the medical profession is 'parasitic upon diseased persons' and devoid of enthusiasm for preventive measures is not merely to use an unsavoury metaphor, but to circulate a libel which is, however, too inept to do much hurt. Would it be possible with any decency to suggest that the legal profession is 'parasitic' upon the rogueries, or the clerical profession 'parasitic' upon the immoralities, of mankind? Such language exceeds the limits of legitimate controversy. The professions of law, divinity, and medicine have been evolved to meet certain primary needs of humanity. The progress of civilisation does not make them less, but rather more necessary. Life becomes busier and more arduous, rather than the contrary, and the time is far distant when every man will be his own lawyer, his own doctor, and his own higher critic. Sneers at the specialists in all departments are dear to certain types of mind, but the sneer is dictated as much by envy as by scorn.

If insufficient attention is given to preventive medicine, the responsibility for such slackness must be laid at the right door. Our educational systems must take a large share of that responsibility. Future generations will undoubtedly look back with wonderment at educational methods and ideals which made it possible for children and adolescents to undergo an elaborate course of education, extending over many years, without acquiring any knowledge, except by some lucky chance, some casual incursion of the sanitarian or the First Aid lecturer, of their own body or of such subjects as ventilation, diet, and exercise. They will note the vast mass of miscellaneous lore which the unhappy youth of the present day has to acquire—much of it of dubious value—and ask with some scorn whether hygiene is not more profitable than the dates of the Wars of the Roses or the prosody of a Greek chorus. Herbert Spencer is undoubtedly right when he insists that the first condition for success in life is 'to be a good animal.' Medicine is for experts, but hygiene should be for the multitude. No knowledge is likely in the long run to be so profitable, so productive of good, so preventive of evil.

The third charge against the medical profession is that much practice in the lower levels of professional life is mere quackery; a routine administration of more or less useless drugs, a pandering to the age-long superstitions of the ignorant multitude. Now, let it at once be confessed that this is the weakest joint in the

[illegible] of the medical profession. Such things do exist. They are bad. They ought to be remedied, though it does not need a study of Schopenhauer or Hartmann to suggest the thought that bad physic, like bad law and bad theology, will always be with us. But it is well to be just even to the shilling doctor. He is not the pick of his profession to begin with. He is what he is, and where he is, by a sort of process of survival of the unfittest. He is overworked—it requires a good many patients at a shilling a head to keep a roof over his head and to make his bread and butter moderately secure. He finds his clients only too ready to consume his medicines, only too slow to pay any heed to his hints about hygiene, personal habits, cleanliness, ventilation, and diet. *Populus vult decipi.* It thinks it has a royal road to health *viâ* the medicine bottle, and it likes the shortest cut. The practitioner, who may have begun professional life with moderately high ideals, adapts himself, all unconsciously perhaps, to his environment, by a law of nature which applies to man as much as to the blind fish in the caves of Carniola. Yet, with all his failings and limitations, it is not unreasonable to hope that the shilling doctor at least does more good than harm. He is the product of evolution, and if we want to eliminate him we must begin by educating the people whom he serves with such indifferent efficiency, but not wholly to their disadvantage. Yet it may be questioned whether the path to better things is to be found through a wholesale discrediting of drugs. The human race has to fight disease by the best weapons at its disposal, and the experience of countless generations is not to be lightly cast aside. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.* All wisdom is not the exclusive perquisite of the twentieth century. Usage and tradition have a place in medicine as in other things. It is true that drugs which *cure* in the strict sense—*i.e.* drugs which are specific and directly antagonise disease—are few in number. Perhaps they could be counted on the ten fingers. But drugs which help the curative forces of nature, which stimulate or restrain normal function, which relieve pain, promote nutrition, hasten excretion, increase energy, and avert collapse, are not few but comparatively numerous, and their number is constantly undergoing augmentation. Some practitioners who find fault with their tools would be better employed in learning how to use them better. The evil is not so much that the public expect, and the medical profession prescribes, useless drugs, as that drugs are allowed to occupy the first place while oftener they should occupy the second. The medicine bottle will not take the place of sound living, but we need not throw away a piece of coal or of road metal because it is not a ruby or an amethyst.

Some of the criticisms from the ethical side which are often

passed upon the medical profession show a mistaken point of view. The severity with which doctors usually speak of the quack or the purveyor of secret remedies is usually put down to professional jealousy. It is forgotten that one of the most sacred traditions of the medical profession—a tradition embodied in the declaration required of candidates for entrance to some medical corporations—is that if any member of the profession makes a discovery for the good of humanity he shall share it with his brethren. The purveyor of secret cures assumes the character, therefore, not merely of a swindling charlatan, but of an enemy of the human species. Yet there are some people of education and intelligence who are unable to see why the discoverer of a new remedy for disease should not enjoy the financial rewards of his discovery as much as the inventor of a new variety of sewing machine or automobile. But the two things are not on the same plane.

Again, medical etiquette is a frequent subject for ridicule as being excessively artificial and unintelligible, the fact being that it is simply a code of rules and customs gradually evolved by experience, necessary for the regulation of professional relations, and little else than an application and adaptation of the Golden Rule to professional life.

As I conclude these remarks the doubt arises again in my mind whether the art of medicine needs any *Apologia*. Its triumphs are written on the page of history and shine nowhere more brilliantly than in the records of the last few decades. It has lifted the shadow from innumerable lives and brought comfort to countless homes. It has transformed the face of lands ravaged by plague, cholera, and malaria. It has helped to populate the Valhalla of the nations, no longer exclusively reserved for the warrior and the bard. A few years ago a Paris newspaper took a poll of the French nation to determine who, in the opinion of the people, was the greatest Frenchman of the nineteenth century. Pasteur received the largest number of votes, Victor Hugo being second. The cult of the soldier, appropriate enough in the earlier stages of human evolution, seems passing. It is gradually being recognised that it is nobler to save life than to destroy. If medical science does not compile an *Acta Sanctorum* or publish a martyrology, it is not for want of materials. Men have freely given their lives for the advancement of knowledge and the relief of human suffering without expecting any canonisation or looking for any martyr's crown. The *ethos* of the medical profession is intolerant of self-advertisement.

I alluded in the earlier part of this article to the Hippocratic oath as striking the ethical note for the art of medicine in its early days. Let me quote a few sentences from our own Hippocrates—Sydenham—and see if the *morale* of the Englishman is

not equal to that of the Greek. 'Nevertheless, I have always thought it a greater happiness to discover a certain method of curing even the slightest disease than to accumulate even the largest fortune, and whoever compasses the former I esteem not only happier but wiser and better too. With respect to practice I declare that I have faithfully set down all particulars, also that I have contributed to the utmost of my abilities that the cure of disease might, if possible, be prosecuted with greater certainty after my decease, being of opinion that any accession to this kind of knowledge, though it should teach nothing more pompous than the cure of the toothache or of corns, is of much greater value than all the vain parade of refinements in theory and a knowledge of trifles, which are perhaps of as little service to the physician in removing diseases as skill in music is to an architect in building.' British medicine has never lacked its Sydenhams, and does not lack them to-day. He is the typical British physician, and his spirit has never ceased to animate British medicine.

In spite of churlish criticism, there is good reason for believing that the medical profession never stood higher in public esteem than to-day, and that its repute and influence are steadily on the increase. This result is due no doubt in large measure to the brilliant discoveries of modern medical science and to the victories over disease of which those discoveries have been the occasion. As contributory causes may be reckoned the growing scientific temper of the age, the spread of education, and the growth of social legislation, as opposed to absorption in *la haute politique.* Benjamin Disraeli long ago announced as one of the watchwords of his party the dictum *Sanitas sanitatum, omnia sanitas.* The phrase was laughed at by some people at the time, but it does not sound ridiculous to-day. The public health reformer occupies the limelight now, and the eye of the nation is upon the homes of the people rather than upon the Oxus or the Hindu Khush. Who shall say that the change is not a salutary one?

A facetious person once remarked that when he felt in low spirits he took out his early testimonials, read them and felt comforted. There is a famous passage in one of the essays of R. L. Stevenson which I commend to my medical brethren when they feel disheartened by ill success or ingratitude or unjust criticism. It is a passage which no doctor can read without a thrill of pride, perhaps not unmingled with some trembling of soul lest the high eulogium should, after all, be imperfectly deserved. The passage runs as follows: 'There are men and classes of men that stand above the common herd: the soldier, the sailor, and the shepherd not unfrequently; the artist rarely; rarelier still the clergyman; the physician almost as a rule. He

is the flower (such as it is) of our civilisation, and when that stage of man is done with and only remembered to be marvelled at in history, he will be thought to have shared as little as any in the defects of the period and most notably exhibited the virtues of the race. Generosity he has, such as is possible to those who practise an art, never to those who drive a trade; discretion, tried by a hundred secrets; tact, tried by a thousand embarrassments; and what are more important, Heraclean cheerfulness and courage. So it is that he brings air and cheer into the sick-room, and often enough, though not so often as he wishes, brings healing.'

The verdict of Stevenson may be allowed to outweigh that of many lesser people.

J. A. Lindsay.

3 Queen's Elms, Belfast.

A MASTER OF THE HORSE

THE family of Keppel traces its descent from Walter Van Keppel, who flourished 1179-1231, and was the founder of a monastery at Bethlehem, near Doetinchem, in Holland. In 1688 the descendant of this Lord of Keppel accompanied the Prince of Orange to England, and in 1695-6 was created Viscount Bury and first Earl of Albemarle.

From that date the Keppels have identified themselves with the fortunes of their adopted country, and have been among the foremost and worthiest of her soldiers, sailors and sportsmen.

William Anne, the second Earl of Albemarle, for whom Queen Anne stood godmother in person, married Lady Anne Lennox, daughter of the first Duke of Richmond. The latter, as is well known, was the son of Charles the Second by his mistress Louise Renée de Perrencourt, of Querouaille, whom he created Duchess of Portsmouth.

George, the third Earl, was the eldest of a family of fifteen. As Lord Bury he was A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland at both Fontenoy and Culloden, in which latter battle his father William Anne commanded the King's Northern Forces. On the famous 16th of April 1746 young Lord Bury went into Prince Charlie's deserted tent and found there a silver punch-bowl, also a holster-case filled with mugs, knives, forks and spoons. These he at once took to H.R.H., who gave them to him, and they are now, among other historical treasures, heirlooms of his descendants. He was deputed by the Duke to carry to the King the dispatches announcing the victory of Culloden, and later, through the same influence, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the celebrated Cuban expedition. This consisted of 16,000 troops, though only [illegible]00 sailed from England, the rest being brought from Martinique and North America. Lord Albemarle subsequently received for his services on this expedition the sum of 122,697*l.* 10*s.*, while his brother, Commodore the Hon. Augustus Keppel, better known as the famous Admiral Keppel, was rewarded with a sum of [illegible],539*l.* 10*s.*

With this prize money for the conquest of Havannah in 1762,

Lord Albemarle purchased the estate of Quidenham in Norfolk from Mr. Bristowe, the latter having recently bought it from the family of Holland, who had long been its owners. Two years later, in 1770, Lord Albemarle married Anne, daughter of Sir John Miller, Bart., of Chichester.

In 1768 Augustus Admiral Keppel likewise purchased a small estate in Norfolk, Elveden Hall, Thetford. Ten years later, on the 27th of July 1778, he had a memorable though indecisive action with the French Fleet off Ushant. Owing to a disagreement between himself and Palliser, his second in command, the French were suffered to escape. Both Commanders were tried by court-martial the following year, but were exonerated from blame, and all England rang with the joyful tidings of the acquittal of the brave Admiral Keppel, while public illuminations and rejoicings took place in honour of the event. During the years which followed his celebrity was emphasised by the fact that his head in effigy adorned the signboards of public-houses throughout the land, but fortunately he was not dependent upon this means of perpetuating his physiognomy for posterity. Although a plain man, on account of his broken nose, many interesting portraits of him exist.* Sir Joshua Reynolds painted him on several occasions, and one full-length picture of him done by the great artist, owing to its remarkable fire and life, is considered to have created a new era in the art of portraiture. At last, so weary did Lord Keppel become of being painted, that as soon as each artist had completed his head, he used to order his valet to dress up in his uniform and act as model in his place. In 1782 he was created Viscount Keppel and became First Lord of the Admiralty.

Admiral Keppel survived his elder brother, for but two years after his marriage Lord Albemarle died, on the 13th of October 1772, leaving a son of five months old, William Charles, to succeed him as fourth Earl of Albemarle. To this nephew the Admiral left his property of Elveden on his own decease in 1786, when for a short time it was let as a sporting estate to the Duke of Bedford.

Subsequently William Charles himself resided there till 1813, and it was to this house that, when under twenty years of age, he brought his first wife, herself under sixteen years old, Elizabeth Southwell, daughter of the twentieth Baron Clifford. It is a coincidence not without interest that while the bridegroom, through his maternal ancestry, was descended from Charles the Second, the bride was the descendant of Walter de Clifford, the father of Fair Rosamond, and her family likewise included many soldiers of renown, besides the handsome soldier George de Clifford, who wore Queen Elizabeth's glove set in diamonds as a plume in his cap.

The first exploit of the girl-bride, Lady Albemarle, at Elveden, was to slide down the banisters, with the result that she had to have her head trepanned. History repeated itself in a curious fashion when, many years later, one of her sons performed the same act with the same result at Quidenham in 1821. His sister, Lady Caroline Keppel, used afterwards to relate how she listened to her brother's cries while the operation of trepanning was being performed, the use of chloroform being then unknown.

After the birth of two sons, William, Viscount Bury, in 1793, and Augustus Frederick (afterwards fifth Earl of Albemarle) in 1794, the young bride, Lady Albemarle, dreading the further responsibilities of motherhood, left her home suddenly and returned to her mother, Lady de Clifford. Two years passed before she decided to go back to her husband, during which time he, with unruffled dignity, had declined to make any move towards reconciliation. When the husband of twenty-four heard that the wife of twenty had consented to return to him, he ordered out his yellow coach drawn by four grey horses and, with great condescension, drove to meet her ladyship at a half-way point on her homeward journey. Further than that he declined to proceed.

Lady Albemarle was apparently a woman of great taste, judging by the manner in which she contributed to the furnishing of Quidenham; while later in life Lord Albemarle transformed the old Elizabethan Hall, with its multitude of small rooms, into a Georgian residence with a lesser number of great rooms. The exterior was red brick with white stone facings and pillars. During his minority the house had been occupied by a family named Lovelace, who possessed over the estate the curious right of turbary, the privilege of digging peat upon another man's land. In virtue of this, they continued annually to cut a sod in the park at Quidenham, until, no doubt, the right of turbary was purchased from them by Lord Albemarle.

One alteration in the surroundings of the Hall, however, which dated from his father's time, is said to have been connected with a picturesque local legend. Before 1762 the road from the neighbouring village of Eccles to Kenninghall divided the church and Home Farm of Quidenham from the park, and the site of the old bridge over the water which runs through the latter was considerably to the east of the present bridge. George, Lord Albemarle, had diverted the road so that subsequently the church and the greater part of the Home Farm were practically in the park.

Now, a village story had been handed down for generations that at the point where the old bridge used to cross the water a ghostly funeral procession took place at midnight on certain occasions. One of the ancient owners of the Hall, a godless and profligate Holland, left directions that when he died his coffin was

to be carried to the grave, as the church clock struck midnight, by twelve drunken men. This was done; but when the funeral train came to the bridge close to the churchyard, the bearers, with the coffin, either fell or walked over the parapet into the river. And to this day the villagers maintain that on certain nights can still be heard the ghostly tramp of that unhallowed funeral train, moving along with shouting, laughter and ribald songs till it reaches the river. Then comes the loud splash as it falls headlong into the stream, followed by the horrible curses and cries of the drowning men.

One winter Lord Albemarle received information that a gang of poachers was intending, on a specified night, to make a raid upon the Quidenham pheasants. He therefore determined to forestall them by lying in wait with his keepers at the western end of the wilderness, sixty yards below the old bridge. The men in ambush accordingly hid there till midnight, when, suddenly, in the prevailing silence, they were startled to hear the sound of a ponderous coach approaching. Looking out, they perceived a hearse drawn by four strong horses crossing the old bridge, while to their horror they all saw distinctly in the moonlight that the coachman driving this was *headless*! The gruesome vehicle wound slowly along towards the Hall and disappeared. Whether after this sinister event the ambush dispersed promptly is not stated, but it is asserted that when Lord Albemarle arrived at the Hall his face was ashen with fear. What he and his confederates had beheld was accepted by all to portend some disaster to the Keppel family; but apparently no evil event befell in connexion with this phantom, which seems at last, in public opinion, to have degenerated into quite an ordinary occurrence in the ghost-haunted park of Quidenham!

George Cruikshank, the celebrated caricaturist, however, took a different view of that dubious locality, for when he lived in the village of Kenninghall, he made sketches of some of the trees in Quidenham Park and peopled one of them with fairies.

Apart from the improvement which William Charles early effected in his home and its surroundings, he lost little time in devoting himself to the serious business of life. He made his maiden speech in the House on the 21st of February 1794, and although subsequently his utterances there were few, they were recognised to be of such ability that it was soon a matter of profound regret to his adherents that he neglected to take a more prominent part in the great political arena. One of the reasons, no doubt, for this apparent apathy is to be found in the fact that the party with which he was allied both by inheritance and temperament remained so long in opposition, and indeed for a considerable period the prominent Whigs refused to countenance

the so-called machinations of the Tory party even by an attendance at Westminster. In his native county, however, Lord Albemarle's attitude was reversed. His enthusiasm and energy were quickly acknowledged to be boundless, and he spared no endeavour to further the interests of the Whig party. Recognised by his friends to be an excellent *raconteur* and agreeable companion, at the great political gatherings for which Norfolk was then famous, even while still a youth he became a leader whose satire could sting and whose wit could scintillate in a manner which at once knit to him the hearts of his partisans and was invaluable to the cause he was championing. Nor were his powers of organisation, and, perhaps, those of endurance, less useful adjuncts. As the *Annual Register* many years afterwards pointed out:

> His Lordship was one of that class of men rarely to be found who could preside at a public entertainment for an indefinite number of hours without permitting the spirit of social intercourse to evaporate or the joyous ebullitions of a crowded assembly to overstep the bounds which the most dignified good breeding could impose. To others it would be no light task, but to him it seemed an easy and pleasurable duty to maintain the animation and satisfy the expectations of a party of five hundred persons during the long hours of the winter's night.

Yet those were days when feelings were deep and strong. The 'dignified good-breeding' was so prone to be impaired by a too-lavish flow of the sparkling bowl, the 'joyous ebullitions' of a mixed assembly were too apt to be exchanged for violent political vituperations and 'animation' of an undesirable character. When one reflects, too, that a public dinner with its accompanying speeches was often known to extend over a space of eight to ten hours, it will be recognised that it required no small powers of tact, of patience, of level-headed self-control, to sustain the good-will and keep active the sympathy of the often heterogeneous elements of which it was composed. A man who could do this was a small god amongst his fellows; his value, his popularity, became unbounded. Such was the case with Lord Albemarle; and to the charm of his personality it was soon observed that he united yet a stronger link which riveted the devotion of his dependents.

In the same county as Quidenham another great landowner was already showing by precept, example and experiment how it was possible to transform the condition of the land and its occupants. Mr. Coke, of Holkham, was resuscitating the art of agriculture, and Lord Albemarle, twenty years his junior, fell in eagerly with the schemes of his neighbour and friend, thus affording a strange contrast to his own warlike ancestors. 'Mr. Coke certainly conducted his operations on a larger scale than Lord Albemarle,' states the *Register*, 'and being twenty years senior

to him, his lordship may be considered rather a pupil than a rival of Mr. Coke.' Nevertheless, the article points out, Lord Albemarle must rank as 'one of the earliest founders and promoters of the improved school of agriculture' inaugurated by his friend, which produced in Norfolk 'a change in its social condition that has given that county a reputation more famous than any others for the cultivation of an art which, even in these days of Free Trade, Englishmen continue to regard as the most interesting and most important of all human pursuits.'

Although the days are long since fled when Free Trade still permitted agriculture to remain the 'most important of all human pursuits' for Englishmen, yet posterity still turns gratefully to the thought of those dead champions of its national importance. The men who fought and conquered the prejudices, the ignorance of their contemporaries, command the recognition of a generation which apparently no longer gives birth to the giant spirits of that bygone age. Lord Albemarle was not a pioneer, he was the able coadjutor of a man of colossal enterprise and endeavour. 'The earnestness and ardour of both,' we are told, 'was tempered by foresight, discretion, and perseverance'; so that to the amicable rivalry and strenuous activity of these two great Norfolk landowners, as well as to the incentive to competition thereby promoted between their respective tenants, was due the fact that not only their native county and native land were enriched, but the world at large benefited by their example.

With the æsthetic and less practical side of life, Lord Albemarle was little in sympathy; and certain typical anecdotes relating to him which have survived may serve to convey an impression of his distinctive personality.

Of all affectation he cherished a profound horror. On one occasion he was seated near a young lady at dinner who languidly complained that she could not eat anything. Instead of the polite commiseration which she expected, Lord Albemarle responded drily, 'What a pity you are such a slave to your appetite!'

Any lack of healthy hunger in his own children was viewed by him in the light of a similar offence. An acknowledged *bon-vivant*, he had certain sacred rules in regard to his own meals which were never relaxed. For instance, when any dish of recognised excellence was about to appear, no avoidable exercise was permitted on the part of the intending partakers thereof, lest fatigue should impair the delicacy of the palate. One day when Lord Albemarle proposed to Lord Sydney that they should go out shooting, the latter was overheard to observe solemnly, 'You forget, Albemarle, that there is a haunch for dinner.' 'Ah,' exclaimed Lord Albemarle emphatically, 'I forgot. We certainly won't go!'

Another rule was equally irrevocable. He would never allow a partridge to be carved. His guests had a whole bird served to each, and 'Eat what you can and leave the rest' was a tacit understanding.

Of music he had almost as great a horror as he had of affectation. His children's piano and the drawing-room piano were relentlessly banished by him out of earshot; but it must be conceded that his natural aversion to melody may have been enhanced by the sole example of that gentle art with which he was forced into frequent contact. This was the choir of Quidenham church, the exertions of which were somewhat unique. It was composed of fiddles and trumpets, and when its efforts became so out of tune as to be excruciating to the most complaisant ear, the leader would stop the performers and say blandly, 'We had batter (*sic*) begin again!'

Yet in affairs ecclesiastical as well as secular Lord Albemarle expected his wishes to be paramount, and one custom in connexion with this may be related. It must first be explained that he was famous for his breed of setter dogs. These were black-and-tan like the present setters of that colour, but they were not pure setters of the modern breed, being smaller and less long in the legs—more like a cross between the black-and-tan Gordon setter and the Norfolk spaniel. They partook of the character of both breeds, being, however, larger than the ordinary spaniel.

Lord Albemarle never went anywhere without some of these dogs. It was reported, and perhaps not without reason, that he loved them more dearly than his children. The family pew in those days at Quidenham was a large square one with high sides, and it also contained a stove. Before this stove the dogs used to drowse placidly while my lord slumbered at peace in his corner. But when the sermon was too long and inaction began to pall upon the setters, one of them would sit up and howl. This awoke their master, and since he and his dogs were recognised to be of one mind, it was a signal never ignored by the rector to end his discourse.

Only on one occasion is it on record that the wonted hint failed of effect. A strange clergyman was preaching and was reading his sermon, which he had spun out to an unreasonable length. The short winter afternoon came to an end, the church darkened, and a setter howled. Still the divine earnestly strove to trace the characters in his dimly seen MS. He had reached the sentence, '*But, says the Objector*,' when he found the next line indecipherable, and he had to bring his homily to an abrupt conclusion. Lord Albemarle turned to his son George, with a twinkle in his eye: 'I think,' he remarked with satisfaction, 'that the "Objector" had the best of it that time, don't you?'

Lady Caroline, his youngest daughter, when old enough to undertake such a responsibility, was deputed to exercise her father's setters in Quidenham Park. One of the dogs constituted itself her assistant in the task, and used to herd the rest of the pack like a sheep-dog guarding sheep. Indeed, the intelligence of this breed was unusual. Another of them named 'Fanny' used to run with her tin plate in her mouth to ask for more dinner as soon as she had finished what had previously been given to her. But as her intellect was abnormal, so was her sensitiveness, and she died of grief the day after the death of one of her puppies. It is significant that, years afterwards, Lord Albemarle's grandson, William Coutts, Lord Bury, when a boy at Eton, related that the thing which made most impression upon him during his first visit to Quidenham was the number of dogs which he beheld about the house. 'There is a dog here,' he writes, 'on every chair, and two on every table!'

In sport, the determination of Lord Albemarle in matters small and great was often exemplified. His grandson was once told by a gamekeeper at Old Buckenham that Lord Albemarle always used to shoot over that estate. 'But,' remarked the grandson, surprised, 'it never belonged to him.' 'No,' replied the gamekeeper, '*that* did not matter to his lordship; it was no use trying to stop him—he always shot when and where he liked!'

Possibly it was an instance of the sheer power of will with which he impressed his views upon those about him, or perhaps it may be regarded rather as an illustration of the affection and confidence with which he inspired his tenants and which bred in them a profound belief in the infallibility of his advice—but another village legend respecting him is too curious to be omitted. It runs as follows:

On one occasion the ladies Keppel were playing at cricket on the south side of the wood in the park at Quidenham, when their father walked on to the ground. Among the spectators were many Quidenham and Kenninghall children, and Lord Albemarle noticed that one of the little girls in the crowd had a goitre on her neck. He at once went up to her and asked where her mother lived. 'In Kenninghall, my lord,' she said. 'Take me to her,' said my lord; and the couple set off together.

On arriving at the cottage, Lord Albemarle said to the mother, 'Do you want this little girl's goitre cured?' 'Yes, my lord,' naturally answered the mother. 'Well,' he said, 'whenever the next man or boy dies, take the child to the corpse and lay the hand of the corpse on the goitre.'

A youth at Banham died, and the Kenninghall woman obediently took her little daughter thither. The hand of the dead lad was duly placed on the goitre, and the child and her

mother returned to Kenninghall. A few days later the little girl went to see her grandmother. 'Why,' exclaimed the latter, 'your goitre's gone!' *And so it had!*

In the domestic relations of life Lord Albemarle was Spartan and autocratic in his views. Perhaps a natural inclination to despotism may have been accentuated by the unusual responsibility which devolved upon him. In 1817 Lady Albemarle, who after her return to him had borne him thirteen more children, expired in her forty-first year at the premature birth of her sixteenth child, the immediate cause of her death being the shock occasioned by the demise of Princess Charlotte. Lady Albemarle was on a visit to Holkham at the time, and a strange coincidence is related in connexion with the tragic event. The curious law then existing that the road over which a corpse had once passed was thenceforward a 'right of way' to the public, necessitated that her coffin should be carried by a long and circuitous route to the highway leading to Quidenham. The Holkham tenantry, therefore, escorted it on the first part of its journey, till it was met by the Quidenham tenantry, who accompanied it to the vault. In this was fulfilled a remarkable dream of one of Mr. Coke's daughters, who long before in her sleep had beheld this funeral leaving Holkham by a road which did not lead to the neighbouring cemetery—the extraordinary part being the unusual number of children's faces which she saw looking out of the mourning coaches which followed it. These she afterwards recognised as having been the faces of the innumerable Keppel children!

Lord Albemarle, finding himself thus at the age of forty-five a widower with a large and youthful family, at once made it clear to his numerous offspring that he objected to seeing them during the age of infancy. Only when they had quitted the 'roaring and bawling' stage and had acquired the rudiments of self-control and discipline would he consent to make their acquaintance. Perhaps fortunately, his sons and daughters were of a nature to be little daunted by the awe-inspiring relations subsisting between themselves and their father, so that in certain encounters with the parental authority they came off decidedly victorious.

Two tragedies ere this had contributed to thin their ranks. The eldest son, William, Viscount Bury, had died at the age of eleven, it was said from ill-usage at Harrow. Another son, Charles, had expired as the result of a lamentable accident when out shooting. Of the survivors, Augustus Frederick, Viscount Bury, and his brother, the Hon. George Keppel, were speedily off their father's hands, both entering the Army; Edward Southwell was sent to Cambridge, and Harry and Thomas Robert Keppel were dispatched to the village school at Kenninghall.

Forthwith as Harry and Tom, the future Admiral of the Fleet

and the Canon of Norwich, passed through the park on their way to school every morning, the former, aided by his brother, amused himself by uprooting the young beech trees planted by his father's orders. Lord Albemarle, in despair, packed off his sons to be educated further afield at Needham Market. Arrived there, Harry fired off a toy gun at his master, while Tom, anxious not to be behindhand in valour, was reported to have heaved 'a slate divested of its frame' at the pedagogue's head. After various other escapades, Harry mixed powdered sugar with the hair powder used by his unfortunate instructor, and, irritated beyond control by the swarms of flies which settled on his pate, the maddened tutor finally sent the culprits home again to their father, explaining that he would have no more of them. Lord Albemarle, recognising that a more desperate remedy was necessary, lost no time in sending his two troublesome boys to the Royal Naval School at Gosport.

In February 1824 little Harry Keppel was transferred to the Naval College at Portsmouth, Lord Albemarle committing the young traveller to the care of his cousin William Garnier, prebendary of Winchester. The latter passed on his charge to his brother Thomas Garnier, afterwards Dean of Winchester, who accompanied the small sailor to Portsmouth. During that memorable drive, seated behind four quick-trotting greys, Mr. Thomas Garnier suddenly exclaimed apologetically to his companion, 'I did bring ye some pears, my boy, but I'm afeard I've set on 'em.' This turned out to be the case, but the future Admiral of the Fleet was nothing daunted. The old Dean used to relate with zest in after years how, despite the doubtful condition of the delicacy, 'the boy ate 'em all up!'

Meanwhile Lord Albemarle strove to do his duty to his remaining offspring at Quidenham. One of the first matters to which he turned his attention was that of imbuing them with his own enthusiasm for agriculture. Like Mr. Coke, he recognised the importance of instructing the younger generation in the means of producing good pastureland, and as his children arrived at years of discretion, he took them out for walks, and conscientiously pointed out to them the appearance of those grasses in the Quidenham lanes which were valuable for the improvement of herbage. Moreover, he offered them sixpence per bundle of forty ripe heads of Cocksfoot grass, which seed was subsequently threshed out and harrowed into weak portions of the pasture in the park at Quidenham.

Unfortunately most of these hard-earned sixpences found their way into the claw-like hands of a terrible old Kenninghall woman, whom the children, by what seemed to them a strange mischance, constantly encountered in their grass-hunting expeditions.

Directly she espied the little Keppels approaching, she fell down and foamed at the mouth, till her small victims soon learnt that there was but one cure for her terrifying complaint—she would only consent to come back to life and sanity when the grass-earned sixpences were poured into her extended claw. The fits were produced by the very old expedient of keeping a piece of yellow soap in her pocket in readiness to chew when a profitable occasion presented itself.

The son who apparently profited most by Lord Albemarle's instructions in agriculture was Edward, who eventually became Rector of Quidenham. He farmed his glebe land personally, stock being his speciality. He, too, had a successful rival and coadjutor in his neighbour, Sir Thomas Beevor, Bart., of Hargham Hall, who bred innumerable pigs, and—such was the enthusiasm for agriculture in Norfolk at that date—insisted on driving vast herds of these to market himself.

Only on one occasion, perhaps, was it decreed that Edward Keppel should discover any disadvantage in the pursuit which both he and his father had elected to follow and to advocate so successfully. A neighbour who strove to emulate the rector in the breeding of fine cattle, owned a magnificent bull, the possession of which his pastor often found it in his heart to envy. The latter was passing one day through the 'Low Meadows' of the parsonage glebe when he was suddenly attacked by this bull in a state of frenzy. Some elm trees enabled him to evade the violent onslaught of the animal until his predicament was viewed by a hedger and ditcher, who, armed with a bill-hook, rushed to his assistance. As the bull charged, the ditcher gave him a swinging blow from the bill-hook, which, to the surprise of both himself and the rector, gave forth a strange metallic sound. Promptly the bellowing animal turned round, and galloped back to his farmyard, angrily demolishing two gates on his way. On searching the ground to discover the explanation of the curious sound they had heard, the rector and his valiant defender discovered the bull's nose lying there, with the usual brass ring attached to it! The owner of the noseless animal on its arrival home dispatched it immediately, after offering profuse apologies to the rector.

While Lord Albemarle's elder sons were starting in their respective professions, his eldest daughter, Lady Sophia, was mistress of his house till her marriage, two years after her mother's death, with Sir James Macdonald, Bart., of East Sheen. Subsequent to this, Lady Anne acted *in loco parentis* to her younger brothers and sisters. Of these, Lady Caroline was but three years old when her mother died, while her brother Jack was an infant. In after life, Lady Caroline used to relate that one of the chief amusements of herself and her little brother during

the years which followed was to sit in their father's room whilst he dressed for dinner and watch him twisting his voluminous cambric stocks round and round his throat. The fascination of this consisted in the fact that stock after stock would be impatiently unrolled again from his neck and discarded to form part *of a heap upon the floor*, till this heap sometimes *grew to be a yard in height!* During the process, Lord Albemarle conversed with his children; but so absorbed was he in the correct adjustment of his white neckcloths, that, when Caroline and Jack exchanged clothes before they came into the room, he never discovered the transformation. Were it possible to compute the number of stocks thus disposed of in the course of twelve months, the calculation would be of interest in view of the fact that the Quidenham washing was sent once a year to Holland—a custom which was continued till a fairly recent date!

After having been a widower for five years, Lord Albemarle decided that it would be to the advantage of his numerous offspring that he should provide them with a step-mother. On the 11th of February 1822 he therefore married Miss Charlotte Hunloke, daughter of Sir Henry Hunloke, Bart., and niece of his old friend and neighbour Mr. Coke, of Holkham. His children, however, viewed his thoughtfulness for them in a very different light. Lady Anne, alarmed at the advent of a new mistress of her home, promptly became engaged to Mr. Coke, the uncle of her step-mother, and this wedding took place at Lord Albemarle's house in St. James's Square just a fortnight after that of her father. The younger children meanwhile, unable to devise so opportune an escape from the new tyranny which threatened, sought about for some method of ousting the interloper.

Lady Caroline, for one, having sampled the fresh rule and swiftly decided that it was undesirable, came to the conclusion that she had only to represent this fact to her father for the intruder to be ignominiously expelled. She therefore wrote to Lord Albemarle a lengthy letter, putting her point of view before him, and emphasising in unmeasured terms the extremely unprepossessing character of the new-comer. These trenchant arguments she summed up with the request: 'I beg you, dear father, that you will trun (*sic*) her out.' But the result was far other than she had anticipated, and is a curious illustration of the discipline to which children were subjected in those days. For her lack of respect to her step-mother she was made to walk *backwards* round and round the dinner-table during the time when the rest of the family were dining, while from her neck was suspended a slate with the offending sentence written for all to read. The fact that the four footmen should also be cognisant of her disgrace and aware of her bad spelling added torture to the punishment of

the sensitive child, so that to the end of her life it is said she always had a dislike to the presence of menservants; indeed, only towards one of the species does she seem to have entertained little objection—a certain Swiss valet of her father, by name Bode, who, in common with men of his nationality, then acted in a triple capacity as valet, butler, and *courrier de voyage*.

Shortly after his second marriage an event occurred which is said to have made a profound impression upon Lord Albemarle. He had sent his youngest son, Jack, to school in Norwich, and one evening, in 1823, there came to Quidenham news that the boy was seriously ill. Although the hour was late, Lord Albemarle set off to post to Norwich, where he arrived early in the morning. He drove at once to the school, but finding all the blinds drawn, he determined to remain in his carriage till the servants awoke, for fear of disturbing his small son's sleep. Through the hours of the grey dawn he waited thus, consumed by anxiety, till at length, seeing the household astir, he knocked at the door. He then learnt that, while he sat waiting outside, his little son had just passed away, at the age of seven and a half.

Two years later, in 1824, Lord Albemarle decided that Lady Caroline was likewise of an age to be sent to school. Hearing of a suitable establishment for the education of young ladies in Norwich, he therefore took the occasion of the next market day to call at this seminary.

The servant who admitted him failed to catch his name, and he was shown unannounced into the severe presence of the two ladies who ruled and instructed the establishment. He stated the reason of his visit, and having listened in ominous silence to his proposition, the elder of the ladies frigidly addressed him thus:

'We think it only right that you should know, *Sir*, that this institution is entirely confined to the education of the daughters of the nobility and landed gentry of the county of Norfolk. Moreover, we have made a hard and fast rule—a rule which we have never consented to relax—and that is never to accept the daughters of *farmers*.'

Up rose Lord Albemarle, swept the ladies a profound bow, and departed without comment. On the hall table downstairs he deposited his card for their future enlightenment, and promptly took his way to the rival seminary 'for the education of young ladies,' where he was recognised, and came to terms for the instruction of Lady Caroline.

Lord Albemarle's devotion to agriculture certainly inclined him to affect a simplicity of attire which occasionally led to similar misunderstandings. Harriet Martineau used to tell how, one market day in Norwich, she went to see a friend, whom she found talking with two farmers whose conversation regarding the

state of crops and the price of cattle was exceedingly technical. On their departure Miss Martineau inquired the names of these worthy men. 'Lord Albemarle and Mr Coke!' was the reply.

Meanwhile the public career of Lord Albemarle was full of incident. As the years passed, he remained a Radical of the Old School, who viewed the Whigs of his day as weak and half-hearted supporters of the glorious cause of liberty. Napoleon he hailed as the profound exponent of that creed, and the portrait of the First Consul, hung up over his bed, was regarded by him much in the light of a patron saint. Plain of speech and downright in the expression of his convictions, although throughout his life Lord Albemarle was closely connected with the Court, he never became a courtier. In 1806 he was appointed Master of the Buckhounds—in those days an important office which entailed the frequent companionship of the Sovereign. Yet although posterity has been wont to view the reign of George the Third as particularly mild and moral—not so Lord Albemarle. The prevalence of placemen who sought their own advantage rather than the good of their country, and the inefficiency of the monarch to cope with abuses to which he did not scruple to descend personally in order to further his own aims, were offences not readily forgiven in the eyes of Lord Albemarle. 'It would be a fine triumph,' he wrote to Coke in 1814, 'to check a corrupt and profligate Court and a servile Ministry!' Even the Squire of Holkham, who was noted for the frank and emphatic utterance of his opinions, was apparently outdistanced in this respect by the Lord of Quidenham. '*I had best not move the Resolutions*,' Lord Albemarle pleaded with his friend on one occasion, 'for I shall not be able to avoid being a little *strong*—and quite upon principle, for the Court cannot understand language which is not a little strong!' The story is well known how, as one result of this fearless independence of speech and action, these two politicians narrowly escaped with their lives at the hands of a mob of anti-corn-law rioters in Norwich; but indifferent to personal gain or popularity, throughout the long years of his public career there was never a movement in the political world in which Lord Albemarle did not boldly espouse the cause which he held to be dictated by probity.

During the struggle for the Regency he upheld the claims of the Prince of Wales; and when, in 1820, the long reign of George the Third ended, and George the Fourth came to the throne, he was one of the peers called upon to be present at the trial of Queen Caroline. The threatened fine of 300*l*. per day to be levied against defaulters ensured assiduous attendance on the part of those summoned; and in letters to his daughter Lady Anne, Lord Albemarle described graphically how he sat daily for over six hours in the stifling atmosphere of the House, sickened by the

nauseous business and thinking longingly of his harvest in Norfolk. His one solace upon his release was occasionally to post down to Holland House to 'dine and sleep in the country.' Yet his independence of spirit was seldom more strikingly illustrated than in his attitude towards the matter under debate. 'If the Lords decide *against* the Queen,' he wrote to Lady Anne, 'I shall go to pay my respects to her, being convinced of her innocence. If she is *acquitted* by the Lords, *I shall not go*, being determined to go to no Court. I have heard enough in forty-two days to be determined not to trouble myself about Kings and Queens.' Not till the 10th of November did Lord Liverpool withdraw his Bill of Pains and Penalties, when, heartily weary of the whole proceedings, the peers thankfully dispersed to their respective homes, while the lower orders went mad with delight at the acquittal of their injured heroine.

Caroline's celebrated attempt to share the coronation of her husband in July 1821 was followed by the dramatic news of her sudden death the next month. Arrangements were promptly made for conveying her body to Brunswick, where it was to be interred; and since it was feared that a riot on behalf of the populace was probable during its progress through London to Harwich, a guard of honour was deputed to accompany the procession, while the route officially selected was chosen with a view to avoid as far as possible all crowded thoroughfares. Such efforts, however, to prevent any active demonstration on the part of the populace were unavailing; the progress of the procession was marked by increasing disorder until at Cumberland Gate a serious riot ensued. A message was then dispatched in haste for a detachment of the 1st Life Guards, and these troops, commanded by a friend of Lord Albemarle, galloped to the rescue. In the inquiry which was afterwards conducted many contradictory versions were given of what occurred, but Lord Albemarle used to relate the story as follows:

The Major in command of the battalion which was summoned was a gigantic man, over 6 feet 4 inches in height. When at the head of his squadron he arrived at the scene of disturbance, he was only just in time. The enraged rioters were violently attacking the troops, who were violently defending themselves. The Major saw at a glance that prompt action was imperative, and that at such a juncture leniency could only result in a subsequent necessity for far more drastic measures. Hurriedly, therefore, he drew the pistol from the holster of the trooper stationed on the outside of the line, and aiming at the infuriated mob, fired straight into its midst. Some of his troops unfortunately followed his example; the people, terrified, quickly retreated, and the Life

Guards were enabled to get the procession through and to close the gate.

In after years, the leading butcher to Harrow School used to tell how, as a butcher-boy, he was present on the occasion, and when he saw the tall Major coolly pointing his pistol he put up his wooden tray to defend himself. The next instant the man at his side fell dead!

In short, in the general confusion, two men named Francis and Honey were killed and many people wounded. The Major insisted that he had never given any order to his troops to fire; but although the authorities were strongly of opinion that by his prompt action he had averted much loss of life, he was never the same man after this unfortunate occurrence. Lord Albemarle stated that the remembrance of it tormented his unhappy friend till it completely destroyed his nerve.

The fact of Lord Albemarle being connected with the closing scenes in the career of the ill-fated Caroline renders all the more interesting his friendship with the unacknowledged wife of George the Fourth. In conjunction with the Duke of Wellington he was appointed by Mrs. Fitzherbert trustee and custodian of the precious documents which proved the authenticity of her marriage with the Prince. These were carefully sealed up and deposited in the strong room of Coutts's Bank until their publication in 1907.

When the next Sovereign, William the Fourth, came to the throne in 1830, Lord Albemarle accepted the post of Master of the Horse, which he had previously declined in 1812, and in this capacity he journeyed in the Royal carriage at the coronation. As a result of his new position he determined to keep race-horses, and his career in this new rôle was singularly fortunate. The '*Druid*' in *Scott and Sebright* writes:

> His Lordship formed very little judgment about horses. . . . He would, in fact, never have kept horses at all but for the very laudable feeling that, as Master of the Horse, he had no right to see Ascot racing at other people's expense. Still, as is often the case when owners take things easy, and do not make their lives miserable by watching the market, his green and white cap had a good time of it.
>
> In 1838 he won the One Thousand Guineas with his br. f. 'Barcarolle.'
> In 1841 he won the Two Thousand Guineas with his ch. c. 'Ralph.'
> In 1842 he won the Cambridgeshire with his ch. h. 'Ralph.'
> In 1843 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his ch. h. 'Ralph.' [1]
> In 1844 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his 'The Emperor.'
> In 1845 he won the Ascot Gold Cup with his 'The Emperor.'

According to the *Stud Book*, the Emperor, Ralph, and

[1] Ralph died that same year. *Scott and Sebright* erroneously state that Ralph was poisoned before he won the Ascot Cup.

Barcarolle were all bred by Lord Albemarle at Quidenham, while all his horses were trained there, where it was possible to obtain an excellent undulating gallop for a mile and a half. The day before the Newmarket events the animals were always walked gently to the latter place from Quidenham, a distance, as the crow flies, of thirty miles, Lord Albemarle following them the next day in his coach drawn by four greys. But while his devotion to the race-course was at best but half-hearted and due solely to the force of circumstances, that of Lady Albemarle was far otherwise. She threw herself with avidity into the somewhat doubtful pastime, and instituted as her turf commissioner and adviser Mr. Padwick, who afterwards was employed by Lord Hastings in the same capacity.

Lord Albemarle's new post necessitated a more frequent residence in London. He used to perform the journey thither usually accompanied by his wife and daughter, Lady Caroline, the first stage being Larlingford, where the Quidenham horses were sent home, and the next stage Bury St. Edmund's, where the party had luncheon. Upon the return of the family to Norfolk, a band always played in the courtyard of the Hall, when all the village people came up to hear it and to welcome the travellers home. Lord Albemarle always asserted that the huge Cheshire cheeses in the different inns where they stopped *en route* were the best he ever tasted. He would invariable order some to be sent to Quidenham—always with the same result, that the cheeses which tasted so delicious when consumed by the hungry travellers in the course of a journey were robbed of some subtle charm when partaken of amid different surroundings.

Lady Caroline used to tell various stories of her experiences at the Stud House with her father. She described how King William used to fall asleep during dinner, on observing which the whole company would relapse into profound silence. The King, however, did not generally slumber for long, and on awaking would, with startling abruptness, call out 'Doors!' upon which the ladies would rise and leave the room.

While at Windsor with her father, about 1833, Lady Caroline, with the ladies of the Court, used to attend the Queen on horseback when her Majesty went out driving. The stud horses were admirably broken in, and their canters resembled those of rocking horses. This, however, was apt to become monotonous, so that one day Lady Caroline and a young Lady-in-Waiting, when riding behind the Royal carriage in the country, thinking her Majesty would not see, surreptitiously leapt a gate, and giving rein to their steeds, galloped away over a field or two. But, to their dismay, the Queen, inopportunely looking round, spied their

little escapade, and expressed herself as much annoyed at such a breach of etiquette.

It was the same year, however, that the good-natured King, anxious to confer fresh honour upon his Master of the Horse, and forgetting that Lord Albemarle had not a drop of Scottish blood in his veins, inappropriately made him a Knight of the Thistle. 'I do not think that the House enjoyed it,' wrote the Duke of Sussex to Coke; 'but it could not be helped!'

Lady Caroline used to relate that at a Royal ball at the Pavilion at Brighton the ladies present were all on the tip-toe of expectation as to which of them would be selected by his Majesty to open the ball with him. The King solved the difficulty by choosing for his partner his sailor son, Lord Adolphus Fitz-Clarence, and this is said to have been the solitary occasion when King William condescended to dance. When Lady Caroline attended State functions at the Pavilion, his Majesty used to give her a resounding kiss on both cheeks, while the Fitz-Clarences used to stand behind the throne making faces at her in order to make her laugh.

A memorable incident in her life occurred on the 16th of October 1834, when the King was dining with Lord and Lady Albemarle at the Stud House, Hampton Court. Messengers ran in to say that the Houses of Parliament were on fire. The Royal party, with their host and hostess, went out into the park to watch the distant conflagration.

Three years later the short reign of the Sailor King ended, and the young Princess Victoria came to the throne. Her first public act was to go in state to St. James's Palace to be proclaimed. Mr. George Russell says that she naturally wished to be accompanied in her state coach only by the Duchess of Kent and one of the ladies of the household, but Lord Albemarle, as Master of the Horse, considered that he had a right to travel in the Royal coach as he had done at the previous Coronation. The point was submitted to the Duke of Wellington as a kind of universal referee in matters of precedence and usage. His judgment was delightfully unflattering to the outraged magnate. 'The Queen can make you go inside the coach or outside the coach, or run behind it like a d——d tinker's dog!' The Queen, however, did not exercise this questionable prerogative, for she mentions that the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle accompanied her on the historical occasion.

Her Master of the Horse was present, too, with the young Queen at a very different event, which nevertheless was not without its own peculiar interest. This was the first occasion when she saw *King Lear* acted, the play having previously been entirely

unknown to her. Harriet Martineau, who watched the attitude of the young girl somewhat hypercritically, was annoyed to notice that, whilst all other hearts and eyes were riveted by Macready's 'Lear,' the Royal lady alone laughed and chatted during the performance, with her shoulder turned to the stage, till the tragic fourth act, when her wandering attention at length became arrested. 'In remarkable contrast with her,' remarks Miss Martineau, 'was one of the gentlemen in attendance upon her—the Lord Albemarle of that day. He forgot everything but the play—by degrees leaned forward between the Queen and the stage, and wept till his limp handkerchief would hold no more tears.'

Lord Albemarle was a prominent figure at the glittering ceremony of the marriage of the young Queen to Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg; and on the 21st of November 1840 he was among those summoned hastily to Buckingham Palace in expectation of an event of still greater national importance—the birth of a possible heir to the throne of England. In view of the untimely fate of Princess Charlotte, the Queen herself had been filled with most gloomy forebodings as to her probable fate, and the people awaited the occurrence with unusual suspense. In a room adjoining that in which the Queen lay battling for her own existence and that of the young life which was to be, we are told, 'the door being open, were the following councillors: His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, the Lord High Chancellor, Viscount Melbourne, First Lord of the Treasury, the Earl of Erroll, Lord Steward of the Household, Viscount Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Earl of Albemarle, Master of the Horse.'

For an hour the Ministers waited, then, 'precisely at ten minutes before two o'clock, the nurse entered the room where they were met with an infant princess, wrapped in flannel, in her arms. She was attended by Sir James Clarke, who announced the fact of its being a female.' The future German Empress was 'for a moment laid upon the table, for the observation of the assembled authorities, and then returned to her chamber to receive her first attire.' With feelings of thankfulness the Ministers withdrew, their disappointment in the sex of the infant swallowed up in the relief that their anxiety for their Sovereign was assuaged; and England gave herself up to rejoicing.

It was in the year of the birth of the Princess Royal that Lord Albemarle was horrified by the cruel murder of his cousin, Lord William Russell, son of his ill-fated aunt, the beautiful Lady Elizabeth Keppel, Marchioness of Tavistock. Lord William, as is well known, was murdered by his Swiss valet, Courvoisier, who, contrary to his own confession, was believed before com-

mitting the brutal act to have stripped himself naked, in order that there might be no marks of blood upon his clothes. When confident that his master was asleep, he cut the throat of the slumbering man, and arranged the razor to look as if his victim had committed suicide. Courvoisier's confession was published in the *Annual Register*, and he was hanged on the 6th of July 1840. One result of his action was that people became afraid of keeping Swiss servants, of whom, previous to that date, there had been a great number in England. Old Bode, Lord Albemarle's faithful valet, was keenly humiliated by the disgrace which Courvoisier had brought upon his compatriots; none the less, Bode continued with the family which for so long he had served devotedly, and after his master's death remained in the service of the Dowager Lady Albemarle till her decease.

With advancing years, Lord Albemarle's eyesight became affected, and almost the last recollection of him which has survived is at once melancholy and humorously characteristic. One of his grandsons, an old Mutiny hero, relates: 'When I was at Quidenham, I was sent for by my grandfather. I was only a small boy. I made myself very smart, and put plenty of grease on my hair. I was taken up to his room and the door was opened.

'"Is that the boy?—Come here!" said my grandfather.

'I was pushed into the room, and the first thing I did was to fall over a dog—the room seemed full of them. I went up to him; he was a very blind old man in a yellow dressing-gown, sitting in an armchair. He placed his hand upon my head: "D——n the boy!" he shouted. "Take him away, he has got some beastliness on his head!" Out I went, and that is all I know about him!'

On the 30th of October 1849 William Charles, Lord Albemarle, passed peacefully away at the age of seventy-seven; and the setters which had been their master's constant companions and had adored him with devoted affection while living, mourned him truly when dead. His grand-daughter, Lady Louisa Charteris, recalls how, after his death, passing his room she saw several decrepit old dogs waiting pathetically outside the closed door, listening for the loved voice which they were destined never again to hear.

The funeral of the dead Master of the Horse was an imposing one, and was attended by a vast number of people from far and near. The coffin, covered with scarlet cloth and studded with brass nails, according to the time-honoured fashion of the coffins of all the Keppels, was duly carried to the grave by twelve tall men in the family livery of long yellow cloth coats with brass buttons. It was the last interment, save one, in that vault, already full of scarlet coffins. Less than eighteen months after

the death of his father, Augustus Frederick, fifth Earl of Albemarle, was borne in the same manner to the same burial place, his promising career having been early blighted in a singularly distressing manner.

Years before, when riding in the streets of Rome one day, he was thrown from his horse and fell sharply on the stone pavement. The injury which he sustained was not considered serious at the time; but later his conduct became eccentric and he had to be placed under restraint. After his death a post-mortem examination showed that his skull had been cracked by the fall, a zigzag fracture from the base to the apex being discovered. His end, however, was not unhappy, for believing himself to be the possessor of unbounded wealth, he died contented with his visionary millions and filled with schemes for benefiting everybody. After his funeral, in March 1851, the order was issued that the Keppel vault was to be closed for ever.

Once only since that date has the peace of the dead who slumber there been rudely invaded. It appears that the Rector of Quidenham was in the habit of turning his cattle and sheep into the churchyard to keep down the lush grass; and one day an enterprising cow, having broken through the arched roof of the vault, was found struggling among the scarlet coffins. With the aid of ropes and an inclined plane of boards, the trespasser was at length extricated from its peculiar situation, and the vault was promptly made secure from the recurrence of a like mishap. Subsequently the surrounding grass was kept short without the aid of sheep or cattle, and the Keppels in their scarlet coffins repose in peace.

The Dowager, Charlotte Lady Albemarle, survived her husband till 1862. To the end of her days she remained faithful to her *penchant* for racing, betting, cards and dice. She was bedridden at her Twickenham villa for some time, and it is said that her fellow punters used to seat themselves on both sides of her bed and gamble for high stakes. Even in death the ruling passion triumphed, and a report was circulated that she died gambling. But to-day, on what was once the site of her racing stables, stands the village school of Quidenham, and the straw-yard where once her beautiful thoroughbreds were exercised is now the playground where romp a generation of little rustics, all unwitting of that kindly gamester of a bygone age, or of her celebrated adviser, Mr. Padwick, who once ruled there with a power which none defied.

A. M. W. Stirling.

THE SPEECH OF THE ROADS

Of all the forms of speech peculiar to the itinerant classes of Europe, the language of the Gypsies is pre-eminently notable. It is probably the only cryptic speech that is undeniably a language. The term 'cryptic' might be objected to as not strictly applicable, but at least it may be said that those who are accustomed to speak Romanes do not generally air their knowledge of it in public, and even at times deny all acquaintance with it. It is, however, certainly a language, and those who know it as scholars, and can therefore make allowance for local differences of accent and vocabulary, may travel from one end of Europe to the other and never fail to find someone to converse with if there are any Gypsies about. Indeed, in such countries as Russia, Hungary, and Servia, where the native language is unknown to most Western travellers, one who possesses a knowledge of Romanes sometimes finds a very useful courier in one of his Gypsy friends.

The speech of the roads, however, is of various kinds. In addition to the genuine Romani language, there are many species of jargon, or 'cant,' in use among the wanderers along European highways. They may consist of a medley of foreign or archaic words blended with the language of the country, or they may be quite artificial in their construction. But, whatever be their exact composition, they are employed by the members of certain castes as a secret means of communication, and their very existence is often successfully concealed from the sedentary classes among whom these wanderers move, and with whom they carry on conversation in the local tongue. From their nature, manufactured jargons cannot have the catholicity of a real language, and consequently these cryptic varieties of speech are much more limited in their range than Romanes. Every country in Europe has, doubtless, several secret languages in current use. Of these some are known to a few philologists, but there may well be others of which no member of the educated classes has any knowledge. In our own islands there is quite enough to engage our attention, without attempting to examine the *argot* of other lands.

This fact is well illustrated by an incident within the experience of Dr. Fearon Ranking, an accomplished student of languages, which occurred some years ago. Already a master of Romani speech, he was then on the outlook for speakers of 'Shelta,' a jargon of which he had only recently heard. His first find was at Crinan, on the Argyllshire coast. The people who there gave him his first lesson, a very brief one, were seafarers as well as wayfarers; for their vessel, a good-sized fishing smack, three-quarter decked, was then lying at the slip at Crinan harbour.

> They told me [says Dr. Ranking] that they always went about in this manner, sailing from place to place on the west coast and among the islands, making and mending pots and pans. They had just put in for provisions, and were on the point of sailing for Scarba.

As they were obviously of the 'tinkler' caste—which, although often remotely, is akin to that of the Gypsies—the opportunity was too good to be lost. Dr. Ranking had spoken to them in Gaelic as well as in English, and he found that they were familiar with both these languages. But that by no means exhausted their linguistic store. Indeed, a curious surprise was in reserve for their questioner. The incident can best be described in his own words:—

> The party consisted of three men and two women, with two or three children. They were stunted in appearance, and quite young; the women reddish-haired, the men rather darker. On a venture I asked whether they spoke Shelta, as I was anxious to learn something of this language, of which I knew nothing. One of the men said that they did speak it, and, on being questioned, gave the names of several common objects mentioned by me. Unfortunately, I had neither pencil nor paper with me, and was therefore unable to make any notes, and, the words being entirely strange to me, I could not retain them. The only word I can remember is *yergan*—'tin.'
>
> One of the men suddenly said, 'But we have another language, which I do not think anyone knows but ourselves; it is not in any books.' 'What do you call a boat in your language?' I said. To my great astonishment he replied, '*Bero*' (the Romani word for a boat). On my then asking for the words for 'man,' 'woman,' and 'child,' he gave *mūsh* or *gairo*, *monisha*, and *chavo* (the Romani equivalents). Feeling now tolerably sure of my ground, I said, '*Kushto bero se duvo*' ('That is a good boat'). He stared at me as if I had been a ghost, and, on my continuing with a few more words, he called to one of the women in the boat and said, 'Come here; I never saw anything like this. Here is a gentleman knows our language as well as ourselves.' I continued asking the names of various common objects, such as *fire, water, the names of animals, parts of the body, &c.*, and soon noticed that for each they had two or three names, one being always good Romanis, the other, I presume, Shelta.

It is interesting enough to note that these wandering 'cairds' or 'tinklers' had four separate languages at their command. The ordinary native of the British Isles is content to speak his mother tongue only, and even that he speaks very badly some-

times. Here, however, was a family belonging to the despised 'tinkler' caste who knew not only the two languages current in Argyllshire, but also two others which they kept for their private use. The incident illustrates the fact that in the study of language, as in geology, one learns more by digging downward than by merely examining the surface.

Interesting although their possession of four languages is, that circumstance is not so wonderful as their evidently genuine belief that the Romani language was peculiar to their family, and was unknown to anyone else. It must be remembered that full-blooded Gypsies, speaking true Romanes, or Romanis, are rare in Scotland nowadays, and these seafaring tinkers may never have encountered any of them. No doubt they had inherited the language from Romani-speaking ancestors, and as they had apparently not associated with anyone similarly equipped they had assumed that the inheritance was not shared by others. A not very dissimilar feeling exists among others of their congeners in Scotland, evidence of which has been presented to me on several occasions. Four summers ago, for example, I had a talk with a Highland tinker in Strath-Tummel, Perthshire. His little low tent stood by the river side, and his daily occupation was that of a strolling bagpiper, earning a few pence by playing at the doors of mansions and cottages. As is not infrequently the case with others of his class in the Highlands, he occasionally obtained good wages as a farm labourer. His physical type was not that of a full-blooded Gypsy, but his complexion was darkish, and he had black hair and hazel eyes. Like Dr. Ranking's Crinan friends, he spoke both English and Gaelic, and also the 'cant' or jargon of his caste. He informed me, on being questioned, that he and his people did not make use of what he called 'Romani Cant.' It may be mentioned that he pronounced the *o* of 'Romani' long, as in 'Roman,' which seems to be the recognised sound among Scottish tinkers. In England the sound is Rommani, inclining to Rummani, or Rumni. That language, then, he asserted, was not used by his people. And yet the fact emerged that what he regarded as their own 'cant' contained such undeniably Romani words as *gâdji*, 'a man,' and *châvi*, 'a child.' There is good reason for believing that a longer conversation would have revealed many others. In the main, however, his language was ordinary 'Cant,' with Romani, English, and Gaelic interspersed. To the first of these classes belonged such words as *beenship*, 'fin,' and *munshi*, or *pluffin*, 'tobacco.' He was strongly of opinion that *pluffin* was the more classic of these two last words. *Munshi* he knew, but the word he used was *pluffin*. The most remarkable item of all the information which he imparted was that the 'real Romani cant' term for the bagpipes is 'jinny-mugs.' This word,

which I have never heard before or since, is glaringly unlike Romanes. The odd thing is that, whereas he used occasional Romani words in his 'cant,' not knowing that they were Romani, his one and only specimen of 'real Romani cant' was this absurd 'jinny-mugs.' It is not uncommon for people of his kind to amuse themselves by engaging in the pastime of 'pulling the leg' of some inquisitive Philistine. But this man did not seem to have much sense of humour, and if he was really trying to pass off a word invented on the spur of the moment he was an excellent actor.

The same mixture of real Gypsy words with cant is found among the 'muggers' or tinklers of the south of Scotland. They call themselves *Nahkens*, or *Nawkens*, and not *Romané* or *Romnichels*, the self-applied names of thoroughbred Gypsies. In the estimation of the latter they are merely 'mumpers,' with little or no Gypsy blood in their veins. Nevertheless, the 'cant' of the Nahkens is rich in Romani words—in some cases so rich that it is surprising the speakers do not realise the fact, and do not regard themselves as Romané. During one visit to a camp of 'muggers' belonging to the south of Scotland, I observed that more than one-half of the words offered by them as specimens of their cant was pure Romanes. On another occasion the proportion of Romani words was even greater. These instances, however, were fortuitous. The Romani element in the ordinary speech of the 'muggers' of Southern Scotland forms only a small part of the whole, probably one-fourth. The great bulk of their vocabulary may be roughly referred to as Cant.

This term, it may be explained, has no obvious connection with the words and sentiments of Mr. Stiggins or Mr. Chadband. Strictly speaking, it means nothing more than 'language' or 'dialect,' and indeed it still has that meaning in Gaelic. It was used precisely in that sense by Maria Edgeworth a century ago in a reference to 'the cant of Suffolk,' by which she meant the dialect of that county. For many generations, however, the word has had one or two special applications. It denoted, for example, the London slang of the Regency days and of earlier times, when a well-dressed 'buck' was spoken of as 'togged gnostically.' In *A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of Flash or Cant Language, commonly used by the Knowing Ones*, printed at London in 1827, I find that *togged* is 'dressed,' *togs* are clothes, *togman* is 'a cloak,' and a *tog and kicks* is synonymous with a 'coat and breeches.' *Gnostics* are defined, with etymological accuracy, as 'knowing ones.' Now, this slang, flash, or cant language of Corinthian Tom and his gnostic friends is unmistakably derived, in great measure, from the same source as that of the wandering tinkers, whatever may be the correct explanation of the fact.

This could be shown by citing a number of words common to both classes. Of these words some are genuine Romanes, but most of them may be described as 'Cant,' a term applied in England to the language of Gypsies, as well as to that of similar itinerants, as early as the sixteenth century. 'Cant' appears to be based upon an extremely interesting and elaborate jargon, of very considerable antiquity, known by the name of 'Shelta,' the chief characteristics of which I shall presently describe. A number of cant terms, however, are not of this class. In addition to the Romani element already spoken of, and to the Shelta basis about to be explained, there are at least two other divisions of the cant language. Of these, one consists of ordinary English words applied in a figurative sense, and in this list may be included onomatopoeic words which express the cry of the animals they stand for (as *meh*, a sheep, and *grumphy*, a pig). The second division outside of Romani and Shelta contains words derived from Latin, French, German, and other languages, but not current in ordinary speech.

The *Cant Dictionary* of 1827, referred to above, has several words belonging to the first of these two minor divisions: thus, *bleater* (lamb), *grunter* (pig), *prancer* (horse), *peeper* (eye), *clinker* (fetter), *ticker* (watch), *flogger* (whip), and *sipper* (tea-spoon). It is interesting to compare these words, used by the London 'gnostics' of the days of George the Fourth, with the following obtained by Dr. Alexander Carmichael in 1895 from a tinker family then camping in the Island of Arran: *cackler* (egg), *quacker* (duck), *grumphy* (pig), *meh* (sheep), *prankler* (horse), *crunsher* (apple), *glimmer* (peat), *winkler* (eye), and *sweetni* (sugar). Why the nomadic castes of the Highlands and of the British Isles generally should habitually employ a class of words common to them and to the 'flash' men of London is a question that invites fuller examination in the future.

Of words apparently borrowed from Latin, French, and German, those contained in the London Cant lists could be accounted for on the assumption that they were introduced from the Continent at no distant date. It is more difficult to explain their presence in the vocabularies of country tinkers, whose lives are little affected by the ways of cities. In Mr. Andrew McCormick's very instructive book on *The Tinkler-Gypsies of Galloway* several words of this kind occur as in use among these people. A Latin or French origin is apparent in *carnis* (beef), *pennam* (bread), *dant* (tooth), *test* (head), *vile* (town), *duce* (two), and perhaps in *blaw* (meal), from French *blé*. *Morgen* (morning) and *kinchen* (child) are clearly Teutonic. The Latin words in Cant are usually assigned by modern writers to mendicant priests, while the former intercourse between Galloway smugglers and their French and Dutch congeners is held to account for the

existence of the Gallic and Teutonic elements. At the same time, it must be remembered that nearly all the examples given above are found in the Cant of other parts of the United Kingdom. The old French *test* (head) is of much interest. It is a long time since *test* became *tête*, and it is something of a puzzle to know why the old sound has been preserved by our British nomads. Not less noteworthy is the fact that, as applied to the human head, it is Latin slang to start with, being an appropriation of *testa*, a *mug*, of which the meaning is still preserved in English slang (' mug '). It presumably originated in a playful comparison with the face of an earthenware ' greybeard.'

The most fascinating, certainly the least known, of all the ingredients in that speech of our roads, which is contemptuously spoken of by real Gypsies as ' Mumpers' Talk,' is the jargon sometimes, but not invariably, known as ' Shelta.' We owe our knowledge of it to Charles Godfrey Leland, a keen *tsiganologue*, but more widely known as the author of the *Breitmann Ballads*. The occasion on which he received his first intimation of the existence of this language was in the course of an interview with a tramp whom he encountered in Somersetshire. Being a student of vagrants of every kind, Leland bethought him of addressing this man in Romanes, and he was not surprised to find that the man fully understood what he was saying.

> ' But we are givin' Romanes up very fast—all of us is,' observed the tramp. ' It is gettin' to be too blown. Everybody knows some Romanes now. But there *is* a jib (tongue) that ain't blown,' he remarked reflectively. ' Back slang, an' cantin', an' rhymin' is grown vulgar. Now, *Romanes* is genteel. But as for this other jib, it's very hard to talk. It is most all old Irish, and they calls it Shelter.'

' This was all that I could learn at that time,' says Leland. ' It did not impress me much, as I supposed that the man merely meant Old Irish.' But a year later, when he and his friend Professor Palmer, the Oriental scholar, and a student of Romanes as well, were taking a walk along the beach at Aberystwith, they met another tramp, who, like the former one, understood the Gypsy language, and who, like him also, spoke of this strange Shelta speech, to which he gave the additional name of ' Minklers' thari,' or ' Tinkers' talk.' The opportunity was too good to be lost, and so these two philologists obtained from this man a tolerably long list of Shelta words. Three years after this, Leland found himself in his native city of Philadelphia, and there he fell in with an Irish tinker who could speak Gaelic, Welsh, English, Romanes, and this hidden language of ' Shelta.' From him Leland received a large addition to his growing vocabulary. It then became evident that Shelta, as spoken by both these men, contains English, Gaelic, Cant, and, in the first instance,

Romanes. Yet it was equally clear that it was something more than a mere mixture of these languages.

Leland published his Shelta lists in 1882, in his book *The Gypsies* (Boston), and he again referred to the subject in a paper read before the Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886, wherein he adds this statement:

> I doubt if I ever took a walk in London, especially in the slums, without meeting men and women who spoke Shelta; and I know at this instant of two—I really cannot say promising—little boys who sell groundsel at the Marlborough Road Station, who chatter in it fluently.

This paper, being quoted in *The Academy* of the 20th of November 1886, called forth a response from Mr. Henry T. Crofton, author (with Dr. Bath Smart) of *The Dialect of the English Gypsies* (London, 1875), who supplied an additional list of Shelta words obtained by him in 1879 from vagrants of one kind or another. This in turn produced a letter from Mr. T. W. Norwood, which appeared a fortnight later in *The Academy*, with a supplementary list. Thereafter, the subject was taken up by myself and my colleagues of the Gypsy Lore Society, and in April 1890 we printed two new collections of specimens of the same form of speech in the Society's *Journal*. One of these was secured in the Hebridean island of Tiree, where a little tinker girl furnished the words; and the other came from a tinker in the south-east of Ireland, through the medium of the Rev. Canon ffrench, Clonegal. This tinker, when interrogated by Canon ffrench, stated that the name 'Shelta' was unknown to him, and that his language was called 'The Tin-men's Cant.' From the specimens given by him, it became evident that the Tin-men's Cant and Shelta were one and the same thing.

The study of Shelta was now thoroughly investigated by Dr. John Sampson, followed by Professor Kuno Meyer. Dr. Sampson's careful analysis, based upon an extensive knowledge of the jargon gained by him in the course of his investigation, yielded the following deductions: Shelta is spoken throughout Ireland by the tinkers, the pipers, the beggars, and the sievemakers; and apparently in Scotland, with little difference, by people of similar caste. Welsh Shelta, if it exist at all, has still to be discovered. In England, Shelta is spoken in a very corrupt form by knife-grinders, street hawkers, and others of like description. A number of Shelta words have been incorporated into Cant Proper (if cant may ever be so qualified), that is to say, the cant of the old dictionaries, printed in London, and in some cases the date of that adoption is not more recent than the sixteenth century. Such words are: *pure* or *burerk* (lady), *chirp* (to talk), *gammy* (bad), *gloak* (man), *ken* (house), *creeper* (cat), *lush* (drink), *lug* (pawn), *mauley* (hand), *mizzle* (to run or sneak off), *monkery*

(country), *mug* (fool), *tonic* (halfpenny), and *tober* or *toby* (road). On the other hand, Shelta has borrowed, and subsequently disguised, some English words in modern times. The great bulk of Shelta consists, however, of Gaelic words, often of great antiquity, which have been so disguised by various modes of treatment that they are unintelligible to ordinary speakers of Gaelic. Dr. Sampson is further inclined to believe that Shelta was first formed, in part at least, from a still older language than Gaelic, a prehistoric Celtic, parent of the various dialects with which we are familiar. Of the Shelta-speaking tinker himself, Dr. Sampson thus generalises:

> Although his moral and social code, like his language, is certainly of the back-slang order, yet his society is not uninstructive, and, when treated with courtesy and whisky, he will be found an amiable and entertaining companion. Preserved in his life, as in his language, are many archaisms, which one would fain see placed on record before Time, with his harsh breathing, aspirates them out of existence.

It was in the article[1] from which the above quotation is made that Dr. Sampson disclosed the real nature and characteristics of the Shelta jargon. The great importance of his analysis was at once recognised by Professor Kuno Meyer, whose intimate knowledge of Early Gaelic placed him in a position to write conclusively on the subject. The pioneer work so ably accomplished by Dr. Sampson had really solved the problem. But it remained for Professor Meyer to elaborate and refine upon the deductions drawn by his precursor in the field. This he did in an article on 'The Irish Origin and the Age of Shelta,' which appeared in a succeeding number of the Gypsy Lore Society's *Journal* (Vol. II., 1890-1891). In this article he showed that Shelta is a very ancient secret language, that in Irish MSS. it is referred to under various names, and that, although now confined to tinkers and other nomads in the British Isles, its knowledge was once possessed by Irish poets and scholars, who were probably its original framers.

> I would scarcely have taken much interest in Shelta [he says] if it were nothing but tinkers' cant, fabricated from Irish in modern times, of a kind not superior to the back-slang of costers and cabmen. It was the fact of there being evidence of the great antiquity of Shelta that made me anxious to know more about it.

Some such evidence had already been furnished by Dr. Sampson, who pointed out that many Shelta words were framed on Gaelic words which had long been obsolete in the form known to the original fabricator of its Shelta equivalent. Some of the words, indeed, had died out of spoken Gaelic altogether many centuries ago. A study of such words has led Professor Meyer to the con-

[1] Contributed to the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (Old Series), Vol. II., 1890-1891.

clusion that the date of their transformation from genuine Gaelic into cryptic Shelta cannot be placed at a later date than the tenth century.

But there is other direct evidence of the age of Shelta [he continues] which will appeal more strongly to those not familiar with the laws of Irish sound-change. We have very early testimony in Irish literature to the manufacture of a jargon by the very methods described [viz. those of the living jargon known as Shelta]. Dr. Whitley Stokes, in the second edition of his *Goidelica* (p. 72), after describing the processes by which some obscure words in an old glossary were formed from Irish words, says: 'The manufacture of such jargon is recognised not only in the preface to the *Amra Choluimchille*, preserved in the *Lebor na huidre*, a manuscript of the beginning of the twelfth century, but also in the *Auraicept na n-éces* (Instruction of the Poets), copies of which are found in the Book of Lecan and in the Book of Ballymote. (This last is a vellum MS. dating from the latter part of the fourteenth century, and, like the other MSS. just mentioned, it is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.) Each of the processes of fabrication has a name. *Formolad* denoted the addition of a syllable; *Deichned* was the addition of a letter only; when the final was dropped, the process was *Dichned*; when a word was spelt backward, the process was termed *Delidind*; *Cennfocrus-túis* was the change of a word's initial; *Cennfocrus-déid* the change of a final.'

To make a long story short, then, Professor Meyer has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that the secret language used by many of our modern British vagrants was artificially created about a thousand years ago, from Gaelic, and by a cultivated caste. That it was used by educated men in the fourteenth century we know from a passage in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, which records the death, in 1328, of a certain Morish O'Gibellan, who is described as a master of art, a diocesan judge, exceedingly well learned in the old and the new law, civil and canon, a cunning and skilful philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, a canon and singer in Tuam and other churches, and, most important of all (from our present point of view), 'an excellent, eloquent, and exact speaker of the speech which in Irish is called Ogham.' And this Ogham speech is no other than what is now called Shelta. The word Ogham, be it noted in passing, appears to have simply the meaning of 'cryptic,' and to have been applied to this speech and to a peculiar form of writing, both alike secret or disguised, but not necessarily connected with each other.

That modern vagrants should be the only people acquainted with this mediæval cryptic jargon as an everyday form of speech is explained by the fact that they are the living representatives, however degraded they may be, of the caste or castes with whom that speech was originally associated. This, indeed, is the explanation given by Leland, the real discoverer of Shelta.

If it be asked [he remarks] how it came to pass that the language of the bards sunk to such base uses as to serve as the tongue of tinkers and

> [illegible], I can only offer a theory which has occurred to me while reading several works on prehistoric or early archæology, which idea was clearly presented to me by some English review, the name of which I regret to have forgotten. It was to the effect that the bronze-workers of old time formed a very close corporation, having many secrets, and being in all probability allied to the learned class or bards. Hence, they may have used the same language. And it is possible that the tinkers, or modern itinerant metal-workers, are the direct descendants of the artificers in bronze. There is much, on reflection, which renders this probable.

I have no room here to go into the further interesting and suggestive remarks made by Leland on this subject. But I may point out that he omits to notice the fact that many of the people who use this jargon to-day are themselves minstrels and bards, as their fathers were before them. The identity is even closer than he thought. Moreover, they have retained many of the folk-tales which are spread all over Europe, to the diffusion of which people of their description, if not of their blood, have largely contributed.[2]

In the recently revived *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, from which I have extracted the above passage of Leland's, special attention has already been paid to this peculiar jargon. Although originally quite distinct from the language of the Gypsies, it has long been interlinked with that language in curious and intricate ways. To prosecute the study of 'Shelta,' and to analyse its composition, is therefore well within the province of students of Romani speech, or at any rate of the variety of that speech current in the British Islands. The discoverer of Shelta has frequently dwelt upon the strange indifference of most philologists to the forms of speech used by the lower classes in their own country, although they will devote much time to the investigation of an obscure dialect in Central Africa or Polynesia. It cannot be doubted that in all countries there must be many linguistic survivals of extreme value among those people who have been least affected by modern civilisation. Leland may have been too optimistic when he suggested that:

> It will be understood, perhaps, in the next generation that there should be in one university at least a chair where there will be taught some knowledge of all the languages, dialects, jargons, and slangs spoken in Great Britain.

But his views are well deserving of serious consideration by historians and philologists alike.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

[2] In an article in the *National Review* of July 1888 the late Francis Hindes Groome advocated the theory that the diffusion of folk-tales throughout Europe was probably, to a great extent, the work of Gypsies.

ARCHITECTURAL MASTERPIECES OF LONDON

A French traveller—M. Grosley—who visited these shores in 1773, and who has left three volumes of observations on London and its inhabitants, takes occasion, in the chapter devoted to 'Nouveau Londres,' as he calls it, to make, like the famous President Hénault, a philosophical reflection. Says he, referring to the increase of building activity in the city, 'Si cette manie de bâtir à Londres vient à gagner la noblesse des trois Royaumes, Londres, pris dans son Etat actuel, se trouvera doublée dans la siècle prochaine.'

As a matter of fact, the following century was destined to witness such strides in the building development of London, that the city, so far from merely duplicating itself in size, increased to such an extent that the worthy Grosley, could he see it now, would be hard put to it to find sufficiently appropriate adjectives wherewith to indicate his astonishment.

To-day we have grown used to the erection of immense buildings and the wholesale development of large areas, and in our haste to hail fresh erections, we are, I fear, apt to overlook the splendid architectural monuments which have been our possession for centuries, and to forget that a thing may be perfect without necessarily being colossal.

It is curious how relatively little seems to be known about the architectural features of London. I do not mean about their technical merits or shortcomings, for this is a matter that concerns trained intelligence, and even trained intelligence does not always see eye to eye in such things, but in the mere allocation of important buildings to their designers; and I dare swear that, with the exception of St. Paul's, which everyone knows to be the work of Wren, few buildings in London can be accurately traced to the architects who were responsible for them. An examination paper on the subject would be, one feels certain, productive of strange results, and would indirectly prove anything but a flattering commentary on the value of posthumous fame.

In an age when there is so much to be seen and still more to

be remembered, this should not, perhaps, strike us as extraordinary; but, at a moment when a quite vital interest in the Metropolis and its important monuments is awakened, anything that helps to draw closer attention to the origin and authorship of notable landmarks (so many of which seem to be disappearing) will not, perhaps, be considered as a work of supererogation.

Of course, the lapse of ages has, in some cases, obliterated such records. Thus the original builder of the Tower of London is as unknown as the architect of the Tower of Babel. Poetic licence has, indeed, helped to make confusion in this respect worse confounded, for it seems satisfactorily proved that Cæsar, whose name has been thus connected with it, had nothing whatever to do with its erection; and if there be one name that is more closely associated than another with London's most interesting landmark, it is that of Bishop Gundulf, who, in 1078, was appointed by William the Conqueror overseer and surveyor to the building. But the Tower is one of those landmarks which are essentially rather the product of successive ages than the work of one period, and it may not be generally known that its chief feature, the White Tower, owes much of its present appearance to Wren, who faced its windows with stone after the Italian fashion, and thus gave it that almost modern character which it wears to-day.

Again, in the case of Westminster Abbey, that 'Sepulchre of Kings,' as Jeremy Taylor calls it, no one man can be named as its designer, the most beautiful portion of the fabric, Henry the Seventh's Chapel, probably being the work of the Flemish and German craftsmen who, at that period, began to swarm into this country; and the only portions that can in any way be connected with a British architect are the not particularly successful west towers, which were carried out by Hawksmoor, in 1739, from the designs left by Wren, but which, had that consummate artist lived to complete the work, would, one may be sure, have evolved themselves into something more worthy of his splendid powers.

St. James's Palace, or rather the fragment which dates from Henry the Eighth's day (for, as regards the rest, ignorance of its architect is perhaps as well), is another London architectural feature of whose designer we are ignorant, although there is a tradition that the plans for it were prepared by Thomas Cromwell; while another report has it that he merely superintended designs supplied by Holbein.

Lack of knowledge of the architects of buildings at this period is not confined to those in London, however; and the names of those responsible for such splendid erections as Hatfield and Blickling, to take but these instances, are equally forgotten. It seems, indeed, that these and similar masterpieces were the outcome of many craftsmen without the direction of any head similar to our present conception of an architect. But if our knowledge of the

builders of such eye-compelling features as the three I have mentioned is limited, there are in London hundreds of fine buildings of a later date whose designers are known—but only known to those who have given themselves to the particular study of this phase of London's history.

The churches seem properly to demand the first place in this enumeration; and what a subject they alone form for consideration and study! First and foremost stand those for which the great Wren was responsible. So much attention has latterly been drawn to these; their remarkable adaptability to their respective sites, and the consummate beauty and variety of their steeples, have been so carefully considered and insisted upon, that others than architects by now know something of them and can point, with a borrowed knowledge, to their striking merits and even their more recondite excellences. The spire of St. Bride's, 'a madrigal in stone,' as the late Mr. W. E. Henley called it, with its daring repetition of design which, in the hands of a lesser man, would have proved jejune and monotonous; that of Bow Church, perhaps the finest of all Wren's beautiful steeples; the glorious interior of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, which Canova said was alone worth a journey from Italy to study; St. Clement's Danes, with its originality of contour, the vista to which is now spoilt by the statue of Mr. Gladstone that blocks it out; these, and how many others dotted about London, from the east to the west, are known to those who seek for beauty and find it in their admirable outlines; for surely if one has been likened to a madrigal in stone, then, taken as a whole, they would seem to form a sonnet-sequence in architectural expression.

Indeed Wren has so dominated London with work in this direction, that there are those who, in their haste, set down all the seventeenth and early eighteenth century churches in the Metropolis to his credit. That his inspiration is certainly observable in many of them is obvious enough, but there are numbers with which, of course, he had nothing to do, and it is to these that I want to draw a moment's attention, because in most cases many are ignorant of their designers, or under what conditions they were built.

In 1708 an Act of Parliament was passed for the erection of fifty churches, and a second phase of ecclesiastical building activity began (Wren's may be regarded as the first, and he alone was responsible for over half-a-hundred). At this moment three fine architects were at hand to carry out the wishes of the authorities: Gibbs, Hawksmoor, and James of Greenwich, as he is called.

The first-named was responsible for two of London's best-known churches, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and St. Mary-le-Strand. The former replaced a church which had existed at this spot since the days of Henry the Eighth when (1535) the parish

was first separated from that of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In 1607 a chancel was added to the fabric at the charges of Henry, Prince of Wales, but at the end of a hundred years the building was found to be quite inadequate to the greatly increased parish, and in 1721 Gibbs was commissioned to design the present church. It was the second sacred edifice for which he was responsible, and anxiety to make it a masterpiece, coupled with the knowledge that it was to occupy one of the most prominent sites in London, undoubtedly caused him to take unusual pains with it. Indeed the portico, its chief feature, is probably unsurpassed in the Metropolis for unity of combination and beauty. Sir William Chambers was so delighted with it that he even ventured to compare it with the Parthenon, but this is the sort of unconsidered eulogy that is apt to do more harm than good to an architect's reputation by overstating the case; a fault that the poet Savage also fell into when he wrote the lines:

> O Gibbs! whose art the solemn fane can raise,
> Where God delights to dwell and man to praise.

But, hyperbole apart, there is no doubt that St. Martin's-in-the-Fields is one of London's most beautiful churches; and it is but justice to its architect's memory that his name should be remembered in connexion with it.

St. Mary-le-Strand was the first church Gibbs was employed on, and it was also the first of the fifty new churches which it was intended to erect. It was completed in 1717, but not as it was originally intended so far as the exterior design was concerned, for in place of the present steeple only a small campanile or turret was to have stood at its west end, and at about 80 feet from it a column surmounted by a statue of Queen Anne was to have risen. The Queen's death, however, caused the Commissioners to alter their minds, and Gibbs was instructed to design the present tower.

There can hardly be two opinions as to St. Mary's inferiority to St. Martin's; it is narrow, it wants dignity, and it is made up of too much detail to be wholly effective, but compared with many other sacred edifices it is successful enough. One wonders how often it is confounded with the neighbouring St. Clement's Danes as the work of Wren. Its steeple is, indeed, so good that the greater man might have been not unwilling to claim it as his own.

If Hawksmoor was not, on the whole, so great an architect as Gibbs, at least he was responsible for five churches which, unequal in merit as they are, yet show that he was only less better than the best. Four of these are in the east: St. Anne's, Limehouse; St. George's-in-the-East; St. Mary Woolnoth; and Christ Church, Spitalfields. They were erected between the years 1712 and 1729,

and the last is probably the most original in its design of any church in London, for, as Mr. Blomfield says, 'In the tower Hawksmoor broke away from all precedent.' Architects will appreciate this when it is pointed out that Hawksmoor 'has returned the entablature right across from north to south, with two additional columns inserted in the width of the nave, thus forming a screen, and above this he has placed the royal arms; . . . the tower stands at the west end, and beyond it is a bold portico of four detached columns carrying an entablature with a semicircular vault above it in the centre.'[1] On the north and south sides of the tower the entablature forms circular sweeps; indeed, the design is full of peculiarities, but what is meritorious in the work is that it here wholly discarded convention, and struck out a line which, if open to criticism, is at once effective and highly original.

Most Londoners know St. Mary Woolnoth, at the west corner of Lombard Street, which was only recently saved from entire demolition, but which has been sadly desecrated by the railway station that nestles in its foundations. There is a massive solidity about this church which is not particularly pleasing, but even the tyro will hardly fail to recognise originality in its heavy features.

But by far the best known of Hawksmoor's churches is St. George's, Bloomsbury, which was begun in 1720 and finished some nine years later. Here, as at St. Martin's, the portico is the chief feature, and it has always been a question which of these two inaugurated this now common characteristic of church architecture; for although St. Martin's was not begun till a year after St. George's, it was finished at least three years earlier. It is on the summit of the latter that what Walpole properly calls 'a master-stroke of absurdity' exists in the statue of George the First which surmounts it, and which gave rise to a well-known contemporary epigram. This steeple has also obtained another, and a better, claim to notice, for it appears in the background of one of Hogarth's best-known works.

A still more famous St. George's, that in George Street, Hanover Square, was the work of James of Greenwich. One supposes that this is the best-known church in London, for it has been the scene of fashionable marriages almost from its earliest day. Here Sir William Hamilton was wedded to Emma Hart; here the Duke of Sussex was joined to Lady Augusta Murray, about the results of which circumstance Lord Eldon tells us with such gusto; here the notorious Lola Montés, who ruined a king and caused a revolution, was married to Mr. Heald (not Heath, as the name is so often wrongly given); here the Iron Duke might

[1] *History of Renaissance Architecture in England.*

have been seen on innumerable occasions 'giving away' the brides at fashionable weddings. One wonders how many who have trodden those well-worn steps, or waited beneath that ample portico, have ever asked themselves who designed the church which, seen from Hanover Square, stands out proudly from the adjacent houses. Even Ralph, who wrote certain critical observations on London's buildings, and generally managed to fall foul of most of them, has a good word for St. George's, and the poetic voice of Wordsworth has also been raised on its behalf!

Smith Square is nowadays as forgotten as Nineveh, in fact it is gradually being overtaken by the fate of that proud city, for its exiguous dwellings are slowly being demolished. In its centre however, still stands the church over whose architectural features more controversy has probably taken place than over those of any other in London. This is St. John's, which was erected by Thomas Archer during the latter years of Queen Anne's reign. It was the second of the fifty churches, and is said to have cost no less than 40,000*l.* The chief points of the building with which critics have fallen foul are the towers at the four corners. These caused Walpole to dub the edifice 'a *chef d'œuvre* of absurdity,' and Lord Chesterfield to liken it to an elephant with its legs in the air but there was a cause for these unusual adjuncts over which the architect had no control; for during the erection of the church the ground suddenly began to settle, and rather from necessity than choice the towers were added in order to balance the foundations. It is but due to Archer (who was, however, not a great architect, although he produced one good work—St. Philip's, Birmingham), to state that he intended, when he found these towers were necessary, to raise the body of the fabric and to surmount it with a large central tower and spire; an addition he was not permitted to make.

Another architect whose name should not be forgotten, but who was, in truth, not a much greater artist than Archer, is Flitcroft, and two London churches can be placed to his credit: St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and St. Olave, Tooley Street, as well as that of St. John, at Hampstead. In the first, which was built between 1731 and 1733, the influence of Gibbs and even of Wren is observable, but Flitcroft had not quite sufficient individual genius to make very much of what he filched from better men, although considering the period in which he lived, his plans have no little relative merit. He made two designs for St. Giles, but the first did not commend itself to the authorities, and it was applied to St. Olave's which was erected some three years later.

Like Flitcroft, Dance the elder, who built, as most people know, the Mansion House, designed several churches, notably St. Luke's, Old Street; St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; St. Matthias's, Bethnal Green, and St. Botolph, Aldgate. Of these by

far the most important is St. Leonard's, in the excellent steeple of which that of St. Mary-le-Bow seems, to some extent, revivified. The others are, however, bald and uninspired, and, did not St. Leonard's exist, would prove that Dance's *forte* was not ecclesiastical architecture. The younger Dance with whose name old Newgate, although no longer existing, will be for ever identified, was also responsible for at least one church, that of All Hallows', London Wall, which seems to indicate an hereditary disability in this phase of the designer's art.

If the architects of the London churches are unconnected, in the public mind, with their handiwork, those who have raised what may be here termed secular buildings have not been luckier. Many people know that the beautiful water-gate that stands fronting the Embankment was the work of Inigo Jones, and that that supreme master designed the Banqueting House in Whitehall, a mere fragment of the immense palace he contemplated, but do not realise that an excellent specimen of his domestic architecture exists on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, in Lindsay House, and that another—Shaftesbury House, in Aldersgate Street—was demolished but a few years since; or that the relic of Ashburnham House in Dean's Yard, with its superb staircase, although erected under the superintendence of Webb, was substantially the work of the same master.

Do the legal luminaries who flit about Lincoln's Inn Fields, or the more infrequent visitors from without its purlieus, ever pause to think who designed the dignified and impressive Newcastle House, now known simply as No. 66? It was that Captain Wynne or Winde (a pupil of Buckingham's art collecting agent, Sir Balthazar Gerbier) who was also responsible for the old red-brick Buckingham House, the precursor of the present Buckingham Palace. He built Newcastle House in 1686 for the Earl of Powis, after whom it was at first named, before in process of time, to be exact in 1705, it became the property of the eccentric first Duke of Newcastle. So much rebuilding has taken place in 'the Fields' that it is pleasant to find Lindsay House and Newcastle House still surviving, especially as we can connect the names of their architects with them. This we can also do in the case of Stone Buildings on the east side of the square, which were erected in 1756 from the designs of Sir Robert Taylor whose name is perpetuated in the Taylorian Museum at Oxford. He it was who largely added to the Bank of England which had been originally designed by George Sampson, and opened in 1734, and who was also responsible for the Bishop of Ely's old house in Dover Street, now converted into club premises.

At an earlier day much building development about this western portion of the town was done by Kent for Lord Burling-

ton. Many of the houses in Burlington Gardens are his work so is No. 44 Berkeley Square, with its beautifully and skilfull arranged staircase which he designed for Lady Isabella Finch and probably Lord Powis's next door which has many of the sam architectural characteristics. On a more ambitious scale is Devon shire House, which was designed by Kent in 1735, for the thir Duke, but which has been considerably altered since his day by Decimus Burton and Crace.

Nothing proves the superiority of Kent's internal arrange ment of houses over their external decoration better than Devon shire House which, considering the opportunity the architect had, is curiously uninspired. Ralph in a characteristic passage wrote of it that 'it is spacious, and so are the East India Company's warehouses, and both are equally deserving of praise.'

Kent could do, and did, better work, however; for the Horse Guards is his, although he did not live to finish it, and his pupil Vardy, completed the building. Those who know Holkham which is Kent's most ambitious piece of domestic architecture will not need to be told that it possesses certain features in common with the Horse Guards, which are sufficient to stamp these two buildings as the work of one and the same architect.

Vardy, whom I have thus incidentally mentioned, deserves to be otherwise remembered, because he was the principal designer of Spencer House, in many respects one of London's most satisfying great houses. I say 'principal designer' because 'Athenian' Stuart had a hand in it, and planned the St. James's Place front; but Vardy was responsible for the most effective portion, that facing the Green Park, and for the internal arrangements which are said to be more modern in construction than those of any other house of the period. Uxbridge House, in Burlington Gardens, now the West-end Branch of the Bank of England, was also designed by Vardy, with the help of Bonomi, but he was not identical with the architect of Spencer House, and was not improbably a son of the latter.

Another great mansion that owed its origin to a conjunction of talent is Burlington House. As we see it to-day, it has been so altered, by Smirke, that its earlier appearance has been well-nigh obliterated, but when it was erected by the third Earl of Burlington who was assisted in the work by Gibbs, Kent, Colin Campbell, and Leoni (who built Moor Park, in Hertfordshire) it must have been singularly imposing, and an almost universal consensus of contemporary praise attests this. Lord Chesterfield, however, is found in the minority, and so is Hogarth, but other than purely architectural reasons seem to have biased the judgment of these critics. The plate produced by the latter, entitled 'The Taste of the Town,' as well as his so-called 'small masquerade ticket,'

will be remembered in this connexion; while Lord Chesterfield's epigram has also been preserved, and runs thus:

> Possess'd of one great hall for state,
> Without a room to sleep or eat;
> How well you build let flattery tell,
> And all the world how ill you dwell.

It was the 'Vainqueur du monde' who also said of General Wade's house in Cork Street, which had been designed by Lord Burlington, that 'as the General could not live in it at his ease, he had better take a house over against it, and look at it.' The implied criticism here is at least flattering to Lord Burlington's treatment of the façades designed by him, and is similar to the remark made about Vanbrugh's huge erections, particularly Blenheim, where someone, after being shown over the palace by the then Duke, asked: 'And where do you live?'

Lord Chesterfield determined not to fall into this fault when he came to build Chesterfield House, and in selecting Isaac Ware as its architect he found a man who was capable of uniting a comfortable interior with a dignified exterior. Indeed Ware's most excellent characteristic was that he was beyond his day in attending to the convenience of those who were to live in the houses he designed, rather than, like many of his contemporaries, in sacrificing the internal arrangements to mere outward effect. It is for this reason that the dwellings he planned in Bloomsbury Square, South Audley Street, Bruton Street, Hanover Square, Berkeley Square, and elsewhere, are not particularly eye-compelling, but are essentially liveable mansions.

The Adam Brothers at a slightly later day, on the other hand, tried to combine these characteristics, and to some extent succeeded, although the very nature of their scheme of decoration, except in certain isolated instances, was hardly virile enough to give particular dignity to the façades they erected.

Among the chief exceptions to this in London are Lansdowne House, probably their masterpiece, not only in elevation but in internal decoration; No. 20 St. James's Square; Boodle's Club in St. James's Street, and the large house in Stratford Place, Oxford Street; all built, it will be remembered, to order. It is worth while drawing attention to the fact that where they were employed on commission the Adams generally worked in stone; but where they were engaged on speculative building they had recourse, largely, to Liardet's patent stucco, in which they were able to develop their favourite designs at far less expense than had these been carved in a less plastic material. This will be observed in much of the Adelphi; in the east side of Fitzroy Square, and in some of the houses in Hanover Square, and, indeed, in most of what may be termed their private work.

Although house-planning occupied most of the energy of the Adams, they occasionally produced decorative work of a different kind, apart, of course, from their numberless designs for doorways, chimney-pieces, etc., which may be seen in so many London houses, and of which fifty folio volumes of sketches are preserved in the Soane Museum; and the most notable example of this is the screen which helps to hide from Whitehall the uninspired Admiralty, which was, by the by, the work of Ripley who built Houghton Hall for Sir Robert Walpole.

I suppose that most people know that Sir William Chambers built Somerset House, certainly one of London's most effective landmarks, even now that the Embankment has spoilt the effect which the river front produced when the Thames lapped its massive water-gate; but the architect's hand may not be generally recognised in 'The Albany,' originally Melbourne House, which was begun in 1770 for the first Lord Melbourne; or in Carrington House, Whitehall, demolished some years since to make way for the present War Office, in which the splendid rooms and magnificent staircase were worthy of one of England's greatest architects, which Chambers could undoubtedly claim to be. When the fate of this fine mansion was sealed, a scheme was formulated for moving it bodily to another site, as is occasionally done with success in America, but for some reason, hardly on the score of expense—for it was estimated that the removal could have been effected for 4000*l.*, less than one-tenth what the place had cost—the idea was abandoned.

When we come to later days, the names of those responsible for buildings whose outlines we know as we do our own hand, seem equally forgotten. How many could say that Barry built the Houses of Parliament and the Reform Club, or that Street produced the Law Courts, or that Smirke designed the Carlton Club to take but these instances? The beautiful ecclesiastical work of Pearson and Bodley, Bentley and Butterfield and Seddon, is around us on all sides, but who can point to the churches which they raised and connect them with the names of their designers? And if this be the case with the work of men who are of our own day, is it surprising that those who are with 'yesterday's seven thousand years,' should be forgotten?

The ordinary amateur prides himself on knowing something of the characteristics of the old masters of pictorial art. He will point you out a Raphael or a Reynolds; a Cuyp or a Velasquez, with the assurance of a critic; even the more recondite masters will yield their mysteries to his indefatigable inquiry but in the case of the masterpieces of architecture few appear to take the trouble to learn when they were erected or who were responsible for their design, and the man who would blush to be thought uninformed of the name of a well-known painter wi

be found light-heartedly acknowledging his ignorance of the architect of some building whose outlines have been familiar features to him all his life. I cannot but think that it is this want of knowledge in this particular phase of art that largely makes the removal of some architectural masterpiece an easy matter compared with the relegation of some notable picture to another country. When Crosby Hall was demolished it was only a small band who endeavoured to stay the work of sacrilege; when Shaftesbury House was pulled down the general public knew not of it. When the building-fiend is abroad only a devoted band go forth to do him battle, not because the majority care for none of these things, but because they do not recognise the value of what will fall into his omnivorous clutches.

People will never stir a hand to preserve a thing unless they realise that it is not only an object of what is absurdly called sentimental value, but also an intrinsic part of the capital, and a possession as much worth preserving as a picture or a book. But when they do this, they will as stoutly defend what architectural remains we can still boast in London as they have done, on so many occasions, the masterpieces of pictorial art which would otherwise have been wrenched from our grasp. Were there but half as many amateur critics of architecture as there are connoisseurs of pictures, one would have comparatively little to fear in this respect.

If what I have said seems highly coloured, if not exaggerated, may I tell the following story? Some time ago when speaking to an artist about the subject which forms the basis of this article, I ventured to question if ten out of the first twelve presumably educated men one met in the street could connect with any building in London, with the exception of St. Paul's, the name of its architect. My friend, while agreeing with me in what I feared to have been an over-bold assertion, said that he would even go further than that, for, said he, 'I was the other day talking to an intelligent man, and happened to mention the name of Inigo Jones. "Inigo Jones. Who was Inigo Jones?" was the reply.

E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.

CANADA'S CHOICE

The prevailing excitement over party politics in the Unite Kingdom has obscured the importance of a contest across th Atlantic upon the event of which the greatest issues may depend Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of the Dominion, ha negotiated with the Government of the United States a treaty having for its object the lowering of the tariff wall between th two countries and free exchange of foodstuffs and the natura products. The Congress and Government of the United State have agreed to this treaty, but a general election must tak place in Canada before the Dominion Parliament pronounce judgment upon it, and this general election will be hel in September. All through the summer of 1911 the vexe question has been eagerly debated, and the leaders of th Opposition have been touring the broad prairies of the centra provinces in order to convert to their views as many as possibl of the western farmers. Opinion is much divided in the centre of population, and although the Canadian electorate is probabl the most intelligent in the world, it is not wonderful that th impending election should severely test its patriotism as well a its capacity for dealing with questions of high policy.

The arguments by which the advocates of Reciprocity see to commend the change to the people of Canada are such strongly appeal to a practical and hard-working community Canada has apparently inexhaustible stores of natural product and raw materials, but has no home market capable of absorbin or of manufacturing them. The great Republic, on the othe hand, is beginning to need access to new fields of production both for foodstuffs and raw material. Eighty millions of people divided from Canada by no natural obstacle or frontier, ar clamouring to open their home market and to extend th advantages of their highly-developed commercial system to t struggling settlers of the northern dominion. Life on a settler farm must needs always be a severe struggle with nature, an the margin of profit is never too great. Farming is proverbiall

a hazardous industry, and it is asserted that the development of Canada, and the rapid increase of the population of peasant proprietors which is her backbone, depend on the expansion of an adequate market for foodstuffs and natural products; thus open trade with the States of the American Union is represented as a short cut from fierce competition to an assured and well-established position, a leap from comparative poverty to certain wealth. Small wonder that the prospect is alluring, and that Reciprocity was strongly backed in the Western States. The memorial presented to Mr. Borden on the 8th of July by the Grain Growers' Association at Somerset, Manitoba, concisely presents the views of their party. It is as follows: 'We exceedingly regret your expressed opposition to the Reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States now before Parliament for ratification. One of the greatest needs of the farmers to-day is a stable market for their products. In the matter of stock-raising and the bye-products of the farm, on account of uncertain markets Western farmers have made little or no profits. Many have ceased to raise stock. Due to the very large immigration the output of wheat and other grains in a very short period of time will be very large, hence the necessity of providing all possible markets for our No. 1 hard wheat, so as to maintain the premium that is now paid for it because of its value for blending purposes and the demand for it by millers for mixing with softer wheats, both in America and the British market. Most of us live close to the boundary line and have noted for several years that farmers south of the line receive more for their grain and other products than we do on the north of it. We demand that this artificial barrier be removed. We claim that we should not be debarred from selling our products in any country that is willing to pay the best price for them. It is an insult to our intelligence to say that such trade would make us less loyal to the Mother Country. We claim that free access to the markets of the United States would increase the price of our grain and open a more stable market for our farm products, &c. We also regret that you have not supported any increase of the British Preference. Great Britain opens her markets to our produce and we desire that Canada should open her markets to the manufactures of Great Britain.' In conclusion the memorial expressed disapproval of the election being held prior to redistribution.

It is much easier to advocate the abolition or reduction of taxation than to explain how the resulting loss of revenue should be made good, nor have the advocates of Reciprocity been able to give a satisfactory solution of this problem. Direct taxation is extremely unpopular in the Dominions, and might be impossible to

levy on the farmers. But with growing importance and growing responsibilities the Dominion must have a rising revenue. If reciprocity is adopted a sharp conflict may be expected between the Free Traders in the East and the Western farmers, particularly if the latter are disappointed in their expectation of a rapid access of wealth. But the question of ways and means is but one of the vital considerations which beset Canadian statesmen in dealing with their Tariff. Mr. Borden, and Mr. McBride the Premier of British Columbia, who lead the Conservative Opposition, contend that the proposed change is foolish, having regard to the unexampled prosperity of the Dominion under the existing system. Let well alone, they say. The protective system which was to some degree forced upon them by the hostility of their Southern neighbours during the last century, has agreed with them so remarkably well that it is sheer folly to pull the plant up by the roots in order to test its progress. Enormous expenditure has been incurred in building up a railway system, the prosperity of which depends upon its east to west traffic. Commercial union with the United States must divert that traffic mainly to lines running north and south; the railway system of Canada will inevitably fall into the position of a mere annex to the railways of the States, and at the same time a mighty pillar of political independence and nationality will have been undermined.

The dislocation of the present system of trade and transit, however, is not the worst of the commercial consequences of Reciprocity which its opponents fear. They point to the evils of overgrowth in the Republic, the abuses of the huge trusts, the inordinate influence of money to secure every sort of political advantage and commercial privilege. They assert that Canada will be swamped by American dollars and smothered by American influence. It is inevitable that closer relations must develop between the two countries, and it is equally inevitable that the one whose population and organised wealth is ten times greater than the other must obtain and exert a paramount authority in the proposed partnership. It is recalled that America's attitude to Canada in the past has been icy indifference or actual hostility. Whence, then, this sudden generosity and benevolence? Without doubt Mr. Taft is correct in proclaiming that Canada is at the parting of the ways and will speedily be compelled to choose between Continentalism and Imperialism. When, and if, the Tory party regain power in Britain, their first care must be to tighten the ties of Empire by a system of Imperial Preference, and it is the conviction of this danger to American ascendency which has inspired the action of the President's Cabinet. So obviously is he correct in his forecast that his policy has regained

for him the confidence and popularity which he had lost, for the vast majority of Americans realise the importance of the issue. The Canadian Conservatives ask when have American politicians ever granted advantages in a bargain? When, indeed, have they ever made a fair deal? And what is the sense of dealing with them at all in the present instance? If commercial ends are all they seek, and it is in reality only foodstuffs and raw materials which they crave for, then ere long the United States will of necessity and for their own advantage concede that which they now attempt to use for an exchange. But the oratory of American politicians has made it abundantly clear that annexation is the ultimate goal in view, nor has the conduct of the Washington Government in its relations with its partner States in the past, with Britain and with the States of the attempted Confederacy, proved the advantage of close connexion or combined sovereignty. On the other hand, Canada, as an autonomous Dominion of the British Empire, has flourished exceedingly, and is progressing with vast strides unfettered by any restrictions whatever. If it be alleged that the bond of empire exposes Canada to the risk of European war, it must be remembered as a set-off that the Empire also provides a great security for development, and that Continentalism will not be without its peculiar perils and embarassments.

Such are the principal arguments which have been warmly discussed throughout Canada for the last five months, and at present divide the two political parties; and it must at once be conceded that if the opponents of Reciprocity are right the dangers they foresee are far more important than the advantages claimed by its supporters. The character of Canadian nationality is perhaps threatened even if Canadian independence is really secure. It is, however, by no means certain that the danger of annexation by the United States is a mere bogey. Canadians are not averse to reminding their British fellow-subjects of the priceless value of their territory, and its position in the world as a seat of empire and breeding-ground for a hardy and energetic population. The fact has not escaped the notice of others, so that if Canadians intend to hold what they have got, it behoves them to tread warily. The people of the United States, it is true, are on the whole pacifically inclined and are much more intent as a nation on making money than on fitting themselves to carry on a dangerous and difficult war, but the fact has not prevented them from attacking their neighbours four times in the last century. The bond of the English language did not save the Southern States in 1861, nor would it have saved Canada any time from 1812 to 1911 had not the resources of the British Empire been looming in the background. In a country of

eighty million inhabitants there is always a warlike minority, and in certan respects the United States are better equipped for war than the other English-speaking nations. Unlimited wealth is available to raise troops and wage war; the vital parts of the Republic are not easy to attack, and in a prolonged war the great resources of the States would probably succeed as in 1865. Moreover, the Americans have an excellent military University in West Point, and in several of their civil colleges a thorough military training is given to a considerable proportion of the youth of the country. As the event of the Civil War proved, America can, in an emergency, find a considerable proportion of young men capable of doing the duty of officers; on the other hand, Canada has at present a very poor military organisation, even compared with her neighbours. The British Fleet is nowadays unable to roam far from the North Sea, and the British Army, as at present organised and led, is in no condition to undertake any serious war. If, therefore, the independence of Canada were attacked by force it would be exposed to very grave peril.

It is probably true, however, that no attempt will be made to annex Canada by force, though this is not altogether so certain as some pacifist professors assume; the danger to Canadian nationality, character, and sovereignty, seems to lie in the 'peaceful' penetration of their grasping neighbours, backed rather by money than by force. The Americans believe they can buy anything, and if they secure Reciprocity with Canada their convictions on this point will be powerfully fortified. The lack of natural obstacles along the Canadian frontier makes it all the more necessary to preserve the artificial barrier of the tariff, which at any rate tends to link the Canadian provinces with one another, instead of inducing them to lean upon the American States nearest to them. Even if a certain sacrifice of present prosperity is the price which must be paid for independence, it is well worth paying. Nothing worth having is to be got without sacrifice and exertion in this world, and the Canadians may rest assured that they will not be left in undisturbed possession of the richest and fairest territory on the world's surface unless they show themselves determined, at any cost and at any sacrifice, to retain it for themselves and their descendants.

It is probably true that Commerce has taken the place of War as a creating and maintaining cause of modern States. A modern nation is primarily a trading community; not an association for waging war. War is only an incident in national life, though it seems as unlikely as ever to be altogether eliminated. It occurs at far greater intervals of time than a century ago, and its result, more decisive than

ever before, tends also to be decided by the work and character of the belligerent during the peaceful years which precede the outbreak. But the fact of Commerce being supreme in the interests of a nation renders it perilous in the extreme to loosen the bonds which unite the people of one country in commercial interests. A people which seeks to exploit classes of its own folk in preference to combining for all trade purposes in its commercial dealings with the rest of the world, has entered upon the broad and easy road which has led so many flourishing States to national disintegration. The international situation of Canada, stretching as it does at present across a continent with hardly more than a line of posts, is critical in the extreme. There are all the materials for rearing a mighty nation, perhaps the mightiest nation on earth, but until the childish body is set, until increased maturity has supplied enough vigour to resist hostile influences and hostile pressure, the rulers of Canada should prefer cautious and tried methods to indulgence in fiscal experiments, however tempting they may appear.

The rôle of British politicians during this critical period has been pitiful enough. The Tory party during its long tenure of power was unable to make up its mind to any overt act towards converting the loosely-knit confederacy of Britain and her Colonies into an empire. When at last the leaders of the party committed themselves to supporting the cause of Imperial Preference, the British democracy tired of their ineffectual and sterile rule entrusted its government to the Liberal exponents of Free Trade at home and fiscal separation within the Empire. The agitation for Tariff Reform has so far had no other effect on the fortunes of the British Empire than to rouse the rulers of the United States to decisive action before it is too late to separate the fiscal and political interests of Canada and Britain. A student of politics must be quite blind who cannot discern that separation final and complete between the British and Canadian Governments is consciously or unconsciously the darling project of the Cabinets both of Washington and Berlin. The greatest, richest, and most powerfully organised and armed nations of the world are bent on accomplishing this result, and the principal obstacles at present opposed to their policy are the Royal Navy and the Canadian tariff. Should one of these hindrances be removed the strain may become unduly great on the other.

Even at the present stage of development reached by the Canadian nation and its relations with the Mother Country, the task of separating their destinies would be quite hopeless if they made a moderately good use of their resources by combining for fiscal purposes, and by organising their land forces in such a

manner that these forces could be collected in adequate numbers in one theatre of war, and under capable commanders. So great is the prize which is within reach of a combined British and Canadian Empire that it is extremely unlikely to be obtained without a challenge from one of the jealous, powerful, and vigilant rivals who are resolved to snatch it from our people. But the gaining of that prize should be the first object of all those who profess to believe in British ideals and British statesmanship, for it would for many a long year put the people of the United Kingdom and the great Dominion beyond the risk of external hostility, free to pursue in peace their own destiny by their own chosen methods. If this is to be the aim of British statesmen, then there is no time to be lost on our side in following up the policy which binds Canada to Great Britain, and across the Atlantic in jealously resisting all proposals which threaten to impair the vitality and integrity of the rising fortunes of the Canadian nation.

CECIL BATTINE.

SMALL OWNERSHIP: NEW LIGHT ON OLD DIFFICULTIES

THERE is no royal road to Peasant Proprietary. The path is beset with many objections and difficulties, which he who would reach the end of the journey must grapple with and face. Some of these are here set forth—not men of straw, put up only to be knocked down, but real criticisms often and gravely put forward, solid obstacles which confront the advocate of a policy of small ownership.

One criticism often seen is concerned with that most important point—the price of the land. The purchase price of small parcels of land, we are told, is so high, so much in excess of the average price, which must be assumed to represent the actual value, that the small owner sets out with a heavy financial burden, and is handicapped in the race from the start. This argument, which is mainly advanced by those who disbelieve altogether in *la petite culture*, and who, despite British and foreign experience, still cling to farming on the grand scale, so far as it is good at all is as valid against small tenancy as against small ownership. In the Isle of Axholme, for instance, Miss Jebb gave the following figures as the average rent of land: For small plots of half to one acre of good land, up to 4*l.*; for small plots up to five acres, 2*l.* to 3*l.*; for larger plots up to 2*l.* an acre; while the large farms in the district are often not more than 15*s.* to 1*l.* an acre. The small tenant, therefore, just as much as the small owner, has to face the high cost of the land he works. That he does so as a rule successfully is overlooked by the authors of the criticism, but it is full of significance to those who look to new methods for the regeneration of British agriculture. In *Rural England* Mr. Rider Haggard invariably describes as most prosperous and hopeful those districts where small farming predominates, a fact entirely at variance with the theory that the inverse ratio in the size and cost of holdings is fatal to small cultivation. The small holder can pay a higher price, because he can make more out of the land. Were it possible to make a large comparison of the net profits of small and large farms, we should probably be amazed at the difference in the income per acre.

But there is no reason why, because the small man can pay a high price, that price should not be made as moderate as possible. Our task is not to see just how much the small tenant or small owner can bear without breaking, but to place him on the land on the best possible terms. To do this we must proceed by means of colonisation. Of all ways of putting a man on the land the worst is that of carving out an isolated holding for him. It is not fair to the man from whose farm the choice bit is taken, nor does it offer the best chance of success to the man to whom it is given. Being a choice bit, either from soil or position, it is naturally expensive, the deprived farmer having to be compensated; and being isolated, perhaps surrounded by quite large holdings, the new cultivator is unable to bring co-operation to his aid, and without co-operation the small holder, though he may exist, cannot, except under very special circumstances, become, as we desire him to become, a national asset.

County Councils are bombarded with applications of this kind, and, because they do not satisfy the applicants, are loaded with obloquy. As a matter of fact, in the majority of cases it is fortunate that they cannot, or will not, move in the matter. The holding would not be created under the best economic conditions, nor is the man who requires to have the land brought to his door, instead of being ready to go to the land, the sort of man who is likely to make a good fight in the undoubtedly stern struggle for life which awaits the small cultivator. If a man will be content with nothing but the very best field of a very eligible farm, and must have that within a few minutes' walk of his residence; if he is not willing to move to another parish, or even to another shire, in search of a career, then he is not the kind of man who is going to raise British agriculture from a Slough of Despond.

As a system of land settlement colonisation alone can succeed. A large estate, and there are plenty coming into the market, can be bought at a wholesale price, and can be resold in small farms at the lowest possible figure. Among the farmers thus installed on the most favourable terms, community of conditions must inevitably beget community of interest, from which the steps to sympathy and co-operation are short and easy. Thus the small farmers so created will set forth with the highest prospects. But the farmer who starts as an owner, will have a lighter weight to carry than the tenant. He will be free from those charges for management and the like which authorities, such as Mr. Trustram Eve and Mr. Strutt, declare kill the idea of letting. Such charges frequently amount to 10 per cent.; in some districts they reach the figure of 4*s*. per acre, a heavy burden which is made all the heavier because the tenant, in paying the charge, is diminishing his own freedom of action in the cultivation of his

farm. He is, in fact, paying for the curtailment of his own liberty.

There are other expenses connected with land settlement which affect owners and tenants equally severely—those incurred for the erection of cottages and farm buildings, which do undoubtedly constitute a real difficulty. There is this redeeming point about it, however—that it is to a large extent artificial, and is, therefore, capable of diminution. Miss Jebb, in her book *Small Holdings*, draws attention to one of the causes of this difficulty. 'In regard to small holdings and capital expenditure it is well known that one of the difficulties in creating small holdings is the expense of the buildings, which cannot be put up at such a price as will afford a profitable investment to the landlord, viewed from the strictly commercial standpoint. Here again it is because he wishes to put up a substantial enough building not only to last his lifetime without undue repairs, but still to be an asset for his heirs. He also likes to see good buildings on his estate, a shoddy erection being an eyesore on a well-managed property.' Miss Jebb goes on to point out that in many cases where large farms are not paying the landlord for what he has spent on them, he is precluded from cutting them up because his money has been spent on the large farmstead, and he has none to spend on the smaller ones. Here the private landlord cannot create small holdings, because he cannot get a paying rent. The County Councils are probably less swayed than the Squire by æsthetic considerations, but they, too, naturally go in for substantial buildings, for which they charge full interest to their tenants. In both these cases the tenant suffers, but he suffers mainly because he is a tenant and not an owner. For Miss Jebb, who is a convinced opponent of small ownership, goes on to show that small owners are spared much of this expense. 'The Dane on his freehold (and in some places the Englishman when he has one) puts up at little expense buildings efficient for his immediate purpose, and if in the long run they tumble down, he has meanwhile made his profit out of them, and is free to march with the times and make new arrangements for new requirements.' Here, therefore, we find that under small ownership one of the obstacles to the subdivision of land is removed or considerably lowered. The tenant is saddled with buildings which he does not want; the owner can build to his own requirements.

But here again even the owner is met with a difficulty. There is a growing tendency for the Administrative Authority to prescribe the conditions of existence, compliance with which imposes additional expense upon the individual. The underlying principle of this policy is humane, proper, and necessary, but its application runs the risk of becoming pedantic. The bye-laws and regulations

of local authorities with regard to buildings are an instance of thi tendency. Conceived in the interests of the public health an safety, they are frequently enforced with a certain Pharisaic pre cision and rigour which is not demanded by local condition Admitted that such regulations cannot be too precise and con sistent, in rural areas, where buildings are either entirely isolate or are grouped in very small numbers, greater elasticity migh surely be permitted. So long as sanitary laws are not violat the desire and means of an individual might be consulted mor than they are at present, with the result that the financial burde could be materially lightened to the small owners.

It is probable that exaggerated ideas of the requirements c a small cultivator have been generated by the lavish expenditur of wealthy private owners on cottages and homesteads. Under commercial system of agriculture fashions in cottage buildings wi have to be modified, and can be modified without loss of comfor to the occupier. Mr. St. Loe Strachey has built two semi-detache cottages, containing a kitchen, which is also the living-room, thre bedrooms and offices, at a cost of 300*l*. These cottages, which ar built of concrete blocks, 18 inches by 9 × 9, are substantia edifices, plain, but not unpleasing to the eye. If detached, course, such dwellings could not be erected for 150*l*. apiece, b under a system of colonisation, the cottages of adjacent holding could be built on the semi-detached principle. In Germany, tha land of practical method, economies in housing are effected t grouping the dwellings of the small owners. The homesteads c the central holdings are grouped in a hamlet, while those of th outlying farms are either single or arranged in groups of three c four. This has been found more convenient, as well as cheaper than the system of having each in its own holding. It will thu be seen that though the cost of installation constitutes a difficulty it is one which is partly artificial and which, when inevitable, ca be materially reduced.

Another objection frequently made to ownership is debt. Th owner, it is said, having greater security to offer than a tenant can borrow money more readily, and will yield to the temptation— 'The sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done.' It wa debt, it is urged, which destroyed the old yeomen and freeholder. The peasant proprietors of the Continent are staggering alon miserably under their burden of mortgage. Let us save ou people from a like fate, by refusing them ownership and so de priving them of the power to borrow. The premises which lea to this conclusion are plausible, but they are not axiomatic. The are liable to considerable modification according as we ask for wha purpose a loan is raised, and on what terms it is raised. Beyon question indebtedness was a pregnant cause of the disappearanc

of the freeholders; beyond doubt the peasant proprietors of the Continent were sunk in a hideous indebtedness some thirty or forty years ago. But that was not due to the fact that the way to borrowing was too easy: it was because there were not sufficient facilities for borrowing on commercial terms. They had the credit, but it was dear credit. The local lawyer, the village Shylock, the gombeen man—these were the sources of rural credit. Under these auspices the ruin of peasant proprietary was inevitable, and it would have been as complete on the Continent as in England, but for the discovery of co-operation. Wherever Schulze-Delitzsch or Raiffeisen set his foot usury vanished, and with its disappearance the peasant owner lived again.

Co-operative credit, however, is mainly personal credit; it is not confined to owners as are mortgages, and consequently it is the facility which ownership gives to raising money on mortgages that is most often quoted against the system. The picture of Continental freeholders crushed under mortgages is painted in lurid colours, and persons accustomed to the British mortgage system regard the picture with sympathy. But the British and Continental systems are not the same. In this country a mortgage is infinitely more burdensome, in that it is for an interminate period and is not repayable by instalments. The farmer, whose margin of profit is small, cannot for some years save enough to pay off any considerable part of the loan, and an ordinary lender will not accept payment by means of a small sinking fund. Hence the farmer has either to cripple himself to clear off the debt, or he has to go on with the menace of foreclosure hanging over him like a sword of Damocles. When it will fall he does not know, but he does know that it will most likely fall when money is tight or any rumours of his being in trouble get about. When the loan is called in he is, in all probability, unable to meet it, or only able to do so at great inconvenience. This arises from the fact that in this country mortgages are regarded as investments for money, and not as a method of turning over money. On the Continent it is different. There there are financial institutions, Land Banks, whose business consists in advancing money on mortgages, given for a definite period, repayable by means of a sinking fund, and which cannot be called in so long as the payments are kept up. The farmer is saved from anxiety as to the loan being called in, his annual payment is moderate, and he is supported by the knowledge that each year his indebtedness is being reduced.

This difference between the British and Continental system, which the formation of a National Land Bank would eliminate, is to be borne in mind when the bogey of debt is held up as a warning against small ownership. And it may be asked, Why

should debt be considered so dreadful when incurred for carrying on the business of agriculture? All other forms of trade and business are carried on by means of credit, then why not agriculture? M. de Méline, in his delightful book, *Le Retour à la Terre*, discusses this question with great acumen. So far from thinking that ownership leads to reckless borrowing, he laments the fact that so much of the funds provided for agricultural credit has remained unemployed, and deplores the mental attitude of the peasants who shrink from an agricultural credit bank as though from the Serpent of the Temptation. To disabuse them of their timid prejudices against borrowing, he says, they must be taught that credit is an instrument of economic progress necessary for rich and poor alike.

Something may be conceded to those who use the argument of debt against small ownership. To call a number of small owners into existence under the present most imperfect system of agricultural credit would probably be to doom many, if not most, of them to extinction. They would find it almost impossible to borrow—and credit they must have—on terms giving them reasonable prospects of security and success, and not making their lives a burden to them. But that is not an argument against small ownership; it is an argument against our system of agricultural credit—it is an argument for the development of village credit societies, and for the creation of a National Land Bank.

Yet another objection is made to small ownership—that the people do not want it. This argument has been advanced so often —there is hardly a speech against peasant proprietary in which it does not appear—that it has acquired a quite fictitious value. Yet what does it amount to, after all? If the people do not want to become owners of the land, they will not buy it, and no one wants to make them buy it. That may be a warning against expecting too much of a Land Purchase Act, but it is not an argument against passing one. Because, as a matter of fact, no one has got complete warrant for saying either that the people do not want to become owners of their land or that they do. The presumption is that they do, because the desire for ownership is paramount in all other countries; it is a natural instinct, and it shows itself in Englishmen when they go to the Colonies. That being so, and human nature being much the same everywhere, it is a natural presumption that the desire for ownership exists in Great Britain as it exists everywhere else, and as it existed in England in former times. That circumstances have enforced the repression of the instinct is certain; that it is being artificially repressed now is admitted by so high an authority as Miss Jebb, but it does not lie with those who repress the desire to say that it does not exist. It is a fact that less than 3 per cent. of the applications for land under the Act of 1908 have been for purchase; but those who trot out this

vel-worn argument entirely fail to pay attention to the equally rman rejoinder—that the terms of purchase are prohibitive, and, design, have been left prohibitive by the framers of the Act. e argument that the people prefer tenancy to ownership can ve weight only when the free and unfettered choice of both is ven to them.

Here we reach the crux of the whole question—the provision the purchase money. The object is to enable a man to become e owner of a holding without trenching upon such capital as he ay possess which is required for its cultivation. It is frequently ged against purchase that it is better for a man to keep his capital the development of his farm than to sink it in the purchase of nd. This is absolutely true, if these are the only alternatives, d it is to meet this objection that the advocates of purchase have opted the policy of advancing to the purchaser the whole of the pital required for the purchase of the farm, if he be unable to nd any part of it himself. It is objected to this proposal that it commercially unsound, and that it is taking an unjustifiable risk accept a mortgage on any property up to 100 per cent. of its alue. Now, this very thing is being done in Ireland, in Poland, nd in some cases in Russia as well, without loss and even with rofit in the case of the Polish Provinces. To this it is answered hat these cases are not strictly parallel with ours. In Ireland the urchase price is fixed on judicial rents which are admittedly low, nd the tenant-right is a valuable asset. In Poland, Mr. H. W. Volff points out, patriotism is a controlling factor which secures he success of the policy. But patriotism, though it can effect much, cannot overcome economic law. A man may be content to ose money for the sake of his country, but in Poland he does not ose money; land purchase is a profitable business which enables he Land Banks to pay very substantial dividends. If advances to urchasers are to be regulated by ordinary mortgage terms they hould never exceed two-thirds of the value, whereas in Denmark 90 per cent. is advanced to purchasers under the Act of 899; in Austria-Hungary, 95 per cent. is advanced in some cases, nd in others 80 per cent., with remission of land taxes and house uties for a period, and a moratorium in repayment of the principal, which makes the benefit to the purchaser much greater. Clearly, therefore, it is recognised that in the case of land settlement undertaken for national purposes the rigid limits of commercial usage cannot be observed. And if the dictates of national necessity justify this on the Continent, in Great Britain they are nfinitely stronger. Abroad the problem is one of rearranging the ural population and retaining it on the land; in this country, unhappily, it assumes the form of re-peopling the land. We have, herefore, to deal with persons who have not had the opportunities

of saving money which the small holders of the Continent have, and we are forced to make the way to the land as easy and as attractive as is consistent with the utmost limits of safety. In Ireland, under Mr. Birrell's Act, those limits have been made very wide. It is a sufficient reply to those who say that the Act of 1903 is not to be quoted in support of a proposal to give similar privileges to British applicants, to point out that under the Act of 1909 the whole of the purchase money may be advanced to men who are not tenants, or, as they may be called, landless men, or settlers.

Mr. Jesse Collings has so far deferred to the objection just mentioned as to draw a distinction between sitting tenants and settlers in some of the proposals he has made. To the former he would advance the whole of the purchase money up to a certain limit of price; to the latter he would only advance 90 per cent. This distinction, which appears on the face of it not unreasonable, becomes less essential when we really examine the nature of the transaction which is involved in land purchase. It is, of course, clear that the advance of the whole of the purchase money to a sitting tenant is unattended with any appreciable risk if the terms of the loan be reasonable. A man who has cultivated the same holding for some years, and who is able to show that he has cultivated it with success, need not be expected to fail just because his annual payments are in the form of a terminable annuity and not a perpetual rent. To adjust the annual payment by which a tenant can purchase his holding so that it shall not be in excess of what he formerly paid in rent, it is only necessary to extend or shorten the period over which these payments can be spread. Thus, suppose the annual value of a property is 50*l.* and the purchase price 1000*l.*, the number of years' purchase is twenty. The 1000*l.* could be repaid in thirty-five years at 3½ per cent. interest and 1½ per cent. sinking fund, making a total of 50*l.* per annum. On the other hand, if the price of the freehold were 1000*l.* and the annual value 40*l.*, the period required for purchase would be sixty years at 3½ per cent. interest and ½ per cent. sinking fund. The tenant would therefore be only called upon to pay the same amount which he had been in the habit of paying previously. He might fail to do so, but in that case the Land Bank or the State, whichever had advanced him the money, would have this advantage—that his interest in the land would be an asset against which they could claim for any arrears of his instalments. The risk, therefore, is certainly no greater, and is probably less, than is at the present time being incurred by County Councils. Take as an example the Sealyham Estate in Pembrokeshire, where the tenants were under notice to quit owing to the estate being offered for sale, and where the County Council pur-

chased the estate in order to enable them to remain on their farms. The tenants are still there, but their rents have been raised by the County Council, to cover costs of collection, management and the sinking fund for the extinction of the purchase price, from 5 to 10 per cent. If any one of these tenants were to fail, the land would be thrown upon the hands of the County Council. If it has been 'let down' by the tenant, it will have to be re-let at a lower rent, or the County Council will have to cultivate it itself, in which case it will be almost certain to make a loss on the transaction. Now, if the tenants had bought the land outright, they would be paying at the present time a less sum per annum to buy the land than they are paying in the form of rent. By so much would their financial stability be increased. And if, in the course of years, one of them should fail, the Land Bank or the State would have his interest in the land as a set-off against his indebtedness. And it is not to be ignored that the man who has bought the land acquires thereby a greater attachment to the soil, and an incentive to industry, which would add appreciably to the security of the Land Bank or the State.

The case of settlers is different. Here the applicant for land has not given his 'proofs,' as has the sitting tenant. He is, to a greater extent, to be taken upon trust, and by so much, it may be argued, he should be required to deposit some of the purchase money as a guarantee against loss. But, upon the other hand, he is probably just the man who cannot do it without depriving himself of necessary working capital. A successful sitting tenant might be able to put up some of the purchase price; probably the majority of settlers would not be able to do so. And yet, if our grave problem is to be solved, if rural depopulation is to be stopped, if the land is to be re-peopled, we must bring on to it men who have not got land at present. Can that be done by advancing the whole of the purchase money without incurring an unjustifiable risk? I think it can. And for this reason—that there does not appear to be any greater risk in buying land and re-selling it to settlers than there is in the practice at present adopted by the County Councils of buying the land and re-letting it. As has been just said, if the tenants of the County Council fail, the Council is almost certain to be involved in loss. If the men who have bought from the County Council fail, the loss—if there be loss at all—must be less because of the purchaser's interest in the land. It is quite certain that the annuity paid by a purchaser will be less than the rent at present charged by the County Councils. Taking certain typical cases from the Report of the Board of Agriculture, where estates have been bought and parcelled out, it appears that the income derived by the County Council varies from 4½ to 5½ per cent. on their outlay. The purchase

annuity would be calculated on a basis of 4 per cent., and, by the difference, the position of the purchaser will be better than the position of the tenant. Mr. Trustram Eve has pointed out that the heavy management charges on the County Council tenants is killing to the idea of tenancy. It is therefore presumable that, if men can succeed under the present scale of rents, they would be still more likely to succeed under lighter terminal annuities, and by so much the risk would be diminished.

In order, however, to reduce the risk of loss as far as possible, and to bring these transactions more nearly into ordinary commercial line, various expedients have been proposed which are worthy of a careful examination. In the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act of 1885, any person who was willing to secure the repayment of an advance made by the Land Commission to a purchasing tenant, might deposit with the Land Commission, as a guarantee deposit, any sum not less than one-fifth of the advance. If the guarantor were the landlord, he might provide the guarantee deposit by permitting the Land Commission to retain it out of the purchase money, and interest on the guarantee deposit was allowed at the rate of 3 per cent. Another proposal is that the Land Bank should pay 80 or 85 per cent. of the purchase money to the vendor, and should pay him interest on the balance until the payments of the purchaser had reached that margin. In the majority of cases it would probably be found that the vendors would be willing to accept such an arrangement as that. In practice it was found in Ireland that the guarantee deposit was not required, and the provision was omitted from subsequent Land Purchase Acts. I mention these proposals, not because I think that they are absolutely necessary, but as tending to assuage some searchings of conscience which some may feel at the idea of the whole of the purchase money being advanced.

In a recent discussion at the Surveyors' Institute, Mr. H. W. Wolff, who raised some of the objections which I have tried to answer, protested against the idea that the settler should receive the whole of the purchase price of his holding, and should be advanced his working capital as well. That, he said, would be extremely unbusinesslike, and added that he had never come across a case of such two-fold liberality. Now, in a Land Settlement Bill in Austria, special terms of colonisation are given in certain cases. These terms are as follows:

(1) The settlers need only put down 5 per cent. of the purchase money.

(2) They can borrow working capital from the Settlement Fund at easy rates.

(3) They can get from the Settlement Fund, in part or full, expenses of trans-settlement.

Here, then, is a case where the State advances 95 per cent. of the purchase money, working capital, and certain expenses. So that it is not correct to say that no instance of such two-fold liberality is to be found. But that point need not be pressed, because it is not contemplated that the State or the National Land Bank, whichever is the instrument of land purchase, should lend the whole of the purchase money and working capital as well. The settler would, doubtless, have some capital of his own. Mr. Christopher Turnor, in his book *Land Problems and National Welfare*, says that the savings of agricultural labourers are often much larger than is generally imagined. And it is to be remembered that the tenant who takes land from the County Council must be provided with working capital just as much as if he bought the land. But in cases where the small owner—just as may happen in the case of the small tenant—requires to borrow working capital, he will not, and indeed cannot, obtain it on the security of his land, which he has already fully charged, but will require to obtain it from co-operative Credit Societies on his own personal security, in which his character becomes an asset. The point to be made here is this : that the distinction between the tenant of a public body and the man who purchases land through the medium of the National Land Bank is a distinction of name and not of condition. Viewed from this standpoint, no greater risk is involved in purchase than in tenancy, so far as the Authority is concerned, whereas to the purchaser the burden, and therefore the risk, is less than to the tenant.

An argument frequently brought against small ownership is, that it is futile to establish a peasant proprietary because it will be ephemeral. The small holdings, we are told, will, in process of time, be bought up and amalgamated into great estates, and the process of re-distribution will have to begin all over again. It has happened before and it will happen in the future. Those who argue thus forget the agricultural evolution which has been in progress during the last thirty years. The pressure of the competition of the New World has forced new methods upon European agriculture. The tendency is steadily towards intensive culture, and intensive culture enforces the distribution of the land in many hands. Even in the United States, the era of large farms is approaching its end, and the era of intensive culture is looming in sight. Mr. J. J. Hill, one of the shrewdest economic thinkers on the American Continent, has drawn serious attention to the wastefulness of the present system of agriculture on the great scale, and predicts that the day is near at hand when the necessity of providing its own food-supply will lead to the break-up of the great estates. But if in the United States, if in America, the era of intensive culture looms in sight, in Europe it has arrived. Even

in this country the tendency is towards small farms. And it is to be remembered that the natural tendency towards small cultivation is accelerated by the development of co-operation, which gives to an aggregate of small men the strength of the capitalist, in addition to the productive power of the peasant cultivator. The European agriculturist, including the British, is, then, being driven to intensive culture by the competition of the New World. Intensive culture is only possible on farms of limited area. So soon as they become grouped into large aggregates, the productivity of the land is diminished, and the capacity to strive against foreign competition is reduced.

Moreover, under intensive culture the value of the land becomes enormously enhanced. The countryside becomes more populous; with a larger population there is a larger demand for farms, with the result that the price of land steadily appreciates. Whoever, then, would build up a large estate, as men did in England sixty years ago, would have to buy the land at the price of intensive cultivation, and would have to work it for the profits of cultivation on a large scale. Such a bargain would probably be disastrous, and for this reason alone the amalgamation of small farms is not to be feared. Again, there is nothing in present conditions to tempt a man to create a large landed property. The tendency is rather in the other direction; those who possess estates are, for causes which need not be discussed, hastening to get rid of them to an extent which is causing a good deal of embarrassment and apprehension to their tenants. So far, then, from apprehending that the creation of a peasant proprietary would be labour lost because the small farms would be rapidly merged in larger ones, my fear would be rather in the opposite direction—that, with the increasing value of land, there might be excessive sub-division, as is to be seen notably in France and Belgium. But even that does not present itself as a serious danger. Our laws of inheritance do not, like the laws of some other countries, tend to sub-division. The habits of our race do not make for overcrowding at home. To our people emigration does not wear the formidable guise which it presents to the French peasantry; and therefore, while it is quite possible that here and there a holding may be sub-divided, and that in perhaps more numerous cases two or three holdings may be joined together, I cannot see anything in our present conditions which would lead us to fear that a system of small ownership, once established, would not endure.

Another objection to small ownership, which indeed may equally be urged against small tenancy—that there are areas in which it would be doomed to failure, rests on the mistaken idea that it is proposed to carve up the whole of the country into

small farms. To carry out such a policy would be impossible; to attempt it would be foolish. To every district and class of soil appertains its own distinctive agricultural method—the form of cultivation which is most convenient and profitable. On the moorlands and wide tracts of arid downs, suitable for sheep, small cultivation finds no place. The rich pastures and the wheat-growing districts of England would probably be employed to the best advantage in larger holdings. Such matters will be regulated by economic laws, but only if they have fair play. Experience can only teach its full and real lesson when our agrarian system is so extended and varied as to make it full and real. When the small cultivator has as easy access to the land as the large farmers, then, and then only, will British agriculture be directed by scientific law.

But there is a common, though mistaken idea, that peasant proprietary is only possible under exceptionally favourable conditions of soil, aspect and geographical position. No doubt these conditions assist the small owner, but it is not at all certain that they are so essential to his success as in the case of the large cultivator. In *Land and Labour Lessons from Belgium* Mr. Rowntree points out that of the ten arrondissements which have the highest agricultural land values, no less than nine are situated in Flanders, which has been thus described by M. Emile de Laveleye: 'The soil of Flanders hardly permits of the natural growth of heather and furze. It is the worst soil in all Europe; sterile sand like that of La Campine and of Brandenburgh.

Similar illustrations may readily be found elsewhere. Eastern Prussia is largely a region of barren waste and moorland, but under an organised system of Land Settlement it is being brought into productivity, with a considerable increase in rural population and live stock wherever small ownership has been established, and with an infinitesimally small percentage of failures among the small owners. Writing in Despatch 188, Commercial 1906, Sir Francis Bertie thus reports of France:

> 'Large regions exist in France, in which large properties would never pay, where the land yields its full return, thanks to the individual and minute care given to it by the proprietor, and in which the peasant proprietor earns 10 per cent. on his capital, where the tenant farmer or Metayer could not extract more than 3 per cent.'

We may find the like evidence nearer home, cited by Miss Jebb in her valuable work *Small Holdings*. Near Evesham she found a farm of very heavy clay land, on which two farmers had failed, which had been let out in small lots for asparagus growing, with such success that it was soon found to be the best policy to break up other farms as they fell vacant, so that land which formerly let at 7*s*. 6*d*. to 17*s*. an acre now fetches 30*s*

to 8l. In Cornwall she found men who had converted land covered with bracken and furze and stones into highly profitable farms. One man had thirty-nine acres of land, which he found very poor and stony—from a photograph given of it, a desert not unlike the African Karoo. When she wrote he had nineteen head of cattle, made a pound of butter a day, grew good crops of oats, cabbage, potatoes and mangolds, made 20l. a year clear profit on poultry, went in largely for pigs, and 'seemed to be prosperous on a holding of such poor land and in such an exposed position that not many larger farmers would think it worth cultivating at the rent (1l. an acre) he was paying.' She notes that the crops on these small holdings 'afforded a strong contrast to those in the immediate vicinity, where the land was occupied by large farmers with very different results.' It would appear, therefore, that really poor land demands small cultivation for success more than good.

Nor is the importance of geographical position as great as is sometimes represented. The development of light railways and motor traffic has brought all but a very few districts in close touch with the markets. Co-operation can relieve the small man from the difficult, often impossible, task of finding a market for his goods; it reduces the cost of transport and eliminates the middleman's profits. Of course, a man who works in close proximity to a large town has some advantage over the man who works further afield. But the advantage is not quite as great as it appears on the surface, when the higher price of the land is borne in mind, and the effect of facilities of transport and organisation in reducing the inequalities of distance.

Some minor difficulties remain, which can hardly be more than mentioned here, but which claim the attention of those who desire to make small ownership successful. It is essential that the land should be conveyed to the purchaser at the lowest possible cost. This is recognised on the Continent, where Land Banks receive privileges in the matter of taxation, and where transfer duties are either remitted or reduced. The recent increase in stamp duties is unpopular among the small owners and tenants in Ireland, as may readily be imagined, and the British Government might well assist a work of great national importance by making some concessions in the case of the transfer of small parcels of land, where every shilling is felt. There are, however, other expenses incidental to land transfer, with which the Government have no concern—the legal expenses involved in the establishment of title and conveyance to the purchaser free of all liens. These charges will in time be reduced, as land is parcelled out under a system of registration, provided for in the Small Holdings Act of 1908, but at present they are considerable. The

only way, probably, in which they can be lightened to the small purchaser is by proceeding on the lines of colonisation. The cost of examining the title in the case of an estate of 5000 acres is no greater than in the case of any part of it, but the burden spread over many shoulders is infinitely less to each. It would, further, be necessary that, when it has not already been done, the tithe should be commuted before the installation of the small freeholders. The immediate financial result to the small owner might be but small, but he would have his liabilities amalgamated, and a cause of grumbling would be removed. There are some liabilities which are not susceptible of such treatment, such as rates, but such a subject is too large for consideration in this place. With a large increase of peasant proprietary, however, the question of rural rating will become of high importance, and will be presented with a weight of advocacy which it has not hitherto known.

It has not been possible in the limits of this article to do much more than sketch in outline the difficulties of small ownership, and the objections urged against it. That there are difficulties is not to be denied, but as other nations have overcome them, so may we. Even were the difficulties greater than they are, in this, as in all great movements, they must be dared, for this much is certain—our agricultural position is desperate.

GILBERT PARKER.

COPTS AND MUSLIMS IN EGYPT

Who are the Copts?

It is strange that such a question should really require an answer. But it is clear from the tenour of recent statements in the English Press that the common facts of Coptic history in the past, and the common elements of the Coptic position to-day in Egypt, are very little known in this country. One newspaper, for instance—perhaps the most widely-read of all—in a leading article tells its readers that 'the Mohammedan Conquest reduced the Copts to absolute slavery. Under British rule they have regained some of their ancient individuality, and have begun to assert their claim to a share in the administrative work of the country.' This is totally untrue. Egypt, after three years of strenuous resistance, was taken by treaty and not by force of arms: the Copts agreed to pay the poll-tax, and were guaranteed in return their civil liberty and their religion. They became a 'protected people,' and the whole machinery of the State remained in the hands of the Christians, as the Arab conquerors were quite incapable of managing the elaborate system of civil service administration which they found established by the growth of centuries. So strong proved the force of custom and tradition that this employment of the Copts lasted in some departments of Government up to the time of the British occupation, and is not yet ended; but one of the grievances of the Copts is precisely this, that under British government their share in the work of the civil service has been deliberately diminished, and an unfair preference has been shown for the Muslims, who have almost a monopoly of the higher offices.

So far is the truth removed from the story of that newspaper.

Take another case. One of the leading illustrated papers seems to think that the Copts are a little band of people like, shall we say, the Countess of Huntingdon's community. It published a page of sketches with the superscription 'The city of the Copts: the Sect's stronghold in Cairo'; and it figured among them a church which it called 'The Coptic church in the Coptic city in Cairo.' So the Copts are a sect, and they live in a city of their own in Cairo, and they possess a church! Truly a wonderful piece of information for a great London newspaper to give its readers.

It would be easy to add other examples, but these will suffice show that the Copts are a little misunderstood, and that a simple atement about them is justified.

It is commonly said that the Copts are by race descended from ie ancient Egyptians. This is sound as far as it goes, but only a art of the truth : for the saying would be almost as true of the ıajority of the fellahin, or tillers of the soil, who are mostly Copts y race though Muslim by religion. But the name Copt is now roperly confined to that section of the community which has tained its primitive Christianity, and not exchanged it for Iohammedanism. For the Coptic Church dates its foundation to ıe preaching of St. Mark, and it shows a continuous succession of 'atriarchs—the Patriarchs of Alexandria—from the first century f the Christian era down to the present day. At the Council of halcedon in 451 A.D. the Eastern Church was rent in twain by ne of those metaphysical subtleties over which the Easterns de- ghted to torture their understandings; and since that date the optic Church, like the Syrian, has remained what is called ionophysite. But it is quite a mistake to suppose that the term enotes any denial either of the humanity or of the divinity of hrist. The Monophysite theory is merely that the divine and uman natures were so united that they coalesced, and became ıe and indivisible. The Copts accept the Nicene Creed to the ıllest. They are therefore in point of doctrine virtually in unison, ıough not in formal union, with the great body of Eastern hristians : while in ritual and practice they have probably pre- erved more of the form and spirit of early Christianity than any ther church in the world.

At the Arab conquest of Egypt, as already stated, the Copts assed under the rule of Islam by a treaty which guaranteed them ı the possession of their religion and their churches, and promised ıem protection. They became what was technically known as *hl adh Dhimmah*, or People of Protection. They were known 'so to their Arab conquerors under another name—*Ahl al Kitab*, r People of the Book—*i.e.* people whose religion is founded on Ioly Writ as opposed to pagans.

The story of the relations between Christians and Muslims uring the period of 1270 years which has elapsed since the Con- uest, is naturally a somewhat chequered one. From the beginning ery great moral and social, and very great financial, pressure 'as put upon all Christians to change their religion, since by ırning Muslims they became equals and brothers of the con- uerors, instead of being subjects, and they escaped payment of e poll-tax. Moreover, the Christians were at all times liable to uffer from cruel extortion and persecution at the hands of irre- ponsible Arab rulers, under whose orders every kind of violent

outrage and ignominy was heaped upon the Christians, who were robbed and murdered, while their churches were plundered and destroyed. That some of the Christians went over to Mohammedanism in fear of their lives is far less wonderful than the fact that so large a part by their stubborn endurance were able to withstand the fires of persecution and to carry their faith through the flames scatheless.

But the two peoples could not have existed side by side so long in the same country unless there had been a considerable amount of friendly feeling between them. And there is plenty of evidence of this feeling in the Arabic and Coptic chronicles—evidence so striking that I may be pardoned for illustrating it by examples chosen from successive periods of history.

In the seventh century not only were the Christians not 'reduced to slavery' by the Conquest, but the command of the Prophet Mohammed was so well remembered by the Muslims that they promoted Christians to the very highest offices of State in Egypt. Thus in 670 A.D. the Governorship of Alexandria was held by a Christian, Theodore, who, strangely enough, was a Melkite, and therefore unfriendly to the Copts. Ten years later Theodore's son was Governor, but either an adherent of the Coptic faith or under Coptic influence. At the same time it was Coptic secretaries who administered the affairs of Alexandria; the Commissioner (Metawali) of Alexandria was a Copt; so was Theophanes, the Governor of Mariut, or Mareotis; and we read that Abd al Aziz, the Muslim Governor-General or Viceroy, appointed two Coptic secretaries of State 'over the whole land of Egypt and Mariut and Marakiah and Pentapolis,'—*i.e.* all Western Egypt and the region of Barca and Cyrene. A little later, about 705 A.D., Athanasius, a Copt, was President of the Diwan at Misr (or Cairo) and responsible for the collection of taxes—head of the Department of Inland Revenue; all the secretaries in the department were Copts; and a Copt called Butrus held the exalted position of Governor of Upper Egypt.

But the favour and protection which the Copts then enjoyed were dependent on the mood and whim of their most capricious overlords. Any idle slander about the Copts, any malicious whisper of their wealth, was enough at any moment to turn even a friendly ruler like Abd al Aziz into a brutal tyrant. His son Al Asbagh, who succeeded him as Governor-General, took the most violent measures against the Coptic religion, forcing Butrus, Governor of Upper Egypt, a son of Theophanes, Governor of Mariut, and 'a countless multitude of priests and laymen' to turn Muslim. So, too, half a century later (c. 760 A.D.) when the rebel usurper Hafs issued a proclamation denouncing every form of religion in Egypt except the Sunnite, and promising exemption from the poll-tax to all Christians who became Muslims, the

number of Coptic perverts in Misr and its region alone amounted to 24,000, according to the careful estimate of a Coptic contemporary writer. But Hafs was defeated, captured, and burnt to death, and Hassan, who became Viceroy, 'loved the churches and the bishops and the monks,' and used often to hold friendly converse with the Coptic Patriarch. Abd al Malik, another Viceroy, and as unstable as the rest, when his little daughter suffered from convulsions, sent for the Patriarch, who anointed her with holy oil and prayed over her till 'the devil went out of her.' To this same Abd al Malik the Caliph referred a dispute between Copts and Melkites concerning the ownership of the famous monastery of St. Mennas, in the desert near Mariut—the monastery which the recent researches and excavations of Kauffmann have given again to the world. Abd al Malik held a most patient inquiry, receiving oral and written evidence, and finally delivered judgment in favour of the Copts. Yet a little later the same Viceroy flung the Patriarch into prison for not paying an impossible ransom, and only released him when Kyriakos, King of Nubia, was thundering at the gates of Misr with a victorious army.

So the story runs on—the Copts being treated alternately with favour and ferocity, yielding here and there, even in masses, to the pressure of persecution, yet on the whole upholding their faith with a grandeur of courage which few peoples have rivalled. And all through there is seen a background of friendly relations with Muslims and Muslim rulers.

Thus the Caliph Khamarawaih delighted to visit the monastery of Kusair, near Cairo, where he stood often in rapt admiration of the splendid gold and coloured mosaics in the Church of the Apostles, and he built there an upper room with windows on all four sides for enjoyment of the view over city and mountains and desert. A century later we find the Caliph Al Aziz ordering the restoration of the church of Abu's-Saifain, which had been nearly ruined by a Muslim mob, and he had a guard to protect the workmen engaged in the building. So in the middle of the eleventh century, when the Caliph Al Mustansir went to the cutting of the dam of the canal, we read that he showed special honour to the Copt Sarur al Jullal, who

> offered to the Caliph handsome gifts, consisting of different kinds of food and drink and sweetmeats, and prepared for him many sorts of fresh fish and sugared dainties: and the Caliph accepted them from him and gave him a robe of honour, and granted his requests. . . . Our lord Mustansir was crowned with a jewelled turban, and the canopy was spread over him, and he was sitting on the dais of state when the aforesaid Sarur came out to wait upon him and the Caliph saluted him: and Sarur wore a garment of *Nasafi* and a turban of *Sikilli* bound round the middle with a band of *Dabiki*[1] interwoven with gold.

[1] Precious silks or stuffs. The quotation is from Abu Salih in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, p. 88.

Instances of the honour and friendly esteem in which the Copts were held and of the high office which they reached, would be easy to multiply from the Arab historians all through the Middle Ages. But I will conclude this historical survey by quoting one or two examples of the friendly relations which prevailed between Copts and Muslims in Upper Egypt long after the Arab conquest.

A Muslim writer called Al Azhari (who lived from 895 to 981 A.D., and whose work may therefore be roughly dated 950 A.D.), in making mention of the Coptic churches of St. Saviour and St. Michael at Akhmim in Upper Egypt, gives the following description of the Palm Sunday festival. He says:

'There is a custom among the Christians at these two churches that when they are keeping the Feast of Palms, also called the Feast of Hosanna, the priests and deacons go in procession with censers and incense, crosses, gospels, and lighted candles, and stand before the door of the Cadi and then before the door of the principal Muslims, where they burn incense, read a passage in the Gospel, and sing a hymn of praise.'

How strange it sounds now—that, three hundred years after the conquest, the Christians, when they desired to do special honour to the leading Muslims, should use a solemn ritual and display of their own religious symbols; and that the Muslims should recognise and respond to this practice. But that it was no temporary or isolated custom is certain. For Abu Salih, writing about 1200 A.D., says, in reference to the town of Esnah:

At the weddings and other rejoicings of the Muslims, the Christians are present, and they walk before the bridegroom through the market-places and streets, chanting in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic; and this has become a recognised custom with them and has lasted up to our own day. Moreover, on the night of the Festival of the Nativity every year the Muslims as well as the Christians burn candles and lamps, and make bonfires.

But the same good relations prevail to-day in country places. The rebuilding of Coptic churches by the early Caliphs has its analogy in our own day in the building of mosques by wealthy Copts for their Muslim neighbours on some of the large estates in Upper Egypt; and the following passage from the speech of one of the leaders at the Coptic Congress shows clearly the survival of old customs and the old spirit of fellowship:

When at school I never quarrelled with my Muslim companions about religious matters. At my father's house I used to meet more Muslims than Copts, and in the house we had prayer-mats and carpets which the Muslims used as if they were in their own homes: yet when the church bell rang, my father would repair to the sacred edifice to attend divine service. On many occasions I remember seeing Muslim notables listening to the service with him. . . . . At the weddings you may see the Muslim preparing the wedding ceremonials for the Copt, and the Copt for the Muslim. It often happens that the dower given by a Muslim bridegroom is supplied by a

friend. The marriage ceremony of both is the same. Again, in time of death Muslim women are heard wailing for the Copt, and Coptic women for the Muslim. At merry-makings both attend, and it is difficult for the onlooker to know whether the host is a Muslim or a Copt.

History, then, may be taken to prove this much—that there is no inherent antipathy between Copt and Muslim, and nothing to prevent them from living together in peace and goodwill while retaining their separate religious beliefs. That is the broad truth, though the story of the Arab dominion in Egypt reveals too often fierce quarrels and outbursts of fanatic violence. But these explosions of ferocity took place mostly in the capital, or in the region round about Cairo: and it is doubtful whether in all the long annals of Muslim rule the Copts ever suffered so pitiless and protracted a persecution as they suffered at the hands of the Roman Emperor Heraclius and the Melkite Patriarch Cyrus for ten years before the Arab conquest. But there is a further lesson from history, a lesson which has been strangely overlooked, but one which should come home to the Muslims with all the force of irresistible authority. For their Prophet Mohammed himself upon his death-bed laid on his followers the solemn injunction to regard the Copts as kinsmen, and to give them kind and friendly treatment. This remarkable incident is among the best attested of the Muslim traditions, and the evidence for it is derived from Muslim sources. The ninth century *History of the Conquest of Egypt*, by Ibn Abd al Hakam—a work still unpublished from the Paris MS.—gives the substance of an address delivered by Amr Ibn al Asi, the conqueror of Egypt, upon Friday in Easter week of 644. In the course of it Amr said:

> Take good care of your neighbours the Copts. For Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, told me that he heard the Apostle of God say, '*God will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country: for they are your kinsmen and under your protection. Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them.*'

Ashhab Ibn Abd al Aziz is quoted as giving the command of Mohammed thus: 'Take charge of the Copts of Egypt, for you will find among them useful auxiliaries against your enemy.' Umm Salimah reported the Prophet's words in the same language: 'God! God commits the Copts of Egypt to your charge; for you shall rule over them, and they shall be to you an increase of numbers, and a body of helpers in the path of God.' When asked how the Copts should help the Muslims in religion, Mohammed answered: 'They shall relieve you of the affairs of this world, and so leave you free for religious worship,' *i.e.* they will conduct the actual administration of the Government, superintending the taxation and collection of revenue in particular. Mohammed also

said: 'Take charge of the men with the curling hair, the Copts of Egypt, for they are your uncles and kinsmen'; and Abdullah, the son of Amr, used to quote Mohammed as having said: 'The Copts are the noblest of foreigners, the gentlest of them in behaviour, the most excellent in character, the nearest in kinship to the Arabs and to the tribe of the Kuraish in particular.' Traditions of this kind, in which the Copts are called 'a protected people,' occur in Tabari, Al Kindi, As Suyuti, Abu 'l Mahasin, and other Arab historians, and may be regarded as thoroughly well established.

Clearly, therefore, Mohammed himself not only never doubted that Copts and Arabs could live side by side in friendly relationship, but he specially commanded his followers to give the Copts most favourable treatment. And those Muslims who display harshness or intolerance against the Christians in Egypt disobey the direct command of their Prophet.

So much, then, for the historical bearings of the question. The precept of Mohammed has been too often forgotten in practice, but its wisdom remains unquestionable. It is both reasonable and right in itself and necessary for the peace of Egypt that Copts and Muslims should live together in amity; and all recent experience, anterior at least to the rise of Nationalism, confirms the verdict of history that between Muslims and Copts there is no inevitable antagonism. Say what one will, the bond of religion is not everything, even in the East, and on the other hand religious difference is not the strongest separating force. Between Turks and Arabs, for example, there is in some parts of the Turkish Empire a deep natural antipathy which no common belief in Islam can ever remove, nor do Sunnites and Shiites love each other. In Egypt the great fault of the Nationalists is that they are striving to create and foster non-natural antipathies out of those very religious differences which are proved to be quite compatible with good feeling: and the fault of the British Government is that it has rather encouraged this tendency than checked it.

A recent illustration of British partiality was the warning given to the Coptic journal *Al Watan*. The paper had commented somewhat sharply on the Government proposal to publish certain Arab works which *Al Watan* considered of doubtful utility: and it added remarks (which were certainly unjustified) on the uselessness of Arab literature generally. For this it received a severe warning and a threat of suspension, on the ground that language of the kind was calculated to wound the natural susceptibilities of the Muslims! Really a sense of humour should be required in people who occupy high places. The *Watan* published a piece of rather inept, and quite unsound, literary criticism, which a schoolboy might have demolished: the Govern-

ment turn upon it all the thunder of their heaviest artillery. And yet they allow Nationalist newspapers like *Al Lewa* and *Al Ahali* to publish articles of extreme violence and virulence not only against the Copts, but against the English, for the most part with impunity: for although the new Press Law furnishes an effective weapon, its edge seems reserved for the Copts.

No one can pretend that this literary question was one for Government interference—a really *dignus vindice nodus*. The work of Nuwairi, which it was proposed to publish, is one of some historical value, and quite worth reprinting: but it is not a sacred or sacrosanct writing, even from an Islamic point of view: so that different estimates of its importance are quite allowable, and give no occasion for a menacing censure. An *imprimatur* defended by the authorities with all this pompous and almost papal solemnity naturally encourages false and exaggerated ideas, and it is hardly surprising that we find a Muslim paper writing as follows:

> A review of history shows us that the progress of Europe in the path of civilisation is due to Arab literature, and the Westerns themselves recognise this debt to the language of our ancestors. Is it not therefore shameful for the Arabs to be unfamiliar with the contents of their works of science and useful knowledge, while Europeans are so much in love with Arabic that they spare no pains to get possession of any ancient and time-worn book or forgotten manuscript?

Many of the more liberal-minded Muslims joined in condemning this injudicious attack of the Government upon *Al Watan*. The truth is that the Government refuse to admit the claim of the Copts to equality of treatment—which is all they claim. They are an integral portion of the population, though a minority—Egyptians among the Egyptians—and entitled to be so regarded. Before the Law and before the Government there should be in strict justice neither Copts nor Muslims, but one community of Egyptians. It is something gained that at last the Government are awake to the fact of their policy being impugned on the ground of its injustice. But their recent action has shown very little desire to remedy the grievance. Sir Eldon Gorst at the beginning of the year made a tour in Upper Egypt, which was remarkable in two ways. It was accompanied with a novel amount of ceremonial, Sheiks and Mudirs being formally summoned to meet him and to render due obeisance to the representative of the British Government: it was indeed a kind of State progress. On the other hand it professed to be also a mission of inquiry into the alleged Coptic grievances. But on his return to Cairo it was proclaimed and telegraphed to England that he found no substantial sense of grievance among the Copts in Upper Egypt, and that any such feeling was practically confined to Cairo. There is reason

in saying that no serious inquiry of the kind was held at all, and this astonishing pronouncement was met by a strong protest on the part of the Copts in Upper Egypt. They at once telegraphed to the London Press a statement of their case, which attracted much attention, and they also resolved to hold a congress at Assiut for a discussion of their grievances.

Such a proposal did not suit the Government at all: it was much too effective a reply to their denial of the existence of discontent. Their behaviour was somewhat amusing. At first they professed fear that a congress at Assiut would lead to a breach of the peace. Accordingly they strongly counselled the Copts to hold their meeting in Cairo or Alexandria. This was crafty but somewhat cynical policy: for while it might perhaps have saved the face of the Government, the danger of disorder, which in Upper Egypt was imaginary, would have been very real in either of the capital cities, where the fanatical elements are strongest. The Copts declined the advice tendered by the Government, who then attempted to enlist the aid of the Coptic Consular Agents of Foreign Powers in Upper Egypt. These Consular Agents, however, refused to act against their compatriots, and declared that they would resign their offices rather than become instruments of the Government's policy. Undeterred and untaught by this rebuff, the Ministry resorted to a fresh device, and by mingled pressure and promises induced the aged and feeble Coptic Patriarch in Cairo to issue an encyclical to all his bishops and pastors, bidding them counsel the people to hold their assembly in Cairo or Alexandria. These tactics also failed completely, and the Government were left in an undignified position. Their pretence that the public peace would be endangered at Assiut deceived nobody, and no excuse remained for prohibiting the meeting. It was held accordingly, and so far from the peace being endangered, the congress proved to be in its orderly arrangement, its business-like proceedings, and its whole tone and temper, a model for such assemblies.

The following is the official programme of the congress:

The object of the Coptic Congress is to remove the numerous causes of dispute between the communities constituting the Egyptian nation, by establishing the principle of equality of treatment and justice as regards these communities, in all their rights and duties as citizens, so that the bonds of brotherly love may be strengthened between them and they may come to regard themselves as Egyptians before anything else. The Congress will accordingly discuss any proposals which may assist in bringing about this result, and the Committee suggests the following resolutions, which will be laid before the Congress for discussion in due course:

(1) That the Government should allow Christian officials and students to have Sunday, instead of Friday, as their day of rest, in accordance with the precepts of their religion.

(2) That ability alone should be considered as a passport to Government

appointments, without any regard to such matters as the numerical strength of the candidate's community, his religion, etc.

(3) That every community should be so represented in all the representative institutions of Egypt that the proper defence of its rights may be guaranteed.

(4) That the Copts should have their fair share in the educational facilities provided by the Provincial Councils out of the 5 per cent. of the land tax.

(5) That Government grants should be made to all deserving institutions without any invidious distinctions.

Beyond the first article in this programme there is nothing to which objection could fairly be taken. No administrative machinery could work with two Sundays or Holy Days in the week, and the Copts must in this submit to the regulation preferred by the majority who are Muslims: though the Thursday half-holiday might well be transferred to Sunday. But the whole atmosphere of the congress was friendly to the Muslims, and the discussion of the Coptic disabilities was extremely temperate. Nor was there the slightest sign of local hostility or disturbance. So far, however, from appreciating the moderation of the Coptic demands or reciprocating the desire for friendly relations, the organs of the Nationalist Press have made the congress an excuse for a display of violent intolerance and abuse of the Copts. One of the worst offenders is the Alexandrian *Al Ahali*, which is known to be the organ of the Minister of the Interior. This paper had long before the congress distinguished itself by the bitter intemperance of its language against the Copts; but then it belonged to or was sheltered by a Nationalist Minister, and so was privileged to lead a campaign of violence, which can have no object but to destroy the peace of the community. Against all this the thunders of the Press Law are silent: *Al Ahali* may preach strife and violence and disruption of the State, while *Al Watan* is threatened with extinction for a mild essay in literary criticism.

One is driven back time after time to the same point and the same conclusion—that there is no equality of treatment and no desire to give equality of treatment on the part of the Government, which is administered in sympathy with overt Nationalism. This is not the place to catalogue the grievances of the Copts, but one of them is the educational grievance, which was set out in a former article in this Review.[1] I may add that Coptic teachers are not sent to Europe to complete their training as Muslim teachers are. During the last twenty years only four Copts, two in 1907 and two in 1908, have been sent to England among all the students of the Egyptian Educational Mission in England. No Coptic teacher has been promoted Head Master or Vice-Principal or Sub-

[1] Oct. 1910.

inspector to any of the Government schools; and no Copt has been given the post of Director or Sub-Director to any of the various offices in the Ministry of Education, although some of the Coptic clerks in the Ministry hold teaching diplomas, whereas many of the Muslims who are promoted over their heads to more lucrative and responsible posts have no certificates at all. The disparity of treatment is really very great: and the most inveterate enemy of the Copts cannot say that in point of education or of intellectual capacity they are inferior to the Muslims. So too in the other branches of the Government service. It is sheer injustice to close the higher posts in the service to Copts, instead of providing an open career to talent or merit, regardless of religion.

In Sir Eldon Gorst's last report an attempt is made to refute the allegation of unfair treatment by giving statistics of the number of Copts in Government service. It is there calculated that the number of Copts employed is greater in proportion than the number of Muslims. But these statistics—whoever compiled them—are not free from bias. Thus the tables include all Copts who hold non-pensionable offices and exclude all Muslims who hold the like. Moreover, the Copts from ancient days have inherited a capacity for office work which the Muslims do not possess in the same measure: and the Copts often accept laborious and ill-paid posts which Muslims disdain. But even if the statistics were true, they are beside the mark. For the grievance remains that the avenue of promotion to the highest offices is closed to the Copts, and that for the Copts ability and merit in these days are no passport to reward.

Sir Eldon Gorst last January proclaimed his opinion that it would be rendering a very ill service to the Copts to treat them as a separate community. That is very true: but its truth is a verdict in condemnation of the Government. For it is the Government, and the Government alone, who make the distinction. The whole burden of the Coptic case is that the Government does treat them as a separate community and does discriminate against them. The Coptic congress has been followed by an Islamic congress in Cairo: but its purpose was only to protest against the Coptic claim to justice, and to assert the privileges possessed by the Muslim population. As the *Egyptian Gazette* well says [8]:

> The Moslems cannot, as the Copts did, pass a resolution demanding their admission to the higher Government posts, for the simple reason that they already occupy practically all of them. They cannot ask for religious education in the Government schools, because it is already given to them—and to no one else. They cannot demand representation on the Provincial Councils, since every single Provincial Councillor is already a Moslem.

[8] March 10, 1911.

> Similarly the Moslem Sabbath is already the only official weekly holiday, Moslem charitable societies are already the recipients—and the only recipients—of Government grants in aid. If we might make a suggestion it would be that instead of searching for 'grievances' that have no real existence in fact, the Congress should confine itself to proposing moderate, practical reforms in the conduct of the affairs of the Moslem community, and should put them forward in such a manner that the Government may be induced to give them the same earnest attention that we hope and believe they intend to accord to the legitimate demands of the Copts. That, no doubt, is a decision at which the organisers of the Congress have already arrived, and if it is carried out there is no reason why the Moslem congressists should not suggest some useful proposals of reform, even though their need is clearly less pressing than that of their Coptic fellow-countrymen.

According to *Al Mahroussah* the idea of holding a Muslim congress was directly inspired ' by the highest official circles in Egypt for the purpose of supporting Sir Eldon Gorst's recent pronouncements, and of counteracting any impression the Coptic movement may have produced on the British Government. In other words, the aim of the congress was wholly reactionary : and it ended in hopeless disorder.

But if the Islamic congress would act towards the Copts in the spirit enjoined by the founder of Islam, really considering their grievances with a desire for equity and conciliation, a vast amount of good might result. And in spite of much that is discouraging, there are signs that the more liberal-minded among the Muslims are willing to give sympathetic consideration to the complaints of the Copts. This is clear from the comments of some Muslim newspapers, though most of the Nationalist Press is hostile in tone, and one newspaper, published at Tantah, and bearing the somewhat unsuitable name of *Al Hurriah*, or *Liberty*, literally breathes slaughter, suggesting that the Copts should be treated as Abdul Hamid treated the Armenians. One wonders whether the Government regards language of this kind as wounding to the legitimate susceptibilities of the Christians?

But fortunately it is also clear that liberal opinion in England has been aroused, and that the mistaken policy of the Government will have to be changed. There is no reason whatever why Mohammedan and Christian should not live together in Egypt as fellow-countrymen working in harmony for the common good. But the ruling Power must hold the balance fairly between the two religions. All Egyptians must be regarded as possessing equal rights before the law and each section of the community must be made to feel that it is bound to respect the rights of the other, and that such respect will be enforced by the whole power of the Government. It is a commonplace that the British hold in Egypt a position of great trust. We are there first and foremost for the interests of the British Empire : but, being there,

we are trustees for the good of the people of Egypt. And as trustees it is our bounden duty to give equality of treatment to Christians and Muslims, and to discountenance oppression. Not until the present system of privilege and favouritism is abandoned and the country is administered with a fearless resolve to maintain the great principles of equal law, equal right, equal protection for all classes and creeds, can there be any real hope for the renewal of confidence and amity between Christians and Mohammedans in Egypt, or for the growth of a true sense of community of interest. But under fair conditions peace and good-will may again prevail: sectarianism may give place to patriotism: and Muslims and Copts may rise to the conception of a patriotic union, in which alone lies the hope of national progress.

A. J. BUTLER.

Postscript.—This article was written before the death of Sir Eldon Gorst. However deeply one may differ from the public policy which he pursued, one may be allowed to express a word of sympathy and of genuine admiration for the gallant manner in which he fought against disease and held his post to the end. But the appointment of Lord Kitchener as his successor is at once an admission by the British Cabinet that their policy requires modification and an omen of hope for the right government of Egypt.

A. J. B.

'NATIONAL INSURANCE AND THE COMMONWEAL.'

By a printer's error a line was omitted from page 344 of the August number (Dr. Hillier's article).

The paragraph should read as follows:

But even in Germany the lesson taught by Koch was only partly learnt. I had the privilege of collaborating with him in the compilation of a small book, in the later years of his life, and on the last occasion of seeing him he impressed upon me with great earnestness his firm conviction that the most urgent measures for the prevention of tuberculosis had not yet been adopted to any extent in Germany or any other country.—EDITOR, NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

NINETEENTH
CENTURY
AND AFTER

No. CCCCXVII—November 1911

THE KEY OF THE EMPIRE

Immediately behind us an Imperial Conference, of which perhaps the best that can be said is that it did no palpable mischief. Immediately ahead of us a Home Rule Bill, the lines of which cannot be forecast, but which is certain to be framed with ingenuity to give the maximum of concession to Irish Nationalists, with the minimum of offence to English Unionists.[1] The conjunction of events is significant.

Two great forces are, and for the last hundred years have been, contending for supremacy in world-politics; both of them, curiously enough, derived from the same ultimate idea—the complex and elusive idea of 'nationality.' That idea furnished, by common consent, the most potent formative factor in the politics of the nineteenth century. It is important, however,

[1] Since these words were written Mr. Birrell has made it clear that the former motive has inspired the new Bill rather than the latter. 'Our scheme . . . involves the setting up in Ireland of a Parliament consisting of two chambers with an Executive—that is, a Cabinet of Ministers responsible to it . . . our object being to admit a national demand for national responsibility and to establish yet another Parliament . . . in the Empire subordinate to the Imperial Parliament.' This statement gives, I think, additional force to the considerations urged in this paper.

to observe that this 'nationality' principle has operated in two diverse directions, and has exercised, at any rate in Europe, two contradictory influences. On the one hand it may be exhibited as the greatest of all integrating forces; on the other hand as the most powerful element of disruption. It was obviously responsible for the two outstanding constructive achievements of the nineteenth century—the making of a united Italy and the establishment of a strong federal Empire in Germany. But if the nationality principle operated as an integrating force in Italy and Germany, it operated, not less conspicuously, as a principle of disruption in the Balkan and Scandinavian Peninsulas and in the Netherlands. It has carved out of the Ottoman Empire the modern kingdoms of Roumania, Servia, Greece and Bulgaria; while both in Scandinavia and in the Low Countries it has gone far to destroy the structures so carefully but so short-sightedly erected by the diplomatists of 1815.

II

Nowhere can the working of the nationality principle be observed to more instructive advantage than in the British Empire; nowhere have its contradictory tendencies been more conspicuously exhibited. We can see it at work, for example, to-day in the great Dominion of Canada. There it affords at any rate a partial solution of the enigma which has perplexed many political observers on this side of the water—the alliance between the Imperialists and Nationalists. Both sections of the forces which acted in co-operation during the recent crucial contest resisted with all their might an approximation towards their powerful neighbours to the South; both were opposed to any commercial arrangements which might possibly contain the germ of political assimilation. But though their immediate object was identical—the defeat of the Reciprocity Treaty—their ultimate motives were widely divergent, if not actually antagonistic. Both rallied to the cry of 'Canada for the Canadians'; but while to the Nationalists this cry represented the ultimate goal of their political ambitions, the Conservatives regarded it as a condition precedent to the fulfilment of a larger hope. Neither section was disposed to hazard, in return for any economic advantage, real or imaginary, one iota of their 'national' independence; but while the Nationalists did not look beyond a Canadian nation, the Conservatives sought to preserve their independence not merely for the satisfaction of Canadian patriotism, but not less in deference to the larger Imperial sentiment. The Nationalists, in fine, are Canadians first and Canadians last; the Conservatives cherish with equal fervour the sentiment of Canadian patriotism, without being neglectful of the part which Canada may legitimately hope to play in a more closely federated

British Empire. No better exemplification of the contradic operation of the 'nationality' principle could be discovere desired.

III

We may come nearer home. In the politics of the Un Kingdom we can discern the same principle in acute and contradictory conflict. On the one side are the 'l Nationalists'—the 'Celtic fringe'—eager to emulate nationalism of Belgium, of Servia, of Greece, Norway Bulgaria, and to unfurl the national flags of Ireland, Scotland Wales. On the other side the 'larger Nationalists,' anxiou realise Pan-Britannic unity, and to weld into an organic whole sister nations of British blood in four continents.

But apart from, or rather intermediate between, Imperia and Home Rulers, there is in Great Britain a third party seek, more or less consciously, to reconcile and combine the manifestations of the nationality spirit by promoting a sch of 'Federal' Home Rule. I cannot myself resist the convic that their well-intentioned endeavours rest upon a basis of poli amiability and intellectual confusion. But, since they appea represent the 'compromise' or middle course so dear to the tical mind of Englishmen, it may be worth while to scrutinise ' argument with some attention.

The argument would seem to rest upon three main pro tions:

(i.) That the Irish problem is the greatest of all impedim to the realisation of Imperial unity, and that unless and unt is permanently solved it is mere waste of energy to discuss larger scheme for Britannic federation;

(ii.) That the concession of Home Rule would be rapturo welcomed not only in the United States of America, where enthusiasm evoked by it might be suspect, but in every on the British Dominions oversea;

(iii.) That there can be no real danger, but every advant in conferring upon Ireland those rights of self-government w have so conspicuously tended to smooth away friction an strengthen ties of loyalty and affection between the Mo Country and the oversea Dominions.

The argument is specious and to some minds irresis attractive. The crux lies obviously in the third proposition, w demands detailed examination. For the first two a few w must suffice. In reference to the second I am not conce to deny that in several of the great Dominions—notably in Ca —there is a large Home Rule party, as there is, of course England, Scotland and Wales. Whether that party has t the trouble to come to close intellectual grips with the is

involved is another matter, and I intend before this paper is closed to invite them to do so. For the moment I only suggest that the mere existence of such a party does not necessarily prove that they have discovered the solution of a long-standing problem, or that it is incumbent upon the majority of the electors of the United Kingdom to accept their counsel and concur in their conclusions.

In regard to the first proposition, I should be the last person in the world to question its gravity if it could be established. For a quarter of a century I have neglected no opportunity of affirming, by voice and pen, my conviction that of all strictly political issues incomparably the greatest is the political organisation of the British Empire. For the attainment of that supremely important consummation there are few sacrifices that I should not be prepared to make in regard to domestic or party politics. Were I convinced that the erection of a subordinate Legislature in Dublin would be the natural prelude to a scheme of Imperial federalism, still more if I could be brought to believe that it was an indispensable condition of such a scheme, I should certainly review my position in regard to Irish Home Rule, and should, if necessary, be prepared (as in politics one must always be prepared) to subordinate the less to the more important issue. It is because I hold that such a proposition is exactly the reverse of truth, that the erection of a Legislature in Dublin, on the Colonial model, would enormously complicate the Imperial issue and would imperil the ultimate realisation of the Pan-Britannic ideal, that the following pages have been written.

IV

I pass to a consideration of the third of the above propositions, containing, as it appears to me, the kernel of the argument upon which the case of the Federal Home Rulers really rests. I invite all who desire to form a sound judgment on this superficially attractive and insinuating idea to clear their minds of cant, and to come to the closest possible quarters with the terms they employ.

The contention put forward by the Federal Home Rulers is twofold: they insist that the concession of self-government has solved the Colonial problem; that it allayed dangerous discontent in the two Canadas in the first years of Queen Victoria's reign; that it sustained the loyalty of the Australian Colonies in the fifties, and that it was the most potent factor in erasing bitter memories in South Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century. May we not look for equally beneficent results from the application of the same remedy to the secular sickness of Ireland? I do not stay to emphasise the differences—obvious to the most careless observer—which vitiate a comparison between

the cases; the geographical proximity of Ireland to our shores, and to those of our European neighbours; the fact Ireland, unlike the Dominions, is represented, indeed abs over-represented, in the Imperial Parliament, and has no diffi whatever in making her voice heard at Westminster; that Imperial Legislature has incurred large and direct fina responsibilities for Ireland, and so forth. These are the comn places of political argument and need not detain us. The tions which I wish to push home are four:

(i.) What precisely are we to understand by *Federal* H Rule? and how does it differ from Parnellite Home Rule *phrase*?

(ii.) Is the federal principle to be confined to Ireland be applied to other portions of the United Kingdom?

(iii.) If so, how is the lesser federalism of the United Kin to be reconciled with the larger federalism of the British Empi the avowed goal of Federal Home Rulers?

(iv.) What are to be the ultimate units of the Britannic Fe tion? Is the European unit to consist of Great Britain Ireland? Or are England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales to regarded as separate units, and to come into the Federal Em on the same footing as the Dominion of Canada, United S Africa, the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand Newfoundland?

It will be obvious that though separately formulated for sake of lucidity, these questions are closely interdependent, must be considered as a whole.

What, then, in the first place are we to understand *Federal* Home Rule? Is Ireland to occupy the same positio relation to Great Britain as does the Dominion of Canad New Zealand? or the position occupied by the Canadian vinces—Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and the rest relation to the Dominion of Canada? This point is vital, so far as I am aware, it has never been satisfactorily explai If the Colonial analogy is really to hold; if self-government be conceded to Ireland in 1912 as it was to Canada, under famous memorandum of Lord Durham;—then we must fra face the consequences which necessarily arise from the applica of the principle: Ireland cannot continue to be represente the Westminster Parliament unless and until that Parliam becomes Imperial in form as it is in name, and Ireland r be entrusted with all the privileges and responsibilities imp in 'Colonial self-government.' In particular she must pro for her own local defence; she must raise and maintain a mi and must contemplate a contribution either in money or in l to the Imperial Navy, or alternatively must make provision naval as well as military defence. She must have complete con

also over her fiscal policy: the right to impose Customs duties upon imports from Great Britain, as from foreign countries. She may voluntarily give a preference to the former, but she must be equally free to grant it to the latter. We must not grumble if in the exercise of her fiscal discretion she determines to conclude Reciprocity treaties with the United States, with Germany or France. I shall be accused of deliberate caricature; of setting up bogeys which have no existence outside my own imagination for the purpose of destroying them. I neither desire to set up, nor to destroy, bogeys. I merely desire, without pronouncing a judgment, to get at the precise meaning of terms, and to come face to face with possible alternatives.

But if one alternative reduces itself to an absurdity, take the other. Abandon the Colonial analogy in the foregoing sense; inform Mr. Redmond that Ireland must not look for 'self-government' on the Canadian or Australian model, lest it should involve consequences which cannot be entertained—except in nightmare. The alternative is—and perhaps this is the analogy at the back of the rather confused minds of the 'Federal' Home Rulers, to set up in Ireland a 'provincial' Government on the model of the 'provincial' Governments of Ontario, Quebec, etc., or even a 'State' Government such as is enjoyed by New South Wales, Victoria, and the other component units of the Australian Commonwealth. Between the position of Canadian 'provinces' and the Australian 'States' there is, of course, a vital constitutional distinction: to the former belong only such powers as are delegated to them by the Dominion Government; the latter possess all the rights and exercise all the functions which have not been conferred by the Constitution upon the Federal Government. Every scheme hitherto proposed, or likely to be proposed, for Irish Home Rule has assumed that the Irish Legislature is to be statutory, and is to exercise such powers only as are delegated to it in the constitutional instrument or by the subsequent action of the constituent Imperial Legislature. We must, therefore, conclude that, if Ireland is not to enjoy self-government of the 'Dominion' type, its position must be analogous to that of one of the Canadian provinces.

But if this be so, two questions arise: Can such a limited concession be expected to satisfy those 'national' aspirations upon which the whole of the Home Rule agitation is avowedly founded?[2] Will 'Ireland a province' be accepted in full satisfaction of the demands of those who for thirty years have rallied to the cry of 'Ireland a nation'? But another question remains. Assuming that the 'national' demand is adequately met—at any

[2] The object of the present Government is, according to Mr. Birrell, to 'admit a *national* demand for *national* responsibility.' (The italics are mine.)

rate for the time being—by the establishment of a strictly 'provincial' Government, what place is Ireland—a province—going to occupy in a scheme of the 'Federal Home Rulers'? Will Ire Scotland, Wales and England be the constituent units of a federated Great Britain? Or are they to be the constituent of a federated Greater Britain? In the former case we might ourselves with three Parliaments on our hands in the capit England, presuming London to remain also the capital o United Kingdom, and the capital of the British Empire. T would be: (i) a local *provincial* Parliament of England, pa in authority with the 'provincial' Parliaments of Ireland, land and Wales; (ii) a *federal* Parliament representing the constituent provinces of the United Kingdom; and (iii) a fe Parliament representing the constituent Dominions of British Empire. I do not say that this is unthinkable, but want to know whether this is the scheme contemplated by Federal Home Rulers?

If it is not, we are compelled to assume that their intenti that Ireland and Scotland, Wales and England are to be an the units of a federal Empire. They are to take, that is to their place upon the platform reserved at present for the governing Dominions. But in view of the fact that the Parliaments of the United Kingdom are, *ex hypothesi*, merely 'provincial,' will not the Canadian 'provinces,' to nothing of the Australian 'States,' put forward an irresis claim to similar, or rather, identical treatment? In a word, Federal Home Rulers must make up their minds whether are going to put Ireland—and presumably other portions of United Kingdom—on to the platform of Canada, or on to platform of Alberta. In either case they will, I submit, themselves impaled upon the horns of a dilemma which is far from being merely logical. They must either conce Ireland a Government which will be subordinate to the Imp Parliament only in the same sense as the Dominion Governm are subordinate, with complete control over fiscal polic large responsibility for local defence, and a considerable sa foreign policy; or, on the other hand, they must be sang enough to suppose that they can satisfy 'national' aspirat by the erection of a 'provincial' Legislature or Legislature Ireland—a process which will in turn involve the transforma of the existing Parliament at Westminster into a federal Legi ture. They must be sanguine indeed if they imagine that former alternative will commend itself to England, or that latter will be accepted in full satisfaction of all claims by 'Nationalists' of Ireland and their confederates in the Un States.

Nor can we ignore the fact that it is 'nationalism,' not 'provincialism,' which gives to the Home Rule agitation in Ireland and the United States whatever of reality and substance it possesses. The apostolic successors of Fenianism, on either side of the Atlantic, are not going to take off their coats or deplete their pockets for 'gas and water Home Rule,' for such an extension of the principle of local government as would remove all the existing absurdities and anomalies in regard to private Bill legislation and the like, such a devolution as would command the support, I imagine, of all parties in the United Kingdom. That the aims of the 'Nationalist' party are inconsistent with loyalty either to the United Kingdom or to the British Empire is a fact which it may be convenient to suppress on the eve of the production of a Home Rule Bill. Now, as always, there is one argument carefully prepared as suitable for the English and Scotch palate; there is another, a rougher and more sincere one, prepared for the less delicate digestions of sympathisers in the United States. This device may succeed with amiable 'federalists' on this side of St. George's Channel; it is estimated at its true value by those who are loyal to the British connexion on the other. Before I come to consider the position of the latter, I have a further and final word for the former.

V

If the Federal Home Rulers are sincere federalists in the larger sense; if they really regard the concession of Home Rule to Ireland as a necessary or natural prelude to the solution of the Imperial problem, they are likely, as I have attempted to show, to land themselves in a morass of political absurdities and constitutional contradictions.

And for a simple reason. They are, I submit, on the wrong tack; they are misusing a term consecrated to a wholly different —indeed, a precisely opposite—process. Federalism implies, on the part of the related communities, not the acquisition but the surrender of rights; each unit of the federal whole is called upon to sacrifice some portion of its hitherto independent sovereignty. Federalism, therefore, is the bringing together, not the parting asunder, of related communities. It is, in a word, a centripetal, not a centrifugal, movement. 'A Federal union,' wrote the late Professor Freeman, 'to be of any value must arise by the establishment of a closer tie between elements which were before distinct, not by the division of members which have been hitherto more closely united. . . . No one could wish to cut up our United Kingdom into a Federation, to invest English counties with the rights of American States, or even to restore Scotland and Ireland

to the quasi-federal position which they held before their res tive unions. . . . Federalism is out of place if it attempts eitl to break asunder what is already more closely united, or to un what is wholly incapable of union."[3] It may be objected t Mr. Freeman's conclusion is the result of over-hasty generali tion from instances which in 1863 were less numerous than t are to-day. It is, therefore, proper to point out that a la writer, Mr. Henry Sidgwick, notices with some empha 'another way—distinct from union of communities previou independent—in which in modern times federality has come be developed: namely, by the establishment of secured lc liberties, mainly under the influence of the sentiment nationality, in States that were previously of the unitary type And he cites Austria-Hungary as a conspicuous instance.

Austria-Hungary was, it will be remembered, a favour illustration in the mouth of Mr. Gladstone in the Home R debates of 1886; so was Sweden-Norway. The latter illustrat has proved to be singularly infelicitous for those who conte that Home Rule is the prelude to closer unity and not a fi step towards separation. Whether Austria-Hungary will se them better time will show. But with all deference to the hi authority of Mr. Sidgwick, I submit that neither Austria-Hung nor Sweden-Norway affords apposite illustration. Neither C stitution possesses the essential attributes of genuine federalis The connexion between the two countries was in both cas primarily—in the case of Sweden-Norway wholly—dynastic. represented personal union, rather than organic federalisn Mr. Freeman wrote before the consummation of the fede movements in Canada, Germany or Australia, but recent exp ence has tended to justify rather than contradict his generalisati It may be objected, perhaps, that Canada is an exception to rule; that the federal movement of 1867 represented a react against the unitary movement of 1840. As a matter of form admit it, but even so only as between the Eastern Provinces Ontario and Quebec. In substance, the Dominion Act of 18 represents a forward step towards the integration of British No America, though the closer union of the whole involved a loo form of association between the two provinces so unhappily a inauspiciously united by the *Union Act* of 1840. Canada, ho ever, represents in several respects a less perfect type of federali than the German Empire or the Australian Commonwealth.

[3] *Federal Government*, pp. 91, 90, 109.

[4] *Development of European Polity*, p. 438.

[5] I do not, of course, ignore the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867, therefore to that extent I differentiate between Austria-Hungary and Swe Norway.

neither of these latest[6] and greatest examples is there a trace of ambiguity; both possess every attribute of federalism; both arose from a desire for closer union without unity; in both there is a dual system of law; in both the organs of government, legislative, executive and judicial, are reduplicated.

'Federal' Home Rulers are, therefore, attempting to reconcile antagonistic principles of government, and to encourage, under the cloak of terminology consecrated by all recent and successful practice to a centripetal movement, the operation of forces which can only lead to disintegration. Needless to say that I do not for an instant question the political sincerity of those who seek to promote a compromise on a baffling and perplexing question, nor even of those who find in Home Rule *sans phrase* the only practicable solution of it. Intellectually the position of the latter seems to me far more intelligible than that of the former, and essentially less dangerous, because less insidious. Only those who are prepared to maintain intact the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland can be trusted—such is the sum of my contention—to conserve the principle of Imperial unity, and for the maintenance of the Union we must look primarily to the grim determination of North-Eastern Ireland.

If the foregoing argument is valid, it is Ulster which holds, at this moment, the key not only to the unity of the United Kingdom, but to the solidarity of the British Empire.

VI

Can Ulster be trusted to hold it safe? 'If,' said Lord Randolph Churchill in an historic letter in 1886, 'political parties and political leaders, not only parliamentary, but local, should be so utterly lost to every feeling and dictate of honour and courage as to hand over coldly, and for the sake of purchasing a short and illusory parliamentary tranquillity, the lives and liberties of the Loyalists of Ireland to their hereditary and most bitter foes, make no doubt on this point—Ulster will not be a consenting party; Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force; Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right.'[7] Lord Randolph's distinguished son declared the other day, in a characteristic epigram, that the threat of civil war would evaporate in uncivil words. I have not personally heard the threat repeated during the present campaign; Ulster, if she follows the advice of the leaders to whom she has confided her cause, will rely on other weapons; but in any case I should not presume to decide

[6] The Constitution of United South Africa is not technically federal, but unitary.

[7] *Life*, by W. S. Churchill, ii. 65.

between disputants so distinguished and so closely akin both in temper and blood. Of this, however, I have been convinced by recent personal observation on the spot, that loyalist Ulster has not the faintest intention of accepting the authority and obeying the decrees of any Legislature or any Executive which may be set up in Dublin.

Nor will it be possible for the people of Great Britain to ignore the grim and unyielding attitude which Ulster is determined to maintain. They are bound to take account of it, and it is desirable, therefore, that they should be at some pains to understand the arguments upon which the case of Ulster rests.

That case is both stronger and weaker than it was in 1886 and 1893. The British electors who in 1886 defeated the first Home Rule Bill proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and those who in 1895 ratified the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the second, were unquestionably influenced to a considerable extent by a sense of exasperation against the tactics of the Parnellite party: their violence and unseemly conduct on the floor of the House of Commons; the encouragement they gave to outrage and intimidation in Ireland. Other times, other manners. The weapon of intimidation has not, it is true, been permitted to rust altogether in Ireland, but the Home Rule party of to-day are, in the main, bent upon adherence to other tactics. They seek to cajole rather than to coerce; to win by smooth words addressed to the democracy of England rather than by hard blows struck at the aristocracy in Ireland. No less an authority than Mr. Gladstone had declared, not long before the introduction of the first Home Rule Bill, that the Irish Nationalists were 'marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the British Empire.' The British electorate believed Mr. Gladstone. The boycottings, cattle-maiming, outrages and murders; the breach of contracts, the refusal to meet legal obligations, the whole machinery of the 'plan of campaign';—all this shocked the sense of order and decency which still prevailed among the electors on this side of St. George's Channel. They shared Mr. Gladstone's whilom conviction that 'dismemberment' was the ultimate goal to which the patrons of these tactics were marching. And as they detested the means, so they repudiated the end.

But the tune is now set in another key. Constitutional persuasion is to be substituted for intimidation, while the end sought is not the 'dismemberment' but the 'consolidation' of the Empire.

The change of tactics is likely to disarm a great deal of the opposition which was aroused in 1886, and in a lesser degree in 1895. And by so much are the Irish Loyalists in a weaker position to-day than they were when the issue was last fought

out. And they are the weaker, too, by the introduction into British politics of issues which are at once new and of absorbing interest to great masses of the urban electors in this country. In 1886 there was not a constituency in Great Britain which was not profoundly moved in one direction or the other by the supreme issue presented for their decision. Men's passions were deeply stirred. On the one side Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain—the leaders till lately of various sections of the Liberal party—Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill representing old and new Toryism respectively; on the other, Mr. Gladstone, backed by the immense moral authority of Lord Spencer, whose courage and steadfastness during his recent viceroyalty gave added significance to his conversion to Home Rule; on both sides the leaders could command the most earnest attention of those to whom their respective arguments were addressed. To-day the situation is entirely different. The minds of the urban electors are preoccupied by social and economic issues, to the entire exclusion of everything else. The citadel of the legislative Union is threatened to-day not by the enthusiasm of its assailants, but by the apathy of its defenders—most of all, perhaps, by the prevailing indifference on the one side and the other. The cost of living and the rate of wages; the conditions of life and the constancy of employment; industrial methods and the economic structure of society—these are the questions upon which the minds of the great urban populations are steadily set, and I doubt whether they would be induced to give their real attention to any other, even though one rose from the dead endowed with the combined eloquence of Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone. Herein lies another weakness, not in the diplomatic case, but in the strategical position of the Irish Loyalists.

There is a third. Even if the electorate could be aroused to some interest in the issue, what would it avail the cause of the Union? There may be, for aught we know, as large a majority against Home Rule in the British constituencies as there was in 1886. But not if it were twice as large could it legally prevent or even retard the enactment of a Home Rule Bill. I observe that an attempt is being made to sow dissensions in the Unionist camp, and more particularly in Ulster, by 'revelations' as to the tactics of the Unionist leaders during the autumn of 1910. It is roundly affirmed that the latter were prepared to sell Ulster and the Union lock, stock and barrel to save the House of Lords. I do not pretend to any knowledge of these matters, which is not common property, nor is a discussion of them pertinent to my present argument. But it is pertinent to point out that the failure of the Conservative party to persuade the electorate either

to maintain an independent Second Chamber, or to introduce the principle of the Referendum into our constitutional machinery, may have the gravest consequences for Ulster and the Union.

But although for all these reasons and in all these ways the Unionist position is incomparably weaker than it was in 1886, there is one respect in which it is incontestably stronger. If the opposition to Home Rule has weakened in England, so also, and in far greater ratio, has the enthusiasm for it in Ireland. Twenty years ago the Unionist prescription—twenty years of firm administration combined with social reform and economic amelioration—was greeted with incredulity and opprobrium. The prescription has been applied, and, like most remedies which are neither from quack prescriptions nor advertised as panaceas, it is working quietly and effectually. There is a certain amount of grumbling among all classes in Ireland, but there is decidedly more in England. If economic unrest be a symptom of political misgovernment, it is not Ireland which demands prior attention and treatment. That discontent will ever entirely disappear in Ireland is too much to hope for. In what country of the civilised world to-day is it non-existent? If the social history of Ireland during the last quarter of a century ever comes to be written impartially there are four names which will be had in everlasting remembrance—those of Mr. Balfour, who restored social order; of Lord Ashbourne and Mr. Wyndham, whose names will be associated with an agrarian revolution of hardly less magnitude than that wrought for Prussia by Hardenberg and Stein; and, above all, that of Sir Horace Plunkett, who, though abused by all parties, has 'off his own bat' done more for the economic prosperity and social regeneration of Ireland than all the politicians since the passing of the Act of Union—and perhaps before it. On the same pedestal of fame ought also, perhaps, to be placed not a few captains of industry whose directing genius and commercial acumen have made of Belfast one of the greatest and most prosperous cities of the Empire.

It is no part of my immediate purpose to substantiate by elaborate statistics the above statements. They will not be denied by any whose judgment is combined with knowledge of the facts. It is common knowledge that the Land Purchase Acts passed by Lord Ashbourne and Mr. Wyndham have finally reversed the mistaken agrarian policy which culminated in Mr. Gladstone's ill-conceived Act of 1881; that they are putting an end to the principle of double ownership legally sanctified by that and previous Acts, and are gradually building up a new class of occupying and cultivating owners. However reluctant these may be to break openly away from earlier political connexions, they have, and can have, no real sympathy with the lawless and land-

less peasants who, in the eighties, under the stimulus of professional agitators, reduced Ireland to anarchy. Apart, however, from the progress of land-purchase, now somewhat retarded under Mr. Birrell's administration, there is no test of prosperity to which Ireland will not respond. The rate of pauperism in Belfast is exceptionally low; the deposits in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks have trebled in the last twenty years; foreign trade is rapidly advancing. That Ireland as a whole is anything but a poor country no one would be so fatuous as to deny; money wages are in many parts miserably low, though few people in Ireland, outside a few industrial towns, live exclusively on wages. But at least it may be said that the Union has not spelt bankruptcy, and it would be exceedingly difficult to prove that a separate Legislature would or could do anything to promote economic prosperity. The root of the Irish problem has for the last two hundred years been mainly economic; since 1869 almost exclusively so. The cruel wrong done to the nascent industries of Ireland by the selfish commercial legislation of the English Parliament in the eighteenth century is a matter of history. Many of the grievances were removed by Lord North and the rest by the younger Pitt. In the nineteenth century the united Legislature proceeded from the removal of injustice to generous reparation, and during the last thirty years Ireland has become the spoiled child of the Imperial Parliament. There was indeed leeway to be made up, reparation to be offered; but no one can truthfully say that it has been offered in a niggardly spirit. If Home Rule has not actually been 'killed by kindness,' it is certain that the economic grievances which accentuated political discontent have been largely, if not entirely, amended.

Would the concession of Home Rule arrest the development now so happily in progress? It is not easy to answer that question with confidence; but this at least must be said, that, with few exceptions, the best business brains in Ireland believe that it would, and few people whose opinion is entitled to any weight venture to assert that it would not.

There would thus seem to be, at the present juncture, a twofold responsibility laid upon the loyalists of Ireland, and especially of Ulster. They are called upon to resist a movement fraught, on the one hand, with grave risk to the rising economic prosperity of Ireland, and on the other with extreme danger to the political solidarity of the Empire. It is on the latter point that I have desired in this paper to insist. The case against Home Rule from the Irish and Ulster point of view is certain to be presented with vigour and skill to the British electorate during the next few months. Anxious to enlist in defence of the Union all genuine Imperialists, whatever religious creed they may profess, I have of

set purpose avoided all reference to one aspect of the problem which moves profoundly the people of Ulster. But the appeal which will be made by Ulster from that point of view is one to which large and influential sections of English society cannot possibly remain deaf.

Apart from that, however, the case of Ulster is overwhelmingly strong. They desire simply to be let alone. Under the Imperial Parliament they have taken an immense stride in material prosperity; with the 'national' aspirations cherished in other parts of Ireland they have no sympathy; the British connexion is to them a guarantee against ecclesiastical intolerance, and an important factor, as they believe, in their economic progress; they have not the slightest desire to see it sundered, and they have the strongest possible repugnance to a forcible transference of their political allegiance. That Great Britain should compel the most prosperous and progressive part of Ireland to sever a tie which is mutually honourable and materially advantageous is almost unthinkable. That Ulster is herself irrevocably and unshakably opposed to severance is indisputable.

But my immediate concern is rather with another aspect of the Irish problem. I am supremely anxious that no one should be deluded by ingenious word-juggling into the belief that the grant of a separate Legislature and Executive to Ireland would be in harmony with the general movement towards Colonial self-government. Home Rule may be in itself right or wrong, but it is not a step towards federalism but a surrender to the forces of disintegration.

Whether those forces are on the eve of a great triumph or a final defeat depends, firstly, on the courage and determination of Ulster herself, and, secondly, on the support which Ulster can obtain from the Imperialist party throughout the Empire.

J. A. R. Marriott.

LIBERTY OF CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

A REPLY.

In the October number of this Review Mr. Emmet has addressed to the public and to Churchmen an argument and appeal upon the liberty of criticism within the Church of England. He has written gravely and courteously; he will carry the general reader easily along with him; and those who, like myself, come under his blame will feel that they need to consider and reconsider very carefully the bearing of what he says upon their action.

For his general thesis is this. We have learnt by painful experience that there is only one way of keeping thought upon sacred subjects wholesome and free; and that is the way of leaving it to express and develop itself without interference. We must, accordingly, discard all the forms of pronouncement by authority. All have been tried, and all have failed. We have reached the clear conclusion that this is a method outworn and wrong. We have come to this by travelling in experience a road which is strewed with the litter of failures—failures of good and wise men as well as those of mere bigots or Pharisees—all alike involved in the same error of bringing into controversy the heavy hand of authority.

Now Mr. Emmet is here on strong ground. We are all largely of his mind. We believe in liberty as we believe in love. We think that the last century or 'Victorian' period received a great gift from God in a quite new understanding of the potency that lies behind those two great names, and of their power to prevail where fear or force would fail. That 'unveiling' has altered the whole spirit of our education; has brought with it a greater and more reverent treatment of childhood and of individual life; and it has also freed the area of religious controversy of much which made its truculence a byword. Alas that so much remains!

Thus Mr. Emmet has a strong case. It is also an easy case; the Court is with him, he has plenty of obvious targets, and if he were less serious than he is, might make merrier than he does over the blunders and failures and short-sightedness of authority. Thus while he carries with him, of course, all those

whose motto is 'Live and let live,' and whose one and only bugbear is bigotry, he will also have the support of men of deep and serious feelings who realise the depth and mystery and movement of the things of God and the inadequacy of man's rule and man's plummet; and who give to liberty that genuine tribute of a true faith, viz. the trust which will abide at her side even when to do so seems to mean indifference to, or co-operation with, error or fault.

The case is thus strong, serious, and easy. The only question about it is whether it is the whole case, or the only one. Mr. Emmet does not seem to have asked himself this question, nor except in one instance (to which I will refer again) does he deal with any other side of the matter.

He would probably defend or explain this by saying that, to him, the very point of our moral discovery is that we must trust liberty right out; that it has become the only valid claimant, and must have the field entirely to itself. This (Mr. Emmet may urge) is why we say, as in any case of faith, that we *believe* in liberty. The man is best whose faith is strongest. He will draw out all the virtue that is in his principle, because he trusts it so that he never couples or compromises it with any other.

We have reached the point where we feel the full strength and chivalry of Mr. Emmet's position; but not, I think, without a sense of doubt arising in our minds whether his facile guidance has not led us, after all, too quickly and lightly along. For after all does there not come to us repeatedly, and from the most various quarters, the suggestion that it is just not in thus following out to an end a single principle, but rather in some more difficult blending and combination of different principles, that we come nearest to wisdom, whether speculative or practical?

This is a truth very familiar to reflecting people; and its bearing on the present matter deserves to be considered. But it is general; and I pass on to what is more concrete.

Liberty (such is the thesis) is the only method, and reasonable argument the only weapon; therefore, plainly a church or religious society must be one in which everybody may speak as he likes and everyone will speak with his own authority. There can be no corporate mind; and therefore, of course, no expression of it. Anybody may teach anything; and when the plain outsider or the distressed believer insists that the Church lets this or that be taught, and even proclaimed on her high places, and that she must therefore be largely indifferent about it, their plea is to be quashed abruptly and flatly by the invocation of liberty.

That is not quite an easy position to hold; it makes corporate life, to say the least, very difficult. It seems to part company with a good deal which had been deemed to have rather deep religious

value, such as God's use of the Christian people as the organ and instrument of witness to the truth and meaning of what He has revealed.

We are in more troubled waters; the currents seem to cross, and when we look to Mr. Emmet we find that he cannot himself, after all, sail through on his single principle. In the year 1870 a man of strong and sincere conviction, still with us in a vigorous old age, the Rev. Charles Voysey, denied the Atonement and Divinity of Christ. Mr. Emmet refers to this case. He states Mr. Voysey's heresies in pretty forcible terms. He does not emphasise the appeal and challenge which Mr. Voysey made by his resistance to Archbishop Thomson's action that such teaching was legitimate in the Church of England; that the Church could only live by liberty, and so forth. He does not repeat this, or endorse it. He throws himself at once and decisively on the other side; and he considers that he has saved himself by a distinction. 'Here we have an example not of an attempt to re-state or re-interpret doctrines, but of a clear rejection of Christianity as a whole.' It would be interesting to turn to the press or literature of the time and see (1) whether the issue, stated with such convenient breadth by Mr. Emmet, appeared then quite as broad and unmistakable; and (2) whether there was not a good deal said then about episcopal tyranny and interference with liberty.

Archbishop Thomson thought the issue plain; so did the Court; and the sequel has confirmed their judgment. Mr. Voysey's defence was in the nature of a paradox. But I think that before Mr. Emmet careered past the case, he should have considered more carefully whether it did not suggest that there were more things to be considered than are dreamt of in his philosophy of pure liberty.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am as far as possible from the unfair belief or the odious suggestion that there is no difference or slight difference between the author of a recent book and Mr. Voysey. This would be grossly untrue and unfair. But the point is this, that the extreme case brings out the presence of an unconsidered factor or factors. If liberty is to be curtailed anywhere the question will be asked: 'Where?' I do not think Mr. Emmet will find that his distinction between rejecting Christian doctrine and re-interpreting it (important and fruitful as that distinction is) will bear all the stress that he lays upon it.

But as we leave this particular case, we see that it leaves us confronted with another duty which has somehow to be reconciled with liberty. Let us name it the duty of witness. To make Mr. Emmet's argument anything like complete he should have included a section on this topic. For indeed, religiously and psychologically, it does bring up some very serious difficulties.

The Lord's purpose in regard to his bequest and trust of truth; the manner in which the witness of the Holy Spirit is given; the consciousness which the Church has always had of carrying a message—these are religious topics of grave importance in this matter. It will be said probably that the duty of witness will be sufficiently discharged if each Christian speaks what he thinks—and the truth is allowed to prevail. The Holy Spirit, it will be urged, exercises His power as He elicits out of the chaos a mind of the Church, witnessing to truth, and winnowing out error. But if the argument runs that way, I think it will find itself among psychological stumbling-blocks. Is a corporate witness possible which is only the after-sifting of individual opinions? Does not a corporate consciousness in every sphere seek corporate expression? But, further, is it possible to sustain in any body of men a sense of this duty if every one is shouting a different version into the ear, and there is nothing to show whether one is more right than another? As men are actually made, is it not true that a Church in which the truth of the Incarnation was denied freely, and with as much right as it was asserted, is a Church which would not be delivering a witness at all?

It is here that the matter is a little hard to discuss in an open Review. For it is just here that we come upon the difference between the pursuit of a philosophical inquiry and the witness to a truth revealed. They are not the same thing; and though there is much analogy between the consent of the wise and the teaching of the Church, they are and always have been intrinsically different; and the difference is as important as the likeness.

I am quite aware that many who would in the abstract recognise or respect this difference, which requires in some sense a limitation of liberty in the name of truth, will say that the history of the claim to authoritative witness is too sinister to allow of its being practically conceded. Orthodoxy, Catholic or Puritan, inquisition and infallibility, are words taken at random to recall all the vice, going far deeper than such outstanding cases, of any attempt to dominate by authority the liberty of belief. I do not ignore all this; I am indeed personally sensitive to it; I have always felt that no one can fairly read either the Old or New Testament, or the history of the Church, without realising that ecclesiasticism is one of the worst dangers of the world's and of the Church's life. But it is worst, only because it corrupts what is so good, so vital to the interests of a sustained life and a transmitted truth. There is a place for 'Moses' seat'; there is a service which authority can do to the devotees of liberty.

I believe that amidst the confusions of a state of entire

individualism, when each man tries to find his own way, there will be in all communions a number of the more deeply thoughtful and reflective souls, who will realise that something else is needed; that man is not meant to be alone; that in fact much which they themselves believe came to them first by authority rather than inquiry; that the great Truths of Divine Revelation and Redemption are heavier than single minds can bear or were intended to bear; that 'no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost,' and that the testimony and power of that faith have been by that Spirit breathed into a common life and emerge as a corporate faith, gathering to itself the clear and willing response of men's conscience, heart, and mind. But all this and much more is shattered unless the Church in some way keeps and uses her normal and legitimate function of witness.

Thus we come back to Mr. Emmet, having, I venture to think, widened the issue, which he had made so plausibly simple by leaving out important factors in the case.

But there is still the question: 'If authority may be exercised, when and where and how may this rightly be?' Impossible to answer in the abstract: hardly more possible in the concrete. For Mr. Emmet dismays us here by his long list of our failures and the failures of our forefathers. I make no demur: I accept his rebuke. Authority has done a number of hasty, narrow, short-sighted and cruel things: and done so with all the air and the honest conviction of being valiant for God. Yet other things beside authority—and, as the famous saying reminds us, Liberty in particular—have had crimes galore 'committed in their name,' and yet retain their proper value and claim. But, apart from this, one may ask here again whether Mr. Emmet quite thought things out.

One of the most distinguished representatives of English political life complained to me long ago that the progress of which Englishmen were proud was often attributed only to the party that pulls forward, when it was really the resultant of their force in combination with that of the party which pulls back. It is not difficult to see that the massive orthodoxy of a Pusey, or the fiery vigilance of a Liddon, contributed at least as much to the soundness of that progress with which God has blessed us in recent times, as was ever due to Jowett's detached thinking, or Pattison's irony, or Colenso's rattling criticism.

The late Professor Asa Gray, to whom fell the delicate and difficult task of mediating between Darwinism in its first days and religious opinion in America, gave it to me as his deliberate opinion in retrospect that the Church had accepted Darwin's teaching quite as fast as could fairly be asked. His careful scientific mind would have been repelled rather than attracted

by an abrupt appropriation of results from another department of knowledge, before there had been time for reflection upon the relation of old and new, and for the adjustments and explanations which showed the harmony of the one with the other.

I think it may truly be pleaded that a Church in which the immense changes of modern thought had been accepted without any fear or surprise, or even vehemence of protest, would have been a Church defective in sturdy faith, and sensitive reverence, and robust conviction.

If we stand where we do to-day it is not without a debt to those who feared and resisted, as well as to those who opened both arms to the new.

Nor was it possible but that some of all this should speak through individuals or bodies in authority, through Episcopal charges or Convocation resolutions. A Church which had made no mistakes on the side of authority would have been, one may say, quite as probably a Church of indifferent and tepid spirit, as one of the comprehensive and balanced wisdom which can hardly belong to any but the rarer men, such as Gladstone or Church, who watch and weigh, and help, sometimes by impetus, sometimes by check, the wholesome movement of the Church towards what God may show.

But I would go further. As we look back over the times which Mr. Emmet reviews, we may, I think, see two processes where he sees but one. The first has been a process of growth, and of interpretation. New meanings and implications of the truth of Christ have been perceived, new relations detected which it bears to other parts of truth and life; the vital power within has burst through some narrowing interpretations or shed some accretions from older phases of thought, some deposits of former controversy. This was no mere advance, as Mr. Emmet might suggest, of 'heretics' against an ever-resisting and retreating orthodoxy. The prophetic spirit breathes through great orthodox teachers such as Westcott or Dr. Scott Holland, as well as through those who, like Ruskin or Seeley, have spoken from an independent position, or those within the Church whom authority, wrongly or rightly, thought deserving of its censure.

The other process, at least as necessary, has been that of a steady defence of the Christian faith against teaching, some from without, some from within, which would if unchecked have impaired or eviscerated the living truth. Is it a paradox to say that if we could cancel the whole catalogue of censures or protests which Mr. Emmet condemns, we should indeed be rid of a good deal which shows short-sightedness or obstinacy, but we should also lose the signs of the protective resistance by which the instinct and reason of the Christian Society repel what is alien to the

integrity of its Trust? An authority so nerveless that it has lost the power to give warning or witness is one which enfeebles the life over which it is set: it sacrifices, in exaggerated defence of individual liberty, the equally sacred liberty of the corporate conscience. We might easily have had to-day a Church of which it could be said that its languid and indifferent spirit allowed any and every vital element in the Christian faith to be with impunity challenged or eaten away.

Can we then at all distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate use of authority? On this it would not perhaps be becoming at the present moment for me to say much.

I will only venture two or three suggestions.

(1) The presumption is against action: the *onus probandi* is on those who would move. So much as this Mr. Emmet's instances avail to prove.

(2) The distinction between the Christian Truth and its corollaries or explanations, as that distinction has been developed by Professor Tyrrell and others, is one which is full of significance. The objection to either the imposition or the restraint of theological explainings by authority is, as every competent student knows, much more common property between the Church and her critics than is commonly understood. Only there came points, as at Nicea, where it was seen that faithfulness to the thing revealed required a measure of explaining. Authority took its risk, and the Catholic faith was explained and saved. But each thing has its abuse; and in days that followed there was an insensible transition, through other steps of inevitable explanation, into a condition of dogmatising facility, ingenuity, and satisfaction. The special character of the Greek mind helped to this. Later, the absence of other intellectual interests and the ambitious conception of theology as the mother of sciences forwarded it, till it took final and most aggressive form in the infallibility of a Papacy which must claim to be as all-knowing as all-powerful. From all this we must plead for reversion to the true type of authority and therewith of theological liberty.

(3) It seems, then, that authority will do its part best if it moves only when this is necessary in order to prevent its trust from slipping between its fingers. Unless the Church has been wrong from the first about its own *raison d'être*, it exists (as has been said above) to testify; not to provoke the world to speculation, nor to assist speculation (though these consequences may in a measure follow); but to tell, declare, and announce. Nor is the burthen of the testimony doubtful. It is Jesus Christ, as He has Himself by His Spirit taught His people to understand Him. We are apt to call this the Catholic creed; and there is no objection to our doing so, if we do not allow the Church's expression of her con-

viction to slip into the place of that holy thing of which she is convinced. There is nothing more amazing than the way in which that conviction sprung into being, disclosed itself out of the heart of apostolic witness, was a consciousness before it became an expression, a building not made with hands, by processes some at least of which cannot be gone over again, and from evidence which did its work and passed away.

This we have to maintain, as each generation has had and will have to maintain it. This, along with a great liberty as to ways of speaking about it, and about its relations to life; a great liberty, but not liberty of a suicidal sort. In this task authority has its limited and difficult part. If it wrongly assumes something to be of the essence which is in truth only of the accident, time will expose its mistake, and new cases will be added to Mr. Emmet's black list of authority's blunders. But there is the other alternative. If authority, susceptible itself to the influences of a day of freedom, itself aware of and almost intimidated by the mistakes which authority has made, still maintains that by such and such a denial the Gift, the deposit, the truth is impaired, authority may be right; and if right it will be simply discharging a duty of fidelity to trust, and of charity to all whom that trust concerns.

That is the issue: and we may respectfully claim from Mr. Emmet that it shall not be prejudged.

EDW. WINTON.

BRITAIN AND GERMANY

AN APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT

The immediate crisis between the two countries has passed: misunderstanding, suspicion, ignorance, these remain, with a new and more intense irritation, and the relations between the two countries are more seriously strained than at any period in the past. Each side may not unreasonably urge some justification for the present feeling. We have been angered and alarmed by the violence and brusqueness of the Agadir method, and by flamboyant and provocative speech. The Germans are aggrieved at what they feel to be the entire misunderstanding of their aims shown in the speeches of statesmen here, and at the check given to what they feel to be legitimate enterprises. Each has reason to complain of the other's Press, its truculent sensationalism and the partiality of ignorant prejudice.

The Present Position

The tragedy behind the present manifestations of feeling is that they do not represent the real spirit of either nation. In Germany opinion is led by a small official group, and the leading newspapers, to an extent unknown in this country, are inspired and guided by this group. The view that we get, therefore, of German public opinion is not necessarily representative of the nation. Even to-day the feeling in Germany towards this country is vitally different from that reflected in her and our journals. There is a small governing caste which is intensely irritated and suspicious, and which regards our motives and conduct in much the same light as we regard theirs. There is also a considerable section of the military and naval classes which would frankly welcome an outbreak of hostilities. But behind these adverse influences there is to be found a vast public opinion seldom reaching this land, but which is more representative of the soul of the German people than the engineered agitation which chiefly reaches us. The organised forces of social democracy, in which the approaching elections will, it is believed, show a striking increase, however disturbing in the domestic life of Germany, stand in

international life for methods of understanding and peace. The vast majority of the middle classes desire friendship with this country, and were the Reichstag not so powerless to influence foreign policy, this desire would be more clearly reflected. The hostility which exists, and it would be idle to deny that there is much, is due to the belief in the same kind of bogies which do service in this country—fear that our fleet is intended for their destruction, and that between the two countries there are irreconcilable differences. There are no definite issues. So far as its people is concerned, each country follows an unknown path upon an unknown quest, with the result that two great nations are in angry antagonism, though their interests do not necessarily clash.

It has been interesting to study in Germany the effect which has been produced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech to the bankers. Everywhere it has made a profound impression, and it has given alarm and pain in the circles most favourable to Britain and most active for friendship. This effect is here recorded, not in order to criticise the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who spoke for the Government, and whose words were endorsed by both political parties, but in order that its explanation may point a moral. The Chancellor has a great international reputation, and a large section of the German people look with admiration on his advocacy of schemes of social reform, which appeal alike to their social and intellectual sympathies, and some of which they feel their own example has influenced. Hence, just as Mr. Gladstone, in some aspects of his public work—*e.g.* his passionate sympathy for oppressed nationalities—was regarded in other countries as one whose work was not confined to his own people, but appealed to the sympathy of sister nations, so the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in some aspects of his work as a British statesman, has made a similar appeal to the sympathy of a not inconsiderable section of the German people, and the pain which has been shown at his recent speech in the less political circles of Germany is the measure of their disappointment at realising how deep must be the British distrust of German aims when they are so misunderstood by one who stood to them in this special position. Let there be further remembered in justification of this feeling the entirely sincere belief held in many German circles favourable to Britain that their Government from the first had no intention or desire to remain at Agadir.

The writer has had the opportunity in Germany of hearing the views of leading members of different parties in the Reichstag, the editors of some of the greater papers, the heads of the Churches, representative bankers and business men, and social experts and writers.

From all these representatives of widely differing phases of

social life and thought came the same revealing and consistent note, a passionate feeling that their country's desires and ideals were vitally misunderstood by Britain, and that Britain's attitude was based upon that misunderstanding. When we realise here how sincerely this belief is held throughout the German nation, we shall have taken a considerable step in the right direction.

The Policy of Britain

A brief reference must be made to the policy of recent British Governments with regard to Germany. Time slowly reveals that which diplomacy hides, and there is some justification for thinking that the policy of Britain has been based upon suspicion and fear. It has seen in the German shipbuilding programme a menace to our navy. It has perhaps looked upon the aspirations of a progressive and expanding nation as ideals which can only be realised at the expense of our own colonies or other vital interests. It seeks safety by keeping ahead in the race of armaments, and by drawing within the bond of friendly treaty other nations which share our feelings.

Is this policy an adequate one? Where does it lead us? An unchecked race in armaments must eventually reach a limit. Before that limit is reached the growing anger of each nation must issue in war. If it were not so supremely tragic there would be both pathos and comedy in the belief so strongly held that a war, even if successful, would benefit this country. We do not speak of the horror which even the thought of such a strife must inspire; of its cost in sorrow, of the drainage of wealth greater than that which may be counted in values of gold. But these things would all be vain. The destruction of the German fleet, could that be accomplished, would not defeat a nation in all the vigour of its youth. Rivalry and enmity would not be checked. Lasting peace and the reduction of armaments would be as distant in the hour of victory as in the hour of defeat.

The criticism, then, which must be made of our policy with regard to Germany is that it is inadequate. We would substitute for our present negative attitude a constructive policy based upon the frank recognition of the community of interests between the two nations, recognising the natural desire of Germany to have play for legitimate national aspirations. It should be our aim not only to seek harmonious co-operation with Germany, but also to use our influence with France in such a way as to make friendly relations between France and Germany a matter of practical statesmanship. The tradition of the Concert of Europe might at last become a living reality.

Is it merely the expression of an impossible dream to say that

war to-day, so far as the great civilised Powers are concerned, should be employed if at all only in defence of a common civilisation? It may be that the day will dawn more speedily than we think, when the dissensions in the European Courts will be vital weaknesses in the presence of a common danger now hidden or but dimly perceived.

Towards a Constructive Policy

We pass, then, to the consideration of definite proposals for the attainment of lasting peace. Most of them are addressed primarily to members of the Houses of Parliament, for on their influence the immediate future depends.

(1) The solution of the existing situation is not to be found by a reduction of the Naval Estimates of this country, as an isolated act of policy, and to urge this at the moment is waste of effort. Reduction must be mutual, but can only follow an understanding, and before an understanding is possible a new atmosphere has to be created in both countries.

(2) The present system under which Parliament is kept without knowledge of foreign policy, and without the opportunity of exercising influence, should be modified. The writer does not forget that a large part of the details of negotiations with foreign countries must necessarily be secret in the future as in the past; but this is not to say that the representatives of the nation are to be allowed to have no voice even in the discussion of the broad principles of our foreign policy, or that we are to be brought to the verge of war without any influence having had play outside a small circle of diplomatists.

How to secure this discussion and influence without prejudice to national interests is a serious problem. We are, however, in this country under a more than usually secret system so far as relations with other countries are concerned. The writer would like further consideration to be given to the possibility of a Foreign Relations Committee. There is at least this immediate argument to be used in its favour, that the wider the circle which shapes foreign policy, the more representative of the nation is it likely to be. It is a curious testimony to the present powerlessness of Parliament in foreign affairs that even to-day we have no knowledge of the nature of the existing treaty with France, its duration, its military or other responsibilities. Ought this knowledge any longer to be withheld?

(3) The British Government, with entire sincerity, has from time to time expressed its willingness to come to an arrangement with Germany on the basis of a mutual limitation of shipbuilding. The fact that this suggestion has not been accepted by Germany is not a sufficient reason for going no further. The resources of

the Government are not exhausted by a proposal of that nature, and other means should be tried to reach the desired end.

Thus, for instance, there might be a special mission to Berlin. The choice of the man to represent us could not be too carefully made, but happily there is more than one fitted for this high duty. For ourselves we should be content if the choice fell upon Lord Haldane, who both by temperament and knowledge is singularly fitted for a duty demanding the highest powers of statesmanship. Such a mission would review the whole field of controversy, present or potential, between the two countries, and would seek not only the adjustment of present differences, but the formulating of a policy with reference to those subjects and countries which will clearly become matters of controversy in the future.

(4) There is an urgent need that each nation should have the knowledge of the other which alone can banish the cruder forms of prejudice in each country. At the Church Congress a large audience was deeply impressed by the view of Germany given by Sir Frank Lascelles, and greatly moved by his wise words on behalf of a friendship which he, with a unique experience, believed to be possible. Equally profound was the impression made by Lord Haldane's review of the history of modern Germany at the Oxford Summer Meeting. In both cases knowledge was substituted for ignorance, hope for fear. A prop was removed from the throne of the sensational Press. Similarly, let the two peoples obtain knowledge of each other. One step towards this would be for an exchange of visits between a representative number of members of the two Parliaments. We should like to begin by having members of the Reichstag here as the guests of Parliament, and letting them have the opportunity not only to state with frankness their own views, but also to hear the views of our own members. But apart from this it would be a great step gained to have established direct personal relationships between the members of the two Parliaments.

(5) It is difficult to make any definite proposal to mitigate the evil caused by a section of the Press in each country, and by the less-scrupulous foreign correspondents. But something more might be done by the greater papers not only to preserve the public from vicious fictions, but also in taking a more active part for the cause of friendship by giving a fuller picture of German life, German thought, and German character, realising that merely to print cabled extracts from inspired or subsidised papers abroad is not to reach any true appreciation or knowledge of the German nation. A word of protest may also be recorded here against a practice which has caused great mischief in Germany, the printing in certain weekly papers here of cheap and lurid stories of invasion either of or by this country.

(6) Believing, with the late Ambassador to Germany that friendly relations between the two nations are not only possible but reasonable, we would ultimately desire that an appeal be made to as representative a body of public opinion in each country as is possible. We would precede this appeal by the constructive measures roughly outlined above, but ultimately the policy approved by this nation should be made as clear to the people of Germany as to our own. The prelude to this would be its clear definition on the floor of the House of Commons. It would not be a small achievement to have formulated a policy, the result of patient mission and of negotiation, which we could submit openly, if need be, for the judgment of the nations concerned. We are strong enough to do this.

The situation, though dark and threatening, is not without hope. Political memories are not so short as to forget that even worse relations existed with France not long ago, and with Russia before France. Patience, moderation, sincerity, will point the way of peace, and cause the present black cloud to recede perhaps for ever from our view.

J. H. WHITEHOUSE.

THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE FRANCO-GERMAN DISPUTE

Now that the acute stage of the Moroccan crisis is supposedly over, I submit that the time has come when Englishmen, whatever view they may hold on matters of internal politics and whatever intelligent sympathies they may feel for the French people, should closely examine sundry matters of vital national import and ask themselves in all soberness where this *entente* with France is leading us. The average citizen looked upon the conclusion of the *entente* as a friendly bond, thanks to which old and deep-rooted misunderstandings had been cleared away—the Newfoundland fisheries dispute, the pinpricks in Egypt, the Niger squabble, the Siamese imbroglio. As such it was cordially welcomed. As such its continuation is earnestly desired by Englishmen. But the last few years have exhibited the understanding in a somewhat curious light, and the time has come when, in the interest of its maintenance, straight speaking is absolutely necessary. In Madagascar British commercial interests have been handled with scant courtesy, and the British Friends' Mission established there for many years, and which under the leadership of the noble-minded Dr. Wilson rendered such conspicuous humanitarian service to the French army of occupation, with shabby injustice—suffered in silence, but nevertheless widely known and resented. In Turkey, in Abyssinia, in the French Congo, British interests have been systematically opposed by France. One of the most paramount of British national interests, strangely neglected by British Governments in recent years, is the open door for trade. But France has converted vast areas in Equatorial Africa into as close a monopolistic preserve as did King Leopold in the Congo State, notwithstanding an international Act signed by her expressly directed at preventing such a state of affairs. France's attitude in the question of the Muscat sultanship continues to involve us in the expenditure of large sums and to be a perennial source of danger to the security of the Indian frontier. France claims our diplomatic support everywhere, and it would be hard to say what we have received or are receiving in return, apart from a hypothetical assumption that under given circum-

stances we might be expected to rely upon her assistance. In the matter of our long and inglorious diplomatic struggle against King Leopold, when British public opinion was unanimous in desiring stronger and more consistent action compatible with our treaty rights and obligations, and with the repeated declarations of our statesmen of both parties, French diplomacy was ceaselessly directed against us. In the New Hebrides we are becoming accomplices of a system of forced labour, tolerated by the French Government at the bidding of French planters backed by a French syndicate, and, despite the efforts of several far-seeing and humane French officials on the spot, so atrocious that if the proceedings of the newly installed Mixed Court under the Anglo-French *condominium* are made public (as they ought to be) the *entente* with France cannot but be gravely compromised in the eyes of public opinion. In French West Africa—other than the territories affected by the Customs arrangement of 1898—we are now threatened by an attempt to differentiate against British goods in a manner which, if carried, will practically ruin British trade in those regions. It appears to be a very one-sided bargain which permits of these things. Worse than all, the *entente* has synchronised with a steadily increased tension in Anglo-German relations. Finally, the Morocco affair reveals the *entente* as an instrument under which the whole national strength of Britain can apparently be placed at the disposal of French colonial and financial ambitions, if those ambitions are interfered with by another Power. And this is the most startling revelation of all, one which should surely induce us to consider whither the nation is being guided.

From the beginning of last July, when the *Panther* anchored off Agadir, it has been assumed with a staggering complacency that if France and Germany did not compose their differences Britain was prepared to join with France in a war against Germany in order to enforce the French case. But when has any such national mandate been given either to the past or the present holders of office in this country? If the *entente* has come to mean a shield under cover of which French ambitions can move in security towards the attainment of an end which in itself may not work out at all to the interests of Great Britain, then democratic government is a myth and the nation has lost all control over its foreign policy. In any case the House of Commons as at present constituted appears powerless to exercise any sort of check upon a Department which wraps its activities—and its miscalculations—in a veil of secrecy more impenetrable than at any time during the past hundred years. One side is so inoculated with the anti-German virus that every incident upon the international chess-board is exclusively regarded from a particular point of view. The

other is so concentrated upon home politics and social reform as to be oblivious of the truth that a great war in which England were engaged would postpone these schemes for a generation. Bishop Creighton wrote to Gladstone in 1887 that he had suggested to a publisher a series of books dealing briefly with the political history and constitution of the chief States of Europe. He thought it, he remarked, of great importance that 'people in general should know what they were talking about when they spoke of France and Russia.' He went on to say that the results of his effort convinced him 'that our ignorance of the last sixty years is colossal.'[1] It does not seem to have lessened since. Much of what has been written in the last three months and has found ready acceptance, without the slightest attempt to test its accuracy, about the history of Franco-German rivalry in Morocco during the past ten years, has certainly been 'colossal' in its ignorance of elementary historical facts.

The despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir was met here with a storm of indignation which, but for the gravity of the issues, would have been almost comic. Five years had passed since the Act of Algeçiras, guaranteeing the integrity of the Sultan's dominions, had been signed by all the Powers. In that interval two Powers, France and Spain, had adhered so strictly to its provisions that slice after slice of Moroccan territory had been occupied by them, first on one pretext, then on another. Moroccan towns had been bombarded, hundreds of Moors had been killed by their direct action, widespread misery had been occasioned by their indirect action in enmeshing the rulers of that country in a web of financial obligations from which they vainly endeavoured to extricate themselves by pillaging their unhappy subjects; even the capital of Morocco has been occupied. We managed to control our national indignation! But when Germany sent a man-o'-war to a Moroccan port, neither landing a marine nor occupying a yard of territory, a hundred clamant voices arose to denounce her to the British public as a sort of international highwayman. An entire issue of this Review could be packed with quotations of this character which filled the bulk of the Press and the magazines in July and August. The general line of argument was that the presence of the *Panther* at Agadir constituted a 'new phase' of the Moroccan question, and that this 'new phase' was a cynical and deliberate attempt on the part of Germany to imperil the peace of the world. But to anyone cognisant of the circumstances preceding that event, the 'new phase' originated with the attempts, begun when the ink on the Algeçiras Act was hardly dry, and successively pursued ever since by France, to bring about a situation neither authorised nor contemplated by that diplomatic

[1] *Life of Gladstone.* By the Right Hon. John Morley. Vol. ii. p. 535.

instrument, finally culminating in the occupation of the Sultan's capital. Germany's action at Agadir was the logical outcome of General Moinier's presence at Fez, just as the German Emperor's visit to Tangier had been the logical outcome of the diplomacy which, in the Anglo-French Convention of 1904,[2] actually did perpetrate at Germany's expense what Mr. Lloyd George was so anxious to inform the world on the 21st of July Great Britain would never, never tolerate at *her* expense—viz. to be treated 'where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the cabinet of nations.' The genesis of Germany's attitude on the Moroccan question for the last seven years is to be found in the Declaration signed in London on the 8th of April 1904, between Lord Lansdowne and M. Cambon, whereby France obtained a free hand in Morocco from Great Britain as a *quid pro quo* for leaving us in peace in Egypt. And for the following entirely adequate reasons:

Germany's concern in Morocco is referred to nowadays as though it were quite a recent phenomenon, and artificially stimulated in order to pick a quarrel with France. Nothing could be further from the truth. German interest in the Shereefian empire dates back to the scientific missions of Rohlfs and Lenz in the seventies. A conference at Madrid in 1880, at Germany's suggestion, extended to other Powers the 'most-favoured-nation' treatment, which until then had been a monopoly of France. In 1899 a Moroccan embassy visited Berlin, and the following year Germany and Morocco concluded a commercial treaty. In 1890 the German Minister at Tangier undertook a journey to Fez with great *éclat*, and laid the basis for a German influence which was to grow steadily with the years, and which, in the times to follow, was to convey the intimation to all whom it might concern that Germany would claim a voice in the eventual settlement of the Moroccan question. Ten years later the German feelers met the French tentacles.

France's ancient influence over Morocco had disappeared with much else amid the disasters of 1870. In the two concluding years of last century it began to revive, and in the opening years of the present one an ambitious and impetuous Minister sought to galvanise it into strenuous activity. In March 1901 M. Delcassé sent a vigorous remonstrance to the Sultan in respect to the attacks he alleged French convoys on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier were subjected to by tribes owning allegiance to the Sultan. The latter replied that he had often suggested a delimitation of the frontier and was prepared to play his part in carrying it out in conjunction with the French authorities in Algiers. In April a squabble, whose origin appears to have been purely personal, occurred on

[2] Treaty Series, No. 6, 1905.

Moroccan territory between a Moor and a Frenchman called Pouzet. M. Pouzet was killed. Thereupon the French Minister at Tangier threatened to send for two French battleships. In June 'compensation' for the affair was paid, and the Sultan despatched an embassy to Paris, where an arrangement was signed accentuating the close neighbourhood (*situation de voisinage immédiat*) of the two Powers and the need for 'consolidating the links of friendship between the two Governments,' on a basis of 'respect for the integrity of the Shereefian empire,' and M. Delcassé wrote to the French Minister at Tangier:

> You should make the Sultan feel that it depends upon himself to possess in us friends the most sincere, the most anxious to uphold the integrity of his power, the most able to preserve him, if necessary, from certain dangers. Our loyalty, as well as our interests, are a guarantee to him that we shall not encroach upon it.

But while M. Delcassé was writing 'integrity' and 'loyalty,' in Paris they were talking 'Protectorate,' and Prince Radolin was closely questioning the Marquis de Noailles (France's Ambassador in Berlin) on the point. German watchfulness had, in fact, been aroused, and M. Delcassé clearly realised at that time that it must be reckoned with. He had large ideas, and he straightway sought to put them into effect. The years 1901 and 1902 witnessed a brisk exchange of communications between Paris, Berlin and Madrid, all based upon the division of Morocco into spheres of influence which should reconcile the interests of the three Powers. An agreement in that sense was on the point of being concluded in November 1902 when Spain, probably acting under British diplomatic pressure, withdrew at the last moment. What ensued during the next twelve months is still a closely kept secret. That the steering-gear of French diplomacy had in that interval completely altered the course of the French Ship of State became apparent with the publication of the Anglo-French Convention of the 8th of April 1904. Its text was not communicated to Germany by M. Delcassé for three weeks on the pretext of an ambassadorial indisposition. M. Delcassé had, in homely language, left Germany on the shelf, and the seeds of a growing estrangement between that Power and Britain, destined to bring forth a plentiful harvest, had been sown in fruitful ground.

It is surely childish for us to affect ignorance of the consequences which were bound to flow from these events. No Great Power could have sat down under a rebuff such as that administered to Germany by the Anglo-French Convention. French diplomacy, by its precedent negotiations with Germany, had recognised that Germany was, and must of necessity be, a factor in any settlement of the Moroccan question. The fact of these precedent negotiations precluded any settlement of the problem in the manner desired by the French colonial and military party, without German

consent. Any attempt on the part of France to get what she wanted without squaring Germany could only be made at the certain risk of a rupture. Lord Rosebery was one of the few British statesmen of any prominence who kept an even keel at that time, and who was far-sighted enough to perceive the inevitable aftermath; just as the *Morning Post* was one of the very few English newspapers of repute, as it was justified in reminding us recently, which followed suit. That M. Delcassé committed a stupendous blunder for which he afterwards paid is quite true; that it was primarily France's business, and not ours, to advise Germany is also true; but that we were bound to be coupled in Germany's eyes with the French affront is equally obvious, and a long-sighted diplomacy would have prevented it.

What followed is, or ought to be, familiar, and it would seem to be useless at first sight to go over the ground, were it not that statements are still currently made, even by men who have held Cabinet rank in this country, which recall in painful fashion Bishop Creighton's words quoted above. Germany nursed her sore, bided her time, and, when the moment appeared opportune, struck. The German Emperor's visit to Tangier ultimately brought France to Algeçiras, and there, on the 7th of April 1906 the Powers submitted certain proposals to the Sultan of Morocco: 'inspired by the interest which attaches to the reign of order, peace and prosperity in Morocco.' These desirable ends, the preamble states, can only be attained by the introduction of reforms:

'based upon the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of his Majesty the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality.'

The Act was ratified by the Sultan on June 18th:

'based in the first instance on three principles, namely: maintenance of our sovereignty [in the text: of our sovereign rights], of the independence of our aforesaid Empire, and of economic liberty in the matter of public works.' [3]

The Algeçiras Act has been and continues to be commonly spoken of in England as though it contained a mandate from Europe to France for the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco. There is not a passage or a phrase in the text which implies any such thing. A privileged position is rightly granted to France and Spain (Art. 3) by allowing French and Spanish officers—under a Swiss inspector—to assist in reorganising the Sultan's police. Regulations concerning the illicit trade in fire-arms along the internal Eastern border are left to France and Morocco to draw up (Art. 30). The State bank is to be governed by French law relating to limited liability companies (Art. 44),

[3] *Morocco.* No. 1, 1906.

but it is to be under the joint inspection of British, French, German and Spanish delegates. That is all. That the limitations of the Act did not satisfy French aspirations goes without saying, and the history of the past four years has been a history of actions, positive and indirect, calculated to give France a position in regard to Morocco which she had long coveted, but which by no stretch of imagination can be read into the Act. First one portion and then another of Moroccan territory was occupied; Casablanca was bombarded under circumstances which provoked the indignation and the protests of British subjects on the spot. Successive Sultans became tightly swaddled in the strings of international—principally French—finance. Internal anarchy grew with the growing inability of the Moorish Government to meet its increasing liabilities for interest on the various loans more or less forced upon it. France demanded an enormous compensation for her outlay at Casablanca, a proceeding somewhat analogous to that imputed to Italian diplomacy to-day by several of the Italian newspapers, to the effect that if Turkey does not make haste to swallow the medicine labelled 'Tripoli-Italiana' Italy will not only decline to offer any compensation for her seizure of Tripoli, but will herself claim a substantial indemnity from Turkey for the expense she has been put to in the process of absorbing it! Spain, watching with jealous eyes the French *mainmise*, pounced upon Moroccan territory, and also demanded an indemnity for the expense from the wretched Sultan. The tribes began to rise against the pressure put upon them by the Sultan, at his wits' ends to raise money. The state of the country got worse and worse. The French grip became tighter than ever. French diplomacy entered into desultory conversations with Berlin which came to nothing, and, meantime, gathered up all the necessary links for an advance upon Fez. With the occupation of Fez the Act of Algeçiras was pitched into the waste-paper basket, for no one who preserves anything that approximates to level judgment will contend that the occupation of the capital of Morocco by a French army is compatible with the maintenance of the *status quo* in Morocco which it was the professed intention of the Act[4] to uphold. Germany's reply was the despatch of the *Panther* to Agadir; Spain's the seizure of another piece of Moroccan territory. Whether France was or was not justified in her occupation of Udja, of the Shawia district, in bombarding Casablanca, in marching upon Fez, and in the land-squeezing operations which followed that occupation, denounced by *The Times* correspondent at Tangier, is not worth arguing. The fact remains that France did these things, that she is in occupation of Fez, and that the series of events culminating in that occupation altered the entire outlook of the Moroccan problem as it was left at Algeçiras, causing it to

[4] And of the Franco-German Agreement of February 9, 1909.

assume the aspect it possessed intrinsically since 1904—viz. a French protectorate for which France was thenceforth doubly bound to pay a price both to Germany and to Spain. If the Act of Algeçiras was violated, it was violated by the Powers which disregarded the integrity of the Sultan's dominions and reduced his independence to dependence, not by the Power which, after having been twice jockeyed out of what it considered to be its lawful position in the matter, did *not* occupy Moroccan territory, did *not* shoot down a single Moor, but merely sent one of its vessels to anchor in a Moroccan port as an intimation that it did not intend to be treated 'as of no account in the cabinet of nations.' And yet the British people have been asked during the past three months to believe the direct contrary, in a flood of articles and speeches of which the following discourse by Mr. Lyttelton is a recent and typical example:

> They had seen that the German Foreign Office cared nothing whether their action involved a violation of a treaty, the sanctity of which they themselves had been insisting upon during the past three years. They had seen that it was nothing to the German Foreign Office that they used language and took action which had brought Europe—this was not an exaggeration—to the verge of a desolating war. [At Selkirk, October 21.]

When dangerous rubbish of that sort can pass muster with a people usually so common-sense as ours, it is time that some one protested against the studious distortions of history, and the appeals to ill-informed prejudice and passion which have poisoned the atmosphere and are precipitating into a deadly and criminal conflict two great nations who, as Sir Frank Lascelles has recently reminded us, have never in the whole course of history fought against one another and who have no real quarrel between them. So long as that state of tension exists, so long will every Englishman worthy of the name be prepared to take his share in insuring his country against the risks which it entails. But it cannot be in the national interest that this tension should continue if it can be removed; and it cannot be to the national interest that a friendly understanding with one Great Power should be used as a lever to convert the people of this country into violent partisans when the interests, or supposed interests, of that Power conflict with the interests of another. In this Moroccan affair we have been goaded into being more French than the French, and its conclusion—if happily the worst anxieties are over—leaves our relations more embittered with Germany than ever; although, at intervals, our governing statesmen (who during the whole course of this dispute have not uttered one word to counteract the effects of an avalanche of inaccurate data upon the public mind) have delivered themselves of sonorous platitudes about our desire to see France and Germany come to an understanding. A triumph for diplomacy, in truth!

By the time this article appears the Franco-German negotiations over the French Congo will probably have been concluded, subject to ratification by the French Chamber, which is not, perhaps, as certain as most people imagine. Here again we have witnessed a renewed and partly successful attempt on the part of agencies for mischief and their ignorant dupes to intensify anti-German feeling. It is doubly important that the subject should be examined not in the light of prejudice but of facts, since the main lines—now known—the Agreement takes involve endless opportunities of future friction and, in the nature of things, can only be regarded as provisional. I submit that the common-sense course for public opinion to pursue as regards any readjustment, now or in the future, of the German and French spheres of influence in Western-Central Africa, is to ascertain the facts and to consider them in the light of the only real British national interest concerned with the great equatorial forest-belt of Africa under foreign rule. In the first place, and the truth may possibly have come out before this article is in print, the idea of giving Germany a *quid pro quo* in the French Congo emanated not from Berlin, as has been repeatedly asserted, but from Paris. In its origin it was a French proposal to Germany, not a German demand, and it was accompanied by further proposals touching the reversionary interest which France holds in the Congo State, attributed with equal inaccuracy to Germany. On the question of principle, then, we had clearly nothing to say. But it was argued by those who wish us to interfere in every phase of the Franco-German dispute that Germany was making excessive demands upon France. Assuming that this were so, what call had we to thrust ourselves between the disputants? France is not an infant in swaddling clothes. French diplomacy is the most subtle in the world, well able to take care of itself in any bout of hard bargaining. The French Congo, as it happens, is the one portion of the overseas dominions of France which can be reduced—for the substantial advantage, as contemporary thought judges these things, of a protectorate over Morocco—without the loss of any real national interest. The case would be very different if Algeria, Tunisia, or the federated Dependencies of French West Africa were in question. With Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the federated Dependencies of French West Africa, France will possess a North-West African Empire which in area, population, and wealth is exceeded only by India. Her dependencies in the Congo basin—even if they were not in their present parlous condition—are in every respect by comparison utterly insignificant. There is not a mile of railway in any part of the French Congo; much of it is, even now, virtually unknown; the roads are few; French authority, save here and there,

little more than a name. This unhappy dependency has never been anything but a drain upon the home exchequer, not because it is not intrinsically valuable—parts of it are very rich in tropical produce—but because, following years of neglect and partial abandonment, it has suffered during the last eleven years from that hideous negation of government—the most cruel and economically exhausting method of exploitation known to modern times—commonly described as the Leopoldian, or *concessionnaire* system: a system whose basic principle it is that the raw produce of tropical Africa, at once the negotiable wealth, the purchasing medium, and only commercial asset of the native population economically considered, belongs, not to the native communities, although they alone can gather and harvest it, but to financial corporations created in Europe. Since 1899, when the system was introduced through King Leopold's influence, the French Congo, which was acquired for France by de Brazza without firing a shot, by methodical exploration and successive treaties of amity and commerce with the native chiefs, has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire. It has become, to use the bitter but only too truthful comment of a French paper, 'the home of colonial scandals.' This is not the place to discuss a story of the deepest but also of the most painful interest. But one factor in the situation we are now considering is intimately bound up with that story, and needs to be pointedly emphasised.

There is a powerful combination or 'consortium,' as it is termed, of these *concessionnaire* companies whose concessions are included in the area affected by the French proposals to Germany, which is bent upon obtaining, as the upshot of the Franco-German deal, indemnities out of all proportion to any claims it may have to formulate under its repeatedly violated charter from someone, either from Germany or from the French Government. This influence it is which is the most powerful element now engaged in preventing ratification by the Chamber, and many of the people who are noisily protesting have not the least idea that they are being used as the cat's-paw of financial interests which are neither interesting nor even respectable. We have it on the authority of a French parliamentary paper[5] that the director of one of these companies, at that moment pressing an unjustifiable claim upon the French Government, told the then French Colonial Minister (1909) to his face in his own Cabinet: 'You will not give us the compensation to which we are legitimately entitled. Very well. We shall obtain it with you or with-

[5] Chambre du Députés. No. 376. Rapport fait au nom du budget chargée d'examiner le projet de loi portant fixation du budget général de l'exercice 1911. Budgets locaux des Colonies, deuxième partie. [Afrique équatorial—N'Goko Sangha.] Session de 1910.

out you. I have the entire Press at my back, and two hundred members of Parliament.' This incident, typical of many others of a similar character and hardly credible save to those who know something of the mass of corruption which has been generated in French political, colonial, and journalistic life by the era of overseas financial speculation ushered in fifteen years ago, should warn us in this country to accept with the utmost caution the statements communicated from Paris as to the genuineness of the popular outcry against the ratification of the Congo part of the Franco-German agreement, without which, of course, the whole negotiations fall to the ground. As a further illustration of the necessity for caution, one may recall the unfounded attacks upon Germany in the French and in many organs of the British Press last year (fed by false intelligence from the same quarters) relating to the Franco-German incidents which had arisen in the neighbourhood of the Cameroons-French Congo frontier, in the concession of the N'Goko Sangha *concessionnaire* company. Among the charges then publicly laid at the door of Germany were the 'invasion' of French territory, the 'violation' of a French frontier, the 'seizure' of a town, Missum-Missum, in the French sphere, the 'shooting' of French protected subjects by a German officer, *et ainsi de suite*. All these charges were, of course, telegraphed here from Paris, and led to the usual comments by that considerable body of publicists and others so unhappily anxious to fasten upon any stick with which to beat the German dog. The facts when established showed that once again British public opinion had been made the tool of intrigues originating among the least reputable section of the French colonial party. The mischief is that the truth of these incidents can only be ascertained long afterwards, and it is only by accident if it ever emerges from the ponderous pages of some official document. It has now been recorded in a French official publication [6] that the whole scare was worked up in order to put pressure upon the French Government to extend the territorial area of the N'Goko Sangha Company's concession, and to force that Government to yield to a claim for compensation for the alleged depredations of German traders upon its concession; that Missum-Missum was a town in the German sphere, and consequently that there had been neither violation nor invasion; that the trouble with the natives had been wholly occasioned through their abominable ill-usage by the Company's agents; that matters were adjusted by the 'generous intervention' of a German officer, whose conduct under great difficulties so impressed a French military commission charged with investigating the affair on the spot that in their report they urged he should receive the Legion of Honour!

[6] Chambre du Députés. No. 376.

As to the positive British national interest in this part of tropical Africa, there is only one; and that is the open door—free markets; the right of the native to collect his produce under a just Government, and to engage in unfettered trade with the outer world. The national interest has not altered because our diplomatists, in their incessant pursuit of political combinations and sentimentalities like Cape-to-Cairo railways, and so forth, have of late sadly neglected it. All that the national interest demands in the equatorial regions of Africa is that those regions shall be under the control of nations whose policy is not the selfish exploitation and destruction of the native for immediate gains, but the promotion of commerce and the increase of population; and who are prepared to treat British trade and British merchants not on any specially favoured footing, but fairly, with equity and justice. We know from Lord Fitzmaurice's Memoirs of Earl Granville that the predominant feeling to which the British Government of the day responded in yielding to popular clamour and recognising King Leopold's pretensions in Central Africa, was that it 'afforded the only hope of preventing a practical monopoly of the interior of Africa being obtained by France.'[7] Freedom for trade and the rights of the natives were the two objectives which the British plenipotentiaries at the Berlin Conference of 1884 aimed throughout the negotiations at securing. We know what the upshot was! We know that when in 1892 King Leopold by a stroke of the pen closed the entire Congo to trade, British diplomacy did not lift a finger to prevent him. We know that when pressed, later on and upon two occasions, by Germany to take combined action to force respect for treaty rights upon the sovereign of the Congo State, British diplomacy turned a deaf ear. We know that in the years that followed, although backed by overwhelming popular support *(for which it had asked in order to justify something more decisive than verbal protests, contemptuously disregarded)*, British diplomacy was unable to vindicate either the moral obligations or the commercial rights of the nation. We know that British diplomacy allowed Belgium to annex the Congo under an arrangement which was avowedly designed to perpetuate for several years the same policy; that even now, three years after annexation, the embargo laid upon trade in the Congo State has not been wholly removed; that even in such parts of the Congo where it has been removed—the main part—the Belgian Government has expressly, and by royal decree, stated that the reform must not be regarded as an admission that the native communities have any right to dispose of the fruits of their soil or product of their labour, but as merely a 'concession,' and a revocable one to boot!

[7] *The Life of Lord Granville*, vol. ii. p. 357.

And what of French and German policy in the Cameroons and French Congo respectively? While Germany, the enemy, the international highwayman, the Power which seeks to destroy and hamper British trade, has welcomed our merchants, protected our trade, extended to our commercial representatives every courtesy and facility in the transaction of their business, encouraged their enterprise, and generally assisted them; what has been the attitude of France, our ally, at the disposal of whose colonial enterprises we place, it seems, our diplomacy and, if need be in the ultimate resort, our sea-power? From four-fifths of the vast French Congo international trade is utterly excluded. It has been covered with monopolies contrary to the Berlin Act—in flagrant violation of that Act, indeed; and British merchants, long established within it, have been treated with a contumely and an injustice which forty years ago no British Government would have tolerated for as many days. British interests, far from being jeopardised, will be served by any re-arrangement of frontiers which leaves Germany with a larger share of Equatorial Africa than she possesses at present, and there is not a British Chamber of Commerce in England that is not aware of it. The truth of the matter is that Germany's interest in these undeveloped portions of the world's surface is identical with our own. It is the interest of the open door, and among all the fatuities which characterise this estrangement between two great commercial nations there is none more self-evident than this. Ask any British commercial man whether he would prefer to carry on his business in Morocco under the German or under the French flag! No case can be cited where Germany has placed obstacles in the way of British trade in Africa. We desire to keep on good terms with the French, as we do with every nation. We share with the French great traditions of liberty. But do not let us be blind to the national interest when a clear case of where the national interest really lies comes up before us.

If the nation would only shake itself free for a moment from the obsession which has laid hold upon it, and take to thinking for itself instead of letting a diplomacy—out of touch alike with the nation's commercial life as with the deeper wells of national feeling—and a handful of able writers do its thinking for it, it could not fail to modify very considerably its present estimate of German aims and German policy. Averting its gaze from the jingoes on the banks of the Spree and the jingoes on the banks of the Thames, it would realise that the prime essentiality of German national growth is not colonies of German-speaking peoples overseas, but elbow-room for industrial expansion—industrial expansion necessitating free markets. It would realise that Germany is bound to fight for free markets even as England

used to do, and that Germany will be right in so doing if they are denied her, even as England was right. It would realise that Germany is compelled to view with anger and anxiety every fresh acquisition of undeveloped territory by a Power which seeks to convert every part of the habitable globe where its flag flies into privileged preserves for its own commerce and finance. It would realise that the true explanation of Germany's shipbuilding programme is to be sought in her fear lest this free development of her industrial agencies all over the world, in open competition with other nations, is in itself regarded by Great Britain as a menace which must be conjured by violence at the psychological moment. And appreciating this sentiment, yet knowing that such of its citizens as may entertain these insane views are so few in number as to be utterly insignificant, the nation would deliberately, quietly set itself to remove misapprehension; make up its mind to show beyond possibility of doubt that it regards the increasing spread of German industries as a menace only in the sense of demonstrating the need for renewed activities of its own in a field of honourable economic rivalry. Strong in that resolve, the nation would enter resolutely, and compel its diplomatists to follow, the path which should rid the world of a tyranny of error which disturbs its slumbers and haunts its waking hours.

As for the *entente* with France, the surest way to destroy its power for good, and ultimately to raise from the ashes of generous hopes encompassing its birth a legacy of enduring bitterness between the very peoples it was designed to bring together, would be for those peoples to allow it to be converted by a faction in England and a faction in France into an instrument of aggression.

E. D. MOREL.

WHAT DO LIBERALS MEAN BY HOUSE OF LORDS' REFORM?

The Parliament Bill is now law. The proposal to limit the veto of the Upper Chamber, affirmed by the House of Commons in 1907, endorsed at two successive Elections in 1910, and carried through the Lower House with unbroken majorities this year, has passed the Lords and received the Royal Assent. The leaders of the Conservative party, realising that the country was against them, have bowed to a decision which they could not prevent. The more extreme opponents of the Bill have registered a protest, directed perhaps against their own leaders as much as against the other side, and interesting from the groups which it combined and the names associated with it. But they have found it difficult to fight for a House which has unanimously declared itself unfitted to continue in its present form; and, while they include some active and articulate voices, they have not yet shown that they have any serious hold upon the country, or any serious wish to test the country's feeling on the point. Indeed, the one significant feature of the last two General Elections, and of every bye-election during the current year, has been the determination of Conservative candidates to fight, apparently, on any issue—Tariff Reform, Home Rule, the Insurance Bill, or any other—rather than defend the claims put forward by the House of Lords. Very few Conservative candidates and few responsible Conservative leaders are at this moment prepared to go to the electors with a demand for the repeal of the Parliament Act. The utmost they hope is to return to power upon some other issue, and to use their victory—on the plea of devising a more efficient Second Chamber—to re-establish their control over Lords and Commons alike. And it is this possibility which renders it important for the Liberal party to make up its mind on the difficult question of House of Lords' reform.

Few critics, looking back on the struggle now concluded, will deny that, whatever Conservatives may think of their own leaders, the Liberals at any rate have been very finely led. After the Election of January 1910 there was an obvious moment of perplexity in the Liberal ranks. The policy of limiting the

veto of the Lords had been adopted after full consideration by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government, accepted by an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons, and re-affirmed on the eve of the Election, in measured and authoritative language, by a leader who spoke with his Cabinet round him, and who never spoke obscurely yet. But immediately after the Election there was a movement, associated, it seemed, with voices which no Liberals could disregard, in favour of varying the issue, of throwing the whole problem into the melting-pot again, and of substituting for the policy of limiting the veto a wholly different policy of House of Lords' reform. This was a large and bold proposal, startling in its thoroughness and in the completeness of its breach with English custom, nothing less than the root-and-branch destruction of the House of Lords, and the creation in its place of an elective Chamber, whose form and functions were still to be defined. To many Liberals this new proposal, though interesting and attractive in itself, seemed to complicate and to confuse an issue which they regarded as already settled. To some it seemed that to drop the veto proposals, just after the party and the country had pronounced in their favour, would be a confession of instability of judgment which no Government could make without loss of credit; that to come forward with new and sweeping proposals for the abolition of the Lords and the creation of a brand-new Senate, involved innumerable difficulties and endless chances of obstruction and delay; that the two policies, though not irreconcilable, were in their nature totally distinct; and that, while the limitation of the veto was in its essence a plan to restrict the powers of the Lords and to secure the rights of the Commons, House of Lords' reform might easily become a method of securing the rights of the Lords and of restricting the powers of the Commons. The Conservative leaders of course saw their opportunity and took it. They became ardent advocates of House of Lords' reform—meaning by that something wholly different from the ideals of Liberal reformers. They discovered in that cry a hopeful prospect of hoisting the Liberals with their own petard, and of strengthening the Upper Chamber with an admixture of representative elements, which would enable it to hold the Radicals at bay and to encroach still further on the House of Commons. For a moment some followers of the Government were puzzled, and were tempted to listen to this dangerous appeal. And but for the staunchness of Radical opinion, and the clear wisdom of the Liberal leader, it is conceivable that the majority in Parliament might have lost the fruits of their victory and have found their plans embarrassed, if not wrecked.

The history of the months which followed is the history of

the statesmanship which settled these unsettled counsels, and which reunited Liberals on the policy of limiting the veto of the Peers, with the understanding that, when that was accomplished, they should consider further the problem of House of Lords' reform. The humour of the Conservative party has represented this result as due to the influence of Mr. Redmond. It was really due to the strong feeling among Liberals of all shades of opinion that House of Lords' reform could wait, but that they could not justly or reasonably wait to restore the predominance of the House of Commons, threatened by the recent action of the Peers as it had never been threatened since 1832. They believed that the action of the Lords since 1906 showed a new and startling intention to break through the constitutional practice of many years, and to establish a control over the legislation of the Commons such as no responsible Conservative leader had ventured to claim for two generations. They felt that their first task must be to dispose of these pretensions, to limit by statute, if need be, powers still capable of grave abuse, and to end for ever a system under which a Conservative minority, however decisively beaten in the country, could always, through its hold upon the Upper House, destroy Liberal legislation, defy Liberal Governments, and dissolve at pleasure a Liberal House of Commons. It is surely one of the puzzles of politics that any fair-minded Conservative should think it possible for Liberals with a large majority behind them to acquiesce in such a state of things.

It is not the object of this paper to discuss the Parliament Act. The charge of revolution brought against it has left the electors unconcerned. The cry that it introduces Single Chamber government has no terrors for a country long accustomed to see a Single Chamber appoint its executive, govern its Empire, rule its finances, and decide the most momentous issues of Imperial policy without restraint. The theory that a majority of the House of Commons, which can settle all these questions uncontrolled, cannot be trusted to deal with domestic legislation unless subjected to severe checks and restrictions, provokes a smile when maintained by a party which for sixteen or seventeen years out of the last five-and-twenty has treated the decisions of such a majority as conclusive without any checks or restrictions at all, and which, when in office, never hesitates to accept that system as a settled part of our constitutional practice. One has only to state this contention plainly to see how untenable it is. In effect it amounts to this. 'Checks and restrictions on the House of Commons are essential, provided they operate against one side alone. We never allow any restrictions on it

when we command a majority there. But when our opponents secure a majority, we claim to baffle and restrict it as we please.' To the great mass of onlookers the Parliament Act, I think, appears to be a fair and moderate attempt to put an end to arguments like that, and to give to the Liberal party, when the country has declared in its favour, something like the same chances as the Conservatives have long enjoyed of carrying their proposals into law; while the fact that Liberal measures will still be subjected to severe revision, from which Conservative measures will be free, does not seem to the man in the street to indicate a tyrannous or subversive temper. No one in these days, even among the Peers themselves, has a good word to say for the House of Lords. And the electors can hardly be expected to lament the restriction of powers which their possessors pronounce themselves ill-fitted to possess and have shown themselves unwilling to defend.

One criticism, however, has been brought against the Act which would be serious if it were well grounded. On the faith of a preamble, which is one of the curiosities of Cabinet government, it has been plausibly suggested by the Opposition that the Parliament Act is only a temporary measure, intended to operate until Home Rule and certain other proposals have been carried into law, and then to be replaced by a fresh Act creating a totally new Second Chamber, and imposing checks on the House of Commons from which, for the moment, its legislation will be free. The vagueness left on this point by the debates in Parliament was the one weak spot in the Government's armour. But it is impossible to read the speeches of Ministers either in Parliament or in the country without realising that there is no foundation for what, if true, would be a damaging charge. The Parliament Act is no temporary makeshift. It cannot be defended on that footing. It was not to secure a temporary makeshift that the Liberals fought and won two Elections in a single year. It has been passed to assure once for all the rights of the House of Commons, and to limit once for all the veto which any Second Chamber in this country may possess. It is not only Mr. Churchill who has laid it down emphatically that 'the absolute veto of the House of Lords shall now cease and determine for ever.' Sir Edward Grey declared, in December 1909, for a Second Chamber with proper powers of revision, but he was not willing to give it the power 'of forcing on a dissolution.' And the Prime Minister, on this question perhaps in a special degree the most representative voice in his party, has more than once made it abundantly clear that he regards the powers of revision, amendment, fuller deliberation, and delay,

assigned to the Upper House by the Parliament Act, as the functions which are really appropriate to a Second Chamber in a democratic State.' The absolute veto must go. The power of compelling dissolutions must go also.

'A properly constituted Second Chamber,' he said at Manchester last May, 'may and must in a democratic country be a useful institution because it gives opportunities, not for overruling the representative body not for competing with it, as though it possessed the same degree or anything like the same degree of authority, not as though it were in any sense a co-ordinate institution, but because it gives opportunities in the course of legislation for revision, for consultation, and, in cases of necessity, for delay. And when I say that we require, and shall require even when the Parliament Bill is passed into law, a Second Chamber and a reformed Second Chamber, I say we shall need it, first of all, to secure that those functions which I have just enumerated are properly performed, and next, we shall need it still more to secure, when you have got a Conservative majority in the House of Commons, something in the nature of fair play and an equal chance.'

Whatever House of Lords' reform may come to mean, or whatever Second Chamber the future may evolve, it is clear that Liberals can be no parties to undoing the work of the Parliament Act, to assigning to any new Chamber more than a subordinate and secondary place, or to lessening that predominance of the House of Commons which has long been founded in constitutional custom, and which has now finally been assured to it by law.

But if the subordination of the Second Chamber be a principle definitely settled, another question far less important but far more difficult remains. Is a new or a reconstructed Second Chamber needed? And, if so, what is its nature and its composition to be? The majority of democrats would probably prefer, now that the Parliament Bill is carried and something like fair-play for progressive legislation secured, to devote the limited time of Parliament to the many urgent problems before it, rather than to spend it in discussing constitutional problems more likely to divide than to unite opinion. But the Cabinet has undertaken to propose some changes in the constitution of the Upper House, and such changes are undoubtedly needed to make its revising powers more impartial and efficient than they are to-day. The choice of alternatives is simple. There are in substance only two—mending or ending, evolution or substitution, some modification of the existing House of Lords or the creation of a wholly new Chamber in its place. The Prime Minister, besides defining the purposes for which a Second Chamber is required, has laid it down that it must be small, that it must not be pre-

dominantly one-sided, that it must not claim anything like competing authority with the House of Commons, and that it must not rest on an hereditary basis. The last condition could, no doubt, be modified, if the existing House of Lords were taken as in any way the foundation of the new. But the preamble to the Parliament Act appears to contemplate the abolition of the existing House of Lords altogether, and the creation 'on a popular basis' of a brand-new Chamber in its place. That means, presumably, some kind of elective Senate. That is clearly one of the alternatives which the Liberal party has to consider; and its members may loyally ask themselves if that particular expedient is, under existing conditions, the best suited to satisfy English feeling and to complete the work of the Parliament Act.

Were there no such thing as English history, and no such body as the House of Commons, and were we all as free as the men of 1789 to give play to our fancy in building Constitutions, we could probably devise a series of admirable elective Chambers, and perhaps escape the experience of our neighbours in seeing them one and all quickly disappear. Some greatly respected members of the Conservative party have unconsciously borrowed from the Terrorists of 1793 the idea of replacing representative government by a new system under which every elector is to give a vote on every important law—a system which the Jacobins had no sooner adopted than they suspended it as impossible to work; and many Conservatives are advocating the creation of a strong elective Senate, which would mean the destruction of the House of Lords. But legislators in this country do not start with a clean slate. We have here a representative Chamber in existence which in centuries of slow development has acquired exceptional and extraordinary powers, with the happiest results for English freedom. Those powers it is far too late for any man who trusts democracy to take away. Parallels drawn from other countries are of little value to us, because, apart from the fact that most modern bi-cameral systems are largely imperfect adaptations of our own, no other country possesses a First Chamber approaching ours in authority or independence. Where you have got a British House of Commons you cannot set up anything resembling an American Senate at its side. Two co-ordinate assemblies will not work. No Liberal Government will propose them: the Prime Minister's declarations are clear upon that point. We have no room in this country for what is generally called a 'strong' Second Chamber, to control the First. We do not need a powerful, popular Senate—in Mr. Balfour's phrase, 'a second and rival House of Commons'—resting on the same foundations,

marked by the same characteristics, challenging of necessity the predominance of its rival, and always tempted to try conclusions with it. A strong Second Chamber in this sense inevitably means a weakened House of Commons; and to weaken the House of Commons, though the avowed aim of our opponents, can never be the aim of the Liberal party.

But if that be admitted, if it is clear that, for our purposes of revision and delay, we do not want a commanding Upper Chamber making a broad, popular appeal, is it not possibly a mistake to lay so much stress on its elective qualifications? Are not heroic measures out of place? We want in our Upper House experience, efficiency, a certain element of permanence and independence, possibly even a certain aloofness from the immediate heats of party feeling. We want a House with a different origin and different characteristics from the House of Commons, unless it is to be a rival to it. We want men willing to do subordinate but useful and valuable work, without an eye upon electioneering. Is it so certain that for this purpose an elective body is necessarily the best? I do not know if the Government have contemplated any special form of election for the new Senate proposed. The Unionist leaders in their model Reform Bill—surely the strangest measure ever recommended by a Conservative party—suggested a combination of elective and hereditary claims, including a process by which some members of the Lords were to be elected by members of the Commons. Others have suggested a system of election by County Councils—Peers elected by Town Councillors would certainly carry no dangerous prestige. Others again have suggested other forms of double election, the kind of constitutional expedient from which hitherto we have been fortunately free. But it is unlikely that a Liberal Government, if it ultimately decides on an elective Senate, would propose anything but a system of simple and direct election. For a small House that means very large constituencies, and very large constituencies mean very large expense. Few Liberals would welcome any increase in the power of money, which is already an evil in our electoral system. The substitution of a plutocracy for an aristocracy is not necessarily of advantage to the State. Would a Chamber chosen on that basis carry more weight, or have more moral force behind it, than the present House of Lords? It would lack most of the elements which give that House prestige to-day. It would be the first example in English history of a brand-new Legislative Chamber, without any roots in custom or tradition or in the affections of the English people; for Cromwell's experiment was at least an attempt to build upon the old foundations, to maintain forms which the nation understood. In proportion as this new

Chamber was really popular and representative, it might be perilous to the rights of the House of Commons; and in proportion as it failed to be either, its creation would be without excuse. It is open to doubt whether, when elected, it would be specially well suited for the functions which Liberals wish it to discharge. And in order to create it we should have to destroy wholesale, in a manner never before attempted in this country, a House which, shorn of its excessive powers, is no longer a menace to popular progress, and which, with its undoubted claims of dignity and service, and its remote but imperishable story, is still the most ancient and splendid of the historic assemblies of the world.

These are conservative considerations which even Liberals may entertain. Lord Morley's strongest criticism on the proposals of Lord Lansdowne was that 'they do what it was not necessary to do at all in my view—they destroy the House of Lords.' But admitting that we do undertake the task of creating a popular, elective Senate, to correct those faults of hastiness and impulsiveness in the House of Commons which popular election is supposed to give, what prospect is there of carrying such a proposal into law? Where is the driving-power to come from, now that the House of Commons has succeeded in establishing the rights for which it really cares? It would not be easy to carry such a measure through an indifferent House of Commons, and where in the present House of Commons is any enthusiasm for the proposal to be found? If the Peers resisted, how could such a measure survive two years of postponement and debate? It would be vain to expect any help for this scheme from the Conservative party, unless the Government were prepared to confer on the new Senate powers of controlling the House of Commons, to which neither Ministers nor their followers could assent. It would be vain to expect much support from the Labour party; for they view the whole scheme with frank suspicion. No speech more far-sighted and significant in some ways was made in the second-reading debate on the Parliament Bill, than the speech in which Mr. Ramsay Macdonald pleaded, on behalf of his colleagues, for a Second Chamber with 'a certain amount of æsthetic value,' for a 'picturesque House of Lords' with an 'historical foundation,' if it be the will of the nation to retain a Second Chamber at all. It would be rash for any Government to propose a bold, revolutionary measure, of wide scope and immense possibilities, if many of those on whose support it depended distrusted its object, questioned its suitability for the purposes in view, and were profoundly indifferent to its fate.

But if this alternative, the creation of a new, elective Senate, should prove on any grounds impracticable, the other alternative

remains—to evolve from the House of Lords as it exists at present the small revising body that we need. That task is less heroic, but it may be easier to achieve. It is an old tradition of English statesmanship to secure its triumphs with the minimum of change, and the House of Lords of course contains already most of the materials that our experiment requires. It is not certain that it would prove so easy to abolish it as the Peers themselves suppose. The truth is that neither the House of Lords nor the hereditary principle is unpopular in this country, though the abuse of either is. The excessive powers claimed by the Lords and their intolerable pretensions lately—I am putting the Liberal view—were intensely unpopular with the electors, and roused a depth and bitterness of feeling which many Conservatives hardly realised, and which, if it were ever attempted to revive them, would show itself with overwhelming force. But, once these pretensions have been disposed of, the Lords as an institution, and still more the Lords as individuals, are not unpopular at all. We are a historical people. Other things being equal, we would always rather adapt an old institution than create a new; and the hereditary principle, when not abused for unfair purposes, is one of the most prevalent and popular in English life. It dominates our law. It is the basis of the throne. It is one of the strongest influences in the House of Commons. In the constituencies, in the Services, in every calling and department of activity, it has enormous weight. It is bound up with English custom. It is strangely dear to English human nature. It has given us, by the chances of our history, the most interesting and unwieldy Upper House that we could have, an assembly wholly unfitted to control the electors or to govern the Commons, but full of materials which, if wisely used and sifted, might yet be of great value to the Parliamentary machine. For the purposes of our revising Chamber we want a small assembly of men of standing and prestige, accustomed to affairs in Parliament, in local work, or in the public service, able, high-minded, independent, not directly swayed by popular pressure, but so versed in the practice of administration as to be sensitive to what opinion is. To such an assembly it would be impossible in a democratic State to give the power of dissolving the Commons, or of destroying their legislation. But there is nothing to be said against giving it the largest powers of counsel and revision, power to ask for conferences which might be very useful, to bargain for amendments, to insist upon delays, to tender persistently to the representative assembly advice which from its independence it would be difficult to refuse. Where could one find a better nucleus for such a body than on the two front Benches of the House of Lords? The 'backwoods-

men,' it is true, would have to go, and happily they seem to have no doubt upon that point. The partisan character of the House would have to go too. But all that is best known to the public and most respected in it might remain, holding by a better tenure and doing better work. The object would be simply to 'evolve' a reformed House of Lords out of the existing Chamber, by using all that is most useful in it, by boldly eliminating all that is useless, and by adding what is wanting from outside.

It is not for irresponsible politicians to suggest detailed methods by which this might be done. But if a simple Bill could be passed by the present Administration, first, limiting the right of voting (not necessarily the right of attendance) to such Peers as were summoned by the Crown for life to act and vote as Lords of Parliament, and, secondly, empowering the Crown to add to them a certain number of Life-Peers, an Upper House with many admirable qualities would be assured. The Peers selected from the existing House would be its ablest members, nominated by the Crown but chosen by consultation between the party leaders, and of course making ample provision for the representation of the Conservative party. The Conservatives would be in a position to insist on this, and to secure the clearest guarantees from a Liberal Government. They might well claim, in consideration of their numbers, a large majority of the selected Peers. If they preferred to have them elected by the House, as Lord Lansdowne suggested, there would be no insuperable objection to that plan. But if both sides agreed on the representation to be given to each, a summons from the Crown would be more in accordance with English custom than any new-fangled scheme of election. All the more eminent Peers would receive such a summons, and most of those who would cease to be summoned have already acquiesced in the propriety of such a course. The Life-Peers added, while predominantly Liberal, should represent all shades of interest and opinion, and should help to balance and minimise the preponderance of party feeling. The numbers of each class should be fixed by statute, and could probably be settled without much dispute. Lord Lansdowne's scheme contemplated 100 Peers of the old order, 100 Peers appointed by the Crown, 120 Peers elected from outside, and a certain number of independent or *ex-officio* Peers—Princes of the blood, Bishops and Law Lords. If the 120 elected Peers were eliminated, no one would greatly mourn them, and the numbers left would form an adequate House. Indeed, now that the powers of the House are definitely limited, Liberals might well agree to a larger proportion of hereditary Peers and a smaller proportion of Life-Peers : 120 Peers of the old order and 80 Life-Peers might be a better division; 150 Peers of the

old order and 50 Life-Peers would give a still larger representation to the Conservative party. The numbers ultimately chosen would be a fair subject for bargain and negotiation—in which the Conservative party could press their claims with effect—and would probably give us a House with a small Conservative majority, where party ties would not be too rigid, and where a good deal of influence would lie with the independent members. The old House would go on, with its forms unchanged, its prestige undiminished, its character enhanced; but its weaknesses and its encumbrances, and its dead weight of party prejudice would be cut away. A seat in the Lords would be due primarily to service or to merit and not to inheritance or rank or wealth. The power of creating hereditary Peerages would continue as at present, but they would not carry legislative rights. The power of creating Life-Peers would be limited to the number fixed by statute. No English Prime Minister would abuse it. And Life-Peers nominated by a popular leader, himself the nominee of the House of Commons, would probably prove to be as representative and as acceptable to democracy as any nominated by new schemes of election. Vacancies in each class would be filled by the Crown as they occurred, on the nomination of the Minister of the day. No doubt the temper of the House would be Conservative: but there ought to be no excessive partisanship, no overwhelming preponderance of illiberal opinion. And a Conservative majority in the revising Chamber would not be open to the same objection, now that its functions are settled and restrained.

It may indeed be argued that for such a measure there would be no more enthusiasm in the House of Commons or the country than there would be for an elective Senate. And that is perfectly true. But the fact is that there is no enthusiasm, no strong popular backing, to be expected in the Liberal ranks for any legislation on the subject. Democracy is not greatly interested in any schemes for Second Chambers, provided that it can ultimately get its measures through. The simplest proposal we can submit to it for rendering the revising body efficient and impartial would probably stand the best chance of success. A small measure, adapting the House of Lords for this purpose, would be open, I believe, to less objection than a large measure abolishing the Lords, as we know them, and creating a new, elective Chamber with powers and pretensions both dangerous and unknown. A short Bill is obviously easier to pass than a long one—a consideration doubly important when there is no great driving-force behind. It would fairly redeem the Government's pledges. It could be passed through Parliament by the present Administration with comparatively little expenditure of time. It is the most natural

method of completing the work of the Parliament Act. And even in days when the spirit of Conservatism has ceased to have any meaning for Conservatives, and has taken refuge with Radicals and Labour leaders, it may to many Englishmen be a recommendation that some such unambitious method of solving the problem would avoid all violent breaches with the past and use the ancient forms to steady the advance of freedom.

C. E. MALLET.

EAST AND WEST:

A STUDY OF DIFFERENCES

Those who have spent an April—as one April at least should be spent—where the olive-clad hills of Corfu rise in silver-green foliage from a sea of silver-blue, have close at hand a striking illustration of the differences that divide the East from the West. Across the narrow straits that lie between them and the mainland towers the mountain chain of Albania, rising into snow-fields above the sparkling sea-line—a brilliant drop-scene, as it were, through which one passes from the manners of Europe to those of Asia. In an hour or two one may cross into Turkish territory and wonder at the causes which hold fast-bound in poverty and squalor places which in reason should be comfortable and progressive. The contrast is all the more striking since modern Greece stands by no means in the van of European progress. The Corfiotes can pass their time easily in idleness: they are exceedingly poor: they are very superstitious, and they take little thought for the drainage of their streets. Yet amongst them one is in Europe. There are roads, schools, and hospitals. Trade is fostered by an efficient harbour service. Western standards of comfort and display are accepted as desirable. The meanest householder endeavours to present himself, his children, and his house in decency to the world; and of evenings, emerging from poor little houses, and stepping delicately over the abominations of the street drains, you may see fashionably dressed young women set out for their stroll along the esplanade. Across the straits one is in a different atmosphere. Valona, possessing the finest harbour on the southern Adriatic, Durazzo (Dyrrhachium), with its distinguished memories of classical days, are but mean little Oriental bazaars, their shops untidy, open-fronted, tin-roofed shanties, their streets impossible for wheeled traffic, their wharves grass-grown, and well-nigh deserted. They are as Athens was before she was set free from Oriental fetters. Everywhere there is apparent the disregard of comfort and of neatness which characterises the East. What is the cause of this surprising indifference to the ideals of Europe? Clearly nothing that is peculiar to the coast-line of Albania. At Constantinople itself, at

Damascus—and, save in so far as the Government intervenes, at Calcutta—the conditions of life are essentially similar.

The West is Christian, and one is tempted to conclude that it owes to Christianity its solicitude for material well-being. Cross from Albania into Christian Montenegro, and you will find a notable change. The country is surely one of the bleakest in which mankind has ever striven to find a livelihood—a wilderness of naked limestone mountains, pitted here and there by little oases of cultivation which have in great measure been won by actually excavating the rock. The people are exceedingly poor. Yet in all their poverty they appreciate European standards of comfort and neatness, and make such endeavours as they can to conform to them. If they are still behind their neighbours in Dalmatia it is from lack of means, not of will. Crossing the border between Islam and Christianity, we pass from an Eastern to a Western environment. Must not Christianity be the cause of the difference? In truth this cannot be. There is nothing in the teaching of the Gospels, or of the Church, that urges the importance of industry and enterprise in the accumulation of comforts. The sayings of Our Lord tend indeed entirely the other way, and the highest ideals of the Roman Church have for centuries been represented by the celibate monk, not the man of business. In no Oriental teaching is the worthlessness of this life's consolations insisted upon more strongly than in texts that are set before Christians from childhood upwards. And there is a more practical argument, drawn not from the nature of things, but from their actual course. Christian communities that are Oriental by birth have no higher standard of comfort than the non-Christian people around them: the Copts of Egypt, the Nestorians of India, have exhibited no specialities in material progress. The Montenegrins copy the fashions of Europe not because they are Christian, but because they feel that, as Christians, they belong to the family of Europe. Whatever it be that makes the West strive to be clean and comfortable while the East is contented in shiftless squalor, it is certainly not to be discovered in their religious environment.

The difference, it is clear, lies very deep, and must represent a fundamental difference in the conception of what makes life worth having. The East and the West both desire happiness. But they differ in their notions of the circumstances which conduce to it. We associate happiness with material well-being, and endeavour, successfully or unsuccessfully, to attain it by the accumulation of possessions, and the gratification of physical, intellectual, and artistic tastes. The Oriental looks for happiness in the mind rather than in the body, and believes that the highest satisfaction which man can hope to attain is derived from the

gratification of feelings of personal dignity. He holds, in fact, that life's greatest joy is to feel oneself respected and admired: in his opinion this surpasses the pleasures that are given either by wealth or by excitement. He is not, of course, peculiar in appreciating the esteem of others. The love of approbation, of admiration, is by no means limited to human nature in the East: it is common to all men, and is probably shared by them with the higher gregarious animals. Which of us will not admit the electrifying thrill of social success, or is not soothed by the balm that is shed by the confidence, the respect, or the love of others? Indeed, this feeling lies at the root of aspirations to which modern democratic society owes some of its most successful politicians. But, in the West, this craving for repute, though contributing to the mainspring of human action, is linked with other desires, and becomes of subsidiary importance. We desire comfort: we appreciate the refinements of luxury and the charm of excitement. To this complication of aim we owe the complicated nature of modern civilisation. In the East life is simpler because its ambitions are simpler. Man is satisfied with himself, if he can keep himself in dignity and in honour: possessing these, he rates but lightly the possessions and pleasures which the world can offer him.

Lord Mayo is said to have acutely observed that India was ruined by *izzat*, *insáf*, and *ikbál*—that is to say, by a craving for dignity, for justice, and for patronage. An Indian has more confidence in the assistance of a patron than in any efforts of his own, and thankfully accepts the position of clientship: in litigating for what appears to be justice he will spend his last rupee; but his most notable characteristic is his solicitude for his dignity. In India the word 'izzat' is in every mouth. Compared with his dignity, to an Indian nothing is of account: a personal slight which to us appears trifling is reckoned on all sides as a most serious injury: it will breed life-long enmity: it will break up the most zealous associations: it commonly lies in the background of criminal accusations. To an Oriental the dignity of man appears to be as precious as the chastity of woman. There are few things which rank beside it. Indian princes may listen unmoved to arguments in favour of improving their administration: but are seldom unconvinced by the offer of an increase in the number of guns with which they are entitled to be saluted. The preservation of dignity is almost the chief object of life. Manners must be courtly and reserved: gait must be slow and restrained: violent games have till quite recently been condemned as undignified, unless they are connected with martial exercises or hunting. Respect that is due to oneself must be carefully rendered when due to others. Travelling by night, on one

occasion, I had two Indian gentlemen as my companions in the railway carriage. There were but three sleeping-berths, and when they entered my office-box was upon one of them. I took it off and set it on the floor. The gentleman for whom I made room energetically protested: there was ample room for himself and for the box. I insisted. But as soon as he believed I was asleep, he got up, replaced the box, and lay, crouching uncomfortably, in the space it left for him. This scrupulous regard for feelings, whether of oneself or of others, capable though it be of such eccentric exaggeration, has rendered Oriental manners a pattern for mankind.

In the East service must be left to servants. A nobleman carrying his own handbag is almost unthinkable. Englishmen who are resident in India cannot resist this infection, and, attended by retinues of servants, slip into domestic helplessness. In truth they cannot help themselves, for the servant has a dignity as tender as his master's, and it will not permit him to undertake more than one domestic office. Dignity may be won by generosity, by courage, by learning, or by holiness: and, in the East as in the West, its pursuit has led man on to a plane high above his sensual inclinations. It is given by status, whether hereditary or in office under the Government, and State employ, however ill-paid, possesses attractions with which prospects in commerce or industry can hardly compete. But these avenues to honour are not open to the multitude, and the universal desire for respect is satisfied by the organisation of society in response to the prevailing sentiment. Family life is of the patriarchal type: a man throughout his life is lord of his sons and responsible for keeping them. And in India the caste system provides the humblest member of society with a definite status, and attaches him to a circle in which he feels himself of some account. But, from the economic point of view, the most important result of this habit of mind is the enormous expenditure it occasions in the maintenance of dependents, who live in a man's house, receive food at his hands, and offer him in requital their morning salutations. Not merely does a householder accept without murmur the idle dependence of grown-up sons: he supports sons-in-law, widowed sisters and daughters with their families, and even distant cousins, with no sense of grievance. No sooner does a man rise in the world than a host of relations and connexions cling to his skirts, expecting not merely patronage but maintenance in return for nothing but their respectful clientship. All this, it may be said, illustrates the abounding charity of the East. True; but we may be sure that this charity would not be so wide and undiscriminating were there in competition with it the Western desire for increased comforts, and larger possessions.

The distinctive feature of the Oriental habit of mind is that this desire possesses little of the strength which it has acquired in Europe. The richest men live under conditions which an English artizan would despise. They have not learnt the convenience of chairs and tables, of knives and forks, or of glass and crockery: their food is a monotonous repetition of the simplest dishes: they have practically no amusements. A man with surplus income hoards it if he does not spend it upon others. For centuries India has been absorbing treasure from Europe, burying what is not spent upon subsistence. She banks under ground, and we may almost regard the country as pitted with receptacles for gold and silver. The only clue we obtain to the extent of these unutilised resources is the surprisingly large amounts which are from time to time extracted by dacoities.

These remarks, it should be observed, require at the present day some qualification. Things are changing, and in the large towns at all events there is a growing appreciation of Western habits. But in the main it is still true that the East values dignity far higher than comfort. Until this feeling changes we cannot look for rapid industrial development. It is the consumer who supports the workman, not the capitalist who finances him.

It is not so very far back, one may say, that this description would apply pretty nearly to Europe. This is so; but we have travelled very far since then. Dignity, in the Oriental sense, has lost its attractiveness: indeed, its assumption is held to verge upon the ridiculous. Men search for happiness in more practical directions, and desire the control of things rather than of other men's feelings. The ideals are comfort and amusement—that is to say, riches—and the most general desire is to add to one's possessions. In order to satisfy this desire—that is to say, to manufacture and sell desirable possessions—society has been reorganised upon an industrial basis, a revolution which has been assisted by the discoveries of science, and a growing appreciation of man's power over Nature. In the East labour is organised for service: in the West for production. The ultimate effect of both systems is the same—the distribution of subsistence to members of the community—and under both systems the lowest class of the community receives little beyond the bare necessities of life. But in the East, where material possessions are not in great request, labour receives its remuneration more or less directly. In return for services, real or sentimental, men with means give to men without means the necessities they require. In the West the desire for material possessions has developed a highly complicated organisation in which skill and intelligence are rewarded not merely by the receipt of subsistence, but, so to speak, by the usufruct of subsistence which is ultimately to reach

the hands of others! The men with means—that is to say, the purchasers of commodities—hand over to those from whom they make their purchases the subsistence not only of these latter, but of multitudes who are connected with or subordinated to them; and, in the form of further purchases, the payment filters down from hand to hand. Each retains so much as is needed for his own support and passes on the balance—by making purchases or payments for services—until finally an irreducible balance reaches the lowest stratum of the community. In the West, as in the East, the organisation of society leaves vast numbers of people in a state of the narrowest poverty. But in the West a larger proportion of the people have the handling of subsistence which is ultimately destined for others, and are remunerated thereby for their skill or energy. An artizan, for instance, receiving 3*l*. a week, requires, let us say, only half this amount for the subsistence of himself and his family: he passes on the balance in purchases, but is, of course, the richer for his purchases. An Indian and an Englishman, each with 100*l*. to spare, spend it, the one in maintaining a retinue of ill-paid servants, the other in the purchase of furniture for his house. The Indian has nothing to show for his money: he has merely supported a number of people. The Englishman has gained a substantial return in the furniture. But he has accomplished much more. The price of the furniture, as it gradually filtered down from the upholsterer, through the manufacturer, and his artizans, to the labourers who produced or transported the raw materials, has assisted to provide, not merely subsistence for the labourers, but an adequate remuneration for those higher up the scale. They have, as already stated, passed on the subsistence which they did not require. But they have passed it on in exchange for articles that they purchased with it, and are so much the better off by the transaction. The stream of subsistence, which in the East may be likened to the flowing of a number of small runnels, in the West falls, as it were, through a series of sieves. But this complicated arrangement, with the rewards that it offers to industrial proficiency, ultimately rests upon a fashion or mode of human desire—the general wish to secure comfort and amusement, and the general willingness to spend resources in acquiring them. Were a desire to purchase non-existent, vain would be the efforts of capital to establish manufacture. In the East the desire is still undeveloped: comfort, possessions, and the refinements of luxury are there much less attractive—and this appears to be the fundamental reason for the striking difference between East and West.

Few general statements concerning humanity are universally true. As there are still in the West men who set their dignity before all things, so there is in the East a limited but growing

desire for possessions. There are, and always have been, some manufactures in the most backward of Oriental countries, and the great development of the cotton-mill industry in India during the past half-century proves that, in respect to dress at all events the people are gaining some material ambitions. But as a general proposition it may still be correctly stated that the East and the West have different goals of happiness, and that the former sets small store upon that which to the latter makes life worth living.

To assert that in the West dignity has lost its attractiveness is, it may be objected, altogether out of accord with the most prominent fact in modern social development—the growing consciousness amongst the masses of a feeling of self-respect—a feeling which has wrought wonders in uplifting their standard of conduct, and which, prompting them to demand a voice in the government, lies at the root of latter-day democracy. But this sentiment has really little in common with the Oriental's solicitude for his dignity. It is in the main self-regarding, and depends comparatively little upon the attitude of others. Dignity on the other hand, results from the impression one makes upon others; and a man may be dignified when no atom of self-respect may justly remain to him. There is little akin between a desire to feel oneself as good a man as anyone else in the country, and a desire to impress the admiration of one's fellows. The first of these desires may be experienced by the most independent of cynics.

The Oriental's care for his dignity is fruitful of the most admirable qualities. It breeds courage, fidelity, generosity, and good manners. On the other hand, it besets human nature with some special dangers. It discourages effective exertion. Dignity is not to be won by manual labour, and to work with one's hands is regarded as degrading. Accordingly, the whole of the educated intelligence of the nation directs itself to one branch only of employment—the literary branch—the functions of which do not add to the comfort and wealth of the country. The candidates for literary employ become far more numerous than the opportunities for employing them, and numbers of young men find that their education has been wasted, and that they are adrift with no hopes or means of livelihood. It may be said that a predilection for clerical, as opposed to manual, work is not peculiar to the East: it is very evident in England, where young men will thankfully accept wages that an artizan would refuse, in return for the right to wear a black coat. Even in so new a country as Australia respectability counts its victims by thousands in the society of the towns. Human nature is, of course, very much the same all the world over: the differences are not essential: they are merely exaggerations of traits that are common to all. But the dislike of

manual labour is in the East infinitely deeper seated and more general than in Western countries. The intelligent artizan—the most typical product of Western civilisation—hardly exists. The pursuit of dignity, further, encourages idleness. If men are willing to maintain dependents whose clientship gratifies their dignity, persons willing to accept this position will not be lacking. To be dependent is to be unemployed; and the extent of unemployment in India is extraordinarily great, and constitutes a tremendous drain upon the resources of the country. Moreover, an excessive regard for dignity narrows the scope of human endeavour. It is undignified to be worsted in competition with others, and there is an inclination to shrink from competition as risky to one's esteem. This is very evident in connexion with elections to municipal or other offices. The best men can often not be persuaded to stand; and, where a board is constituted partly of nominated and partly of elected members, to hold by nomination is generally preferred as the more honourable status. A further evil is the wasteful expenditure which is encouraged by a sensitive regard for one's position. On ceremonial occasions, such as marriages, Orientals feel compelled to expend amounts that are enormous in proportion to their resources. An Indian coolie, earning *3d.* or *4d.* a day, will consider himself disgraced if he spends less than *3l.* or *4l.* in marrying his daughter: higher up the scale expenditure upon a marriage commonly dissipates a whole year's income—and even more. And this outlay, be it remembered, represents for the most part nothing more substantial than the feeding of a crowd of relatives and caste-fellows.

But most harmful of all are the jealous feelings to which those who are set upon personal dignity are especially liable. Since the beginning of history jealousy has been a rock for the shipwreck of Oriental politics. It is by no means confined to the East. It ruined classical Greece, and has brought much trouble to modern Greece also. But Eastern society is pervaded and corrupted by it: its influence is felt everywhere, and it is the constant experience of its strength and its results that makes so many of those who know India doubt whether Indians can effectively combine to govern themselves. It has before now completely broken up the Indian National Congress. The political history of Turkey and Persia, in their new conditions, has consisted of little more than the jealous animosities of rival statesmen, and the multitudes' jealous distrust of their chosen leaders. What success Turkey has achieved she owes not to her Constitution but to the commanding abilities of one of her generals, who for a period has wielded almost undisputed authority. For jealousy will veil itself before the exceptional: indeed, it does not arise when all are in submission to the authority of a despot. But the resulting

situation is in no way democratic. And it lacks the guarantee of continuity which it is one of democracy's credits to supply. So long as jealousy debilitates Oriental society, eating out the heart of co-operative effort, there can be little hope for democratic institutions. These, whether Cabinets or cricket teams, are nourished by the sacrifice of individual dignity. History, so far supports the fanciful idea that jealousy increases in virulence with the heat of the climate.

Oriental views of life have their peculiar dangers. So also have the aspirations of the modern West. Each year's discoveries add to our resources : our winnings from Nature are so large that they entirely engross us, and we are more and more inclined to a material view of life. Our pleasures, our interests, have increased enormously, and we are convinced that life is a very excellent thing. There is nothing of the pessimism of the East. Amidst present attractions the future loses interest for us : the promises offered by religion are held in light esteem, and the obligations that it imposes are analysed out of existence. The most sceptical of critics will hardly deny that religion has been a most useful instrument of police : when its bonds are cast off society may scarcely be able to control such bitter animosities as recently convulsed the Champagne districts of France, and threatened England with paralysis of railway transport. The more desirable it is to live, the more fearful it is to die; and it seems doubtful whether Europeans in future will face death upon the battle-field with the courage of their ancestors. They will have too much to lose, especially if they are town-bred. These tendencies, it will be said, all make for the blessings of peace. This is true, if death becomes equally fearful to all the nations of Europe. It is perhaps fanciful to think that Asia may give birth to an aggressive danger for Western civilisation. But Europe has interests in Asia which she wishes to maintain. She can maintain them only by courage and self-denial. These alone give strength to her fingers. And within the borders of Europe an army is growing up which is already a menace to the eastern-most members of her family. The soldiers of Turkey measure life by the standards of Asia; and Christian armies may learn before long the strength of an adversary to whom death is not appalling. It is fortunate for Italy that her descent upon Tripoli did not bring her to death-grips with such antagonists, and that her soldiers were protected from them by the sea.

How far, and how soon, is the East likely to change and accept the material ideas of Europe in place of its own? This opens a discussion of wide proportions, and space but remains for a few reflections. The material tastes of Europe are the result of

change: in former days comfort was appreciated as little as it is to-day in Asia. A social ideal of Aristotle's was a man so sensitive in his pride that he would give but not receive, so as to be beholden to nobody. An Oriental would to-day accept this ideal: but it is very far from the figure which now attracts the eyes of the West—the pushing, self-advertising man of business. If Europe has changed, Asia may change also. The Japanese have apparently commenced their metamorphosis. They measure their successes in terms of commerce and industry as well as of war. But it seems doubtful whether the mass of the people regard material comfort as outweighing sentiment. They showed no sign of this during the struggle with Russia. And there is very little affinity between the government which they approve and the democratic ideals of European nations. In India, Persia, and Turkey, the material advantages of European civilisation are becoming widely known and appreciated. But there is an uncomfortable feeling that an Oriental cannot copy Christian people in clothes or in habits without disclaiming his religion and dishonouring his past: and this contest between desire for the new and affection for the old has given a peculiar feature to Indian unrest—a really sincere appreciation of modern methods being accompanied by demonstrative attempts to revive archaic prejudices. In Constantinople, Teheran, and Calcutta, you will find numbers of men who in dress, habits, and thought, might belong to London or Paris. But they are for the most part free-thinkers: by cutting themselves adrift from the religion of their fathers, they have rid themselves of this embarrassing feeling of inconsistency. For a similar reason, in India, conversion to Christianity is commonly followed by a very distinct rise in the standard of comfort. An Indian who is a Christian no longer feels antagonism towards the West: he becomes identified with the West, and can consistently adopt its manners and customs. So also a native Indian official who is promoted to rank that is ordinarily reserved for Europeans will think himself justified—and is held justified by his associates—in openly adopting European habits of life, and will even give dinner parties at which his wife sits at the head of the table. He is identified with the West by his position, and Western habits appear no longer incongruous. But, so far, it appears that for the adoption of Western habits and standards there must be some effective reason for a breach with the past; and that, failing such reason, a change of habits appears in the light of a disloyalty. No doubt, amongst Indians who cling to their faith, there is a growing expenditure upon the purchasing of things. But surplus funds are still generally hoarded: save in famine time the slenderest claims to maintenance are generously recognised: no weakening can be observed amongst the mass of

the people in the status that is given by the family and the cas
In the view of Orientals the East is honourably distinguished
specialities of religion, and with these specialities peculiarities
thought and habit are almost inextricably associated. Habits th
are crystallised by religious prejudice yield very slowly to econon
solvents. Environment can work wonders; and, as alrea
stated, there are in the East a considerable number of men w
have visited Europe, have imbibed Western ideas, and carry the
into practice on their return. The influence of their example mu
not be under-rated. But it does not reach very far, and loses mu
of its force if they are known to have abandoned their heredita
religion. The Christianisation of India would effect a marvello
change in her economic position. So might also the growth of
widespread feeling of sceptical indifference. But in this case s
would pay at a hazardous price for a more rapid advance in mater
progress.

BAMPFYLDE FULLER.

AN EMPEROR'S WATERWAY

'SIR,' said the genial Doctor of H.M.S. 'Dreadnought,' breaking in upon my thoughts soon after sunrise, as we were threading our way up stream on the West River, 'I see that you are a genius!'

My reverie was disturbed, the chain of thought snapped; but the goodfellowship of shipboard brought into my eyes the smile interrogative, and he continued his morning greeting—'I have observed that you have an infinite capacity for doing nothing!' Now at that particular moment, that moment when the rose-tint of the risen sun robes the commonest things with romance, I was, and had been for some time, since the dawn had aroused the ship slumbering at her moorings and started her on her way, sitting in a deck-chair, pondering the many thoughts which the common sights of the river had set up in my mind. Very common sights indeed; only the unvarying incidents of the everyday life of the people who pass the whole of it on the Emperor's waterway; toiling down stream, toiling up stream, back and forth throughout the year, and so through life, for they were born on it, and the ripple of its waters will be in their ears at death. They had wakened to their work before us, and the day's toil had recommenced. And my thoughts were very common too, for they must have occurred to every traveller who has set foot in China beyond the limits of a Treaty Port, and assuredly will be found in any book or paper he may have written on his travels. I cannot claim for them therefore any originality, perhaps can hardly find valid excuse for setting them down; they come inevitably to those who touch the life of the common people of China, and on the river especially, where that life is at its best, for their character has been moulded by the conditions of their daily avocations, and has given to it a finer side than is discoverable among their fellows on the shore. There are two extremes to that character; the one with, to us, its depth of ignorance and the crass folly of its superstition, with all the concomitant evils in this world and hereafter, the other dignified by their labour and their unceasing unremitted toil. And then there is the unchanging perpetuity of it; for looking back, as it is now so it has ever been, since the villages sprang into existence on the river banks and the river folk came into their heritage of work without end; and so it will probably continue till the river has ceased to flow.

'Looking back!' A common enough expression, which comes readily to the pen, but wholly inapplicable to anything appertaining to China; for vistas of history through which the world of to-day can look back into the past do not exist; the utmost that the learned can disentangle are certain dynastic points, 'century-stones,' so to speak, around which a few facts are being gradually accumulated by their research. So purposeless has life in China seemed to those who lived it that an authentic record would serve no useful purpose, posterity could not possibly take any interest in it. Among those who are busy piecing its past together none so learned as that band of 'foreigners' who serve China directly, and indirectly the rest of the world which has intercourse with her, by controlling her customs service and seeing to the application of the revenue, according to treaty, to interest on foreign loans.

What is known of the three principal cities of the West River, Samshui, Wuchow and Nanning, takes us back into the regions of remote antiquity; though Samshui is almost quite modern, for it dates only from A.D. 1528. But Wuchow was a District Magistracy in A.D. 600; and there was within a mile of it a still more ancient Magistracy, established on the accession of the Emperor Kao Tsu, about B.C. 206. The landmarks in the history of Wuchow are, first, its conquest by Wu Ti, about B.C. 135, when it became an 'Administrative Division' governed by an Administrator; then a great gap of centuries. From A.D. 1465, the accession of the Ming Emperor, Ch'eng Hua, until the reign of Chia Ching of the same dynasty, A.D. 1522, it was the residence of the Viceroy of the Liang Kuang Provinces; then a Governor was substituted for a Viceroy, and the seat of provincial government drifted gradually down the river till it finally settled in Canton. The West River districts were centres of activity during the Tai Ping rebellion, and in 1857 Wuchow submitted to a siege of a hundred days by the Boat Rebels, an offshoot of the great rebellion; then it fell and was sacked. Rising from its ashes, forty years after it submitted to a new invasion, that of the foreign trader, when in 1897 the West River up to that point was opened to foreign trade by the Burmah Frontier Convention made in February of that year, and Wuchow attained to the dignity of a Treaty Port. The history of Nanning can be condensed into six lines. The city was a trade centre in A.D. 400, but it became of importance only in the reign of the Ming Emperor, Hung Wu (A.D. 1360), when it was raised to a Prefecturate. It took its share of the devastation caused by the rebels, but succumbed to the new invasion only three years ago, when its walls fell to the trumpet-call of the foreign trader to buy his goods.

But the river rolls on relentless, recking little of rebellions or treaties or of trade-seeking foreigners. It will pour through the city streets when it is in flood, cleansing the yamen and the shop with equal and unsparing wave; will sweep through the fields, peasant's hovel and rebel camp alike disappearing before it; will sometimes alter its course and find an easier channel regardless of all rights of property. Only to the children she has fostered on her bosom will she relent, telling them of the secrets of her rise and fall, so that they may be prepared for the summer torrent and undismayed by winter's treacherous shallows. She has trained many messengers to the task who learn her language quicker than dull man. The larks and the thrushes and the sparrows build their nests high up in the trees when the waters are gathering to swoop down upon the plains, for they have met the messenger from the mountain birds in the upper air, and have have made housing plans accordingly. Then the wise boatman listens to the gossip of the bird-catcher, knows it to be a sign of the coming of many waters, and makes due provision for safe anchorage. The rats get the tidings too, and long before the flood comes abandon their swarming-grounds on the river banks, seeking greater safety in the habitations of men. Nor are the snakes forgotten, and they, too, learning the news in good time, leave the low grounds by the riverside for the hills and escape drowning. To a mere landsman the great annual floods of the West River seem appalling, for the average rise is fifty feet, and it is often more than sixty, when the river knows its banks no more, and the plains of paddy become great inland lakes.

The West River is not a pretentious stream, nor is its scenery comparable with that of the mighty Yangtse, with its gorges and long series of Treaty Ports. In the delta it meanders through green paddy-fields, bending hither and thither with many intersecting canals, up one of which my 'Dreadnought' is steaming, while down another we can see the masts of a Chinese gunboat going full speed, with news probably of pirates to be trapped in their lair; and everywhere in the distance, in other canals, tall sails of junks, or funnels of launches with heavily laden cargo-boats in tow. After the paddy-fields large areas of fruit farms whence Hong Kong draws its supplies of bananas and lychees, after which paddy-fields again; and every now and again a village perched upon the banks, the tower of its pawnshop overawing it, with its protecting pagoda if the village ancestors have been rich enough to build one, and the ferries carrying a most unlimited number of villagers to the opposite shore. On the river itself an endless procession of junks, of all sizes, shapes and conditions, with sails in all stages of tatters, patched with anything strong enough to hold a capful of breeze for a week or a day—old flour

bags often serve the last period of their existence thus—anythin that will postpone the outlay on a new sail; and the hulls, like th houses in the villages, long ago in the last stage of antiquity. large number of these junks bring down fuel from the mountain the process of denudation being carried on as vigorously now as has been for centuries, much of it used for the baking of the coars blue brick which is largely used in the south.

Then there are fodder boats, and chicken boats, with broa outlying 'runs,' whereon thousands of chickens take their las journey to the Hong Kong market, submitting to the pleasan fattening process on the way, which the chicken is sadly in wan of, for at her best she is but a lean bird; and silk junks, arme with most ancient weapons, hardly of precision, cannon of a antique shape, to protect their precious cargo from the pirates and small junks, large junks, junks by the half-dozen in tow of launch, which, like everything else, has seen better days; junk with tall narrow sails to catch the breeze where the river bank are high; junks with low broad sails which do not leave the region where the river runs through the plains—ever and anon an antiqu gaudily-painted houseboat, two-decked, broad-beamed, with hig poop fashioned in the manner of the Spanish galleon, each dec overcrowded with passengers as everything in China that ca carry anybody or anything, on road or water, is overcrowded; an gigantic timber-rafts, so numerous that a small forest will dri past you in a day, which no one yet has taught the Chinaman t replant; and on the boats or on the tow-path all the family a work doing something; the last baby even seems to be addin something to the sum of work done, for however minute th capacity for labour, the multiplication of small items makes up large total in the end; and so, whether it be in the carrying o bricks up hill, the child that can only carry two is useful, or o the tow-rope, the boy who can add but a few ounces to the haul not to be despised; it will by so much the quicker bring the labou or the journey to an end.

I do not think that by way of description there is very muc to add; but this and the very slender stock of knowledge whic the books supply engendered the thought which occupied m brain when the Doctor roused me from my reveries—the vastne of the country and its immemorial unchangeableness, the myriad of its people and their proud aloofness. The Empire with it dynasties, the country with its district administrations, its prefe tures, its Courts and Magistrates, and all the paraphernalia government, such as it is now, existed while yet the Christia dawn was heralded but had not come, while the human story o which the West has built its creed was beginning, and while th tragedy was played and ended. The tyrannous revolution of it

wheels was a grinding force, such as it is now, when Roman legions invaded Britain, while Rome itself rose and fell; hardly changed through all the centuries of English history; went on, as active then as it is now, all unconscious of that newer Empire which England was building beyond the seas, all oblivious of the inevitable fact that sooner or later the tide of her conquests of war and peace would be lapping at her own gates. And yet the barrier of her aloofness still stands; yet, though the veil of the East has long ago been lifted, this imperial waterway was unknown, forbidden waters running through forbidden lands, till some twelve years ago the West was permitted to set foot and keel in it, so far as Wuchow, and so far as Nanning only three years ago. This unchanging perpetuity spreads like a pall over the country; the vampire of the eternal past has settled upon the present and draws the lifeblood from it. It is the dark background to the dream of the awakening.

The river villages and towns are fearsome and noisome, as all Chinese villages and towns are; but they have one feature peculiar to them, which when the river is low might almost be said to make them picturesque. They are built high up on the bank, to be out of the reach if possible of the rising waters, and every-house has an excrescence behind propped up on straggling poles, which may serve as sleeping-room or store-room, giving the river-front the appearance in the distance of the huddle of a thousand tents. These verandahs are unstable enough when the town is high and dry, but something more than insecure when the torrent is rushing through them, ignoring such primitive contrivances for keeping it out as walls and flooring. But huddle is an indispensable part of Chinese life, and the space underneath these crazy structures becomes the receptacle for garbage and filth, the home of chickens and the promenade for pigs. The bank itself is the playground for urchins racing up and down the slope in the hot glaring sunshine, wearing the national summer garment known as 'next-to-nothing.' On the river are sampans and junks innumerable, some of them with large fishing drop-nets, raised slowly every few minutes to bring to the pot perhaps one poor fish. Internally, these river towns do not differ from those inland —nothing ever does differ in China; stench unspeakable, the men doing what apparently they, or men exactly like them, have been doing for centuries, nothing; in the shops there is traffic in minute atoms of fat pork, or food even less delectable, with customers to whom the thousandth part of a dollar, a 'cash,' is a thing worth haggling about; in the streets the babel of the crowd who hustle and shout along their profitless way, puddles and pigs, reek and ordure, they are indeed one long pig-run; the joss-house in every stage of disrepair. When could such places have been built? Why they should hold together any longer is one of the mysteries

of China. And then the dull uniformity of everything, the last expression of uninterestingness, typical of the desperately dull lives the people lead, suggests that if the history of their building were known instead of having been quite forgotten, it would tell of the whole place 'run up' by some prehistoric jerry-builder, for no one part is less old than another; it must have been attacked by decay in all its parts at the same time, for no one part is less decayed than another; the signs of decay themselves seem to have arrived at their present state 'many tens of years ago,' as the Chinese say; simultaneously everything must have arrived at this last stage long ago, and like the logical one-horse shay, simultaneously everything must crumble away together. Meanwhile the people live passively through the squalor of their lives, daily adding to the stench and abomination of the place, which no rain or wind can purify; only the relentless river will purge it when the time for its rising comes. In this district there are no ruins to bear witness to splendid traditions of an ancient race; yet towns and villages, temples and houses appear to be as old as the nation itself, everything to be as worn out as the civilisation of which it is a part. To repair is not in the national vocabulary; energy and funds are lacking to renovate; existence is that of a worn-out tired people.

The King's highway has developed all sorts and conditions of types peculiar to it, from the tramp to the highwayman, some of whom are with us in the West still. The vast waterways of China have in their turn developed other characters, the pirate among them, and he is very much with us in the East to-day; often, when he has heard of treasure on its way to some merchant trading on the river, he turns up quite alarmingly near the civilisation which the West has created for itself in the East. I like to think, whether right or wrong, of the pirate, the highwayman of the river, as having no connexion with those who follow the honourable calling of watermen. No Marryat will ever be found to write of the hidden virtues, of the innate chivalry of the modern pirate, for he has neither. So much to his credit may perhaps be said, that he has abandoned the barbarous methods of his ancestors, who would nail the crew of the captured vessel to the deck while they carried off the cargo; but his methods are despicable. The spirit of the river has never entered into his soul; though he occasionally knows something of navigation and can take the place of the engineer or man at the helm he has killed, he is but a wastrel of the land, a longshoreman, who picks up a dishonest living by appearing when you least expect him, to demand, in the old formula, your money or your life. He and his fellows take their passage on a steamer as simple country passengers, and when

the watch is drowsy they throw off their disguise, and with a pistol at the captain's head demand an alteration of the course or a stoppage at a certain place; the alternatives for the captain are unconditional surrender or the water. Such a case occurred to the west of Nanning a few days before I started. There was no resistance because there could be none. The cargo was landed by the pirates, certain essential parts of the gear sunk in the river, the vessel abandoned, and that was the whole of the story. The Magistrate started off to the scene to make his official investigation, but the sequel came before he got there. A sampan going down stream excited a river-guard's suspicions; he hailed her and went on board with his men. The usual questions were answered in the usual way: 'Why should simple honest boatmen be disturbed so rudely in their avocations?' Boxes were ordered to be opened; the sampan owner humbly acquiesced; most certainly the honourable guard should see what was in the boxes. He opened one, seized a pistol from it and shot the unfortunate guard through the body; the guard's comrades, however, fired too, and killed the sampan man on the spot. He was the chief of the pirate gang, and was much 'wanted' for other similar crimes. But justice is not always so swift, and retribution often tarries long at the heels of official inquiry.

But the waterway does not develop the tramp; its pools and rocks, its eddies and swirling water, have no use for him; to live among them means work all day long till the anchor drops at night. The waterwayman leads a strenuous life; his home is on the tideway, his house a junk at best, a hovel on a timber-raft at worst. But it is not mere labour; his existence, and that of his family who live with him, on a river full of rapids and subject to sudden variations in depth, depends on intelligent labour, which has been acquired by the skill of the ancestor, and the accumulated store of wisdom is handed on through the generations, from the father to the son who will follow him on the rowing-plank or at the tiller. The place which the waterways of China hold in its commercial activities is enormous, and they extend as a vast network practically over the whole of the Empire, the natural system being developed and extended by canals. Thus the West River system is connected by a canal with the Yangtse system, and junks can go by way of the Fu and Hsiang rivers from Wuchow to Hankow, a distance of some 650 miles. The new system of railways must inevitably divert some of the trade, but the bulk will remain, and the long timber-rafts, the barges of firewood and fodder, the rice and the silk junks, will still be on the river long after the Paris Express starts from the Kowloon side of Hong Kong Harbour. And the lore of the river-folk will still be treasured in the family; the depth of water in the rapids, where a

bit of backwater will make the towing easier, how to get a r
round a rocky promontory, where a bank is silting up, whe
another is being washed out by the stream, will still be valu
learning; and the patrol of the gunboats will still be an imperio
necessity.

Nothing, I think, impresses a landsman so much as the sk
with which the river folk tackle a rapid. Of course, it is a thi
which they do all the world over; where it is essential to existen
to get a laden boat up or down a rapid, if it is to be done it will
done, whether it be in the East or West; every little twist ar
turn will be studied, the meaning of every ripple on the hidd
rock will be known. But I think what impresses one most
these river excursions in China is the perfect confidence wi
which the European trusts himself to these common folk, and t
good faith with which the Eastern accepts the trust, for his ance
tral knowledge, which is his honour, is at stake. The rapids
the West River are rushing tortuous things, by no means t
worst of their kind; but an hour's watching the little motor bo
threading her way between the rocks, through almost impossib
channels hardly worthy of the name, struggling up one side of t
stream, then panting across to the other, compels from the pa
senger when it is over, the exclamation, 'Number One!' whi
the captain pilot understands and modestly acknowledges. At t
last turn in *Tai T'an*—the 'Great Rapid'—the rush of water
particularly heavy, and it as much as the ship can do to g
through. The six men stand at the great sweep in the bow an
steady her from getting off her course, which would mean t
rocks. The first attempt failed, and we drifted back in the foa
and swirl; but the second succeeded; and then a strange thin
happened. The men stood, dripping with sweat, as a temp
came into view on the bank—'joss-house' as we are pleased
call it—motionless for a minute, offering a sailor's thanks to t
cause which had brought us safely through.

The 'Good Joss!' That was the cause of our safe journe
'Joss' is a subject we know very little about, and consequent
scoff at in our superior manner as emblematic of heathen supe
stition. The Chinaman has accepted our pidgin corruption of t
Portuguese *deos*, which came into the country with the missio
aries some three centuries ago; he has almost come to acquiesc
in our little jokes at his expense in regard to it, that the 'Devil'
own luck' is the guardian spirit of the world. That it does mea
in many uses that inconsequence of effect from cause which go
by the name of luck, that chance which is independent of mathe
matical doctrine, is of course undeniable; but it has often a deepe
significance, and in linking it on to superstition as its only origi
we are as far away from the Chinese idea as any of our Wester

equivalents for Eastern thought. The Chinese word for deity in its lowest and most personal use is 'shan'; but there is a higher form, 'Sheung Tai'—the greatest of Gods, the 'Emperor Above'—which is merged in 'Heaven,' whose son the Emperor is and alone now offers worship at the Altar of Heaven at Pekin; and this is not very far removed from the idea of a Supreme Being. The idea has not the mystic beauty, nor the terrible majesty of the Hebrew 'Jehovah'; such attributes are foreign to the Chinese mind; yet at bottom it cannot differ much from the conception of the pre-Christian God. The peasant's mind has not grasped this higher thought; but, conscious of an all-ruling Power, he invokes the protection of the 'shan' at the commencement of his journey, and offers thanks for its successful termination. The heathen's 'idol' is always getting in the way of a clear appreciation of the meaning and true inwardness of his acts of worship, if I dare use the word in regard to his bowing down before 'stocks and stones.' Is it always quite clear that this common form of words accurately represents his action? Is it quite certain that the graven image is always the thing appealed to and not the symbol merely which brings the 'shan' to the peasant's mind, enabling him to concentrate his thought? In many cases, as probably in that of certain actors I saw at the Dragon Temple, I dare say it is true that religious thought has sunk so low that the stocks and stones have come to be the personification of the deity; yet in all seriousness it is worth asking the question, whether that little act of reverence of the sailors on my boat on the West River much differed fundamentally from the bowed head, and hands crossed on breast, of the peasant in the fields of France when he hears the Angelus; whether the penalty for knowing no better yet doing so much will be the 'outer darkness' which the Protestant Church taught, and till not so many years ago insisted on belief in as an article of faith.

Sir Edwin Arnold used to say that the best work a missionary could do was to try and make good Buddhists or good Confucianists of the common people, and that this would be counted to them for righteousness. Perhaps there is good material for this kind of work among the river population of China. Yet of course there is much rank superstition, resulting from an inner consciousness of some terrible unknown and unknowable power governing the world working for men's undoing, and therefore to be propitiated; and *fung shui*, the cult of geomancy, proclaims it, for it is believed in, or at least acted on throughout the length and breadth of the country. The priest of the cult, the geomancer, is he who reads the signs of earth and air, of wind and water, and he will for suitable reward select the best place for an

ancestor's grave on the hillside; or he will deal with the larger matter of the site for a pagoda, with which every place of any importance must be provided to ward off the evil and induce the good spirits of earth and air to be its guardians. It seems to us a curious craft, and very typical of the superstitions of the Chinese; yet, like so many things in the East, it has its counterpart in the West. Do we not select a pleasant site for our cemeteries? Do we not choose a spot for a grave where the sun will shine upon it, the rain run freely off, the willow weep and the flowers grow luxuriantly? Or passing some damp dank corner in the shade and overhung with trees, have we never heard one say with a shudder, 'I should not like to be buried there'? There are practical necessities to be considered in the matter of burying our dead; but though we call them hygiene, we do not willingly discard the romantic vesture which nature wrapped round us in our childhood. Sunshine and flowers are the good spirits, damp, decay, the 'worm that dieth not,' the evil ones of our cemeteries; but once we admit that there is some power in incorporeal things affecting us for good or for evil, we can hardly be surprised that those less learned than ourselves should endow them with unsubstantial bodies. We call the effluence of the flowers an influence for good, they call it a good spirit. Is there much difference between us after all? There is moreover one thing too apt to be forgotten. We are at the mercy of translation for all our notions about other people's ideas; but translation is a poor literal thing at its best, and much misconception must be laid to its charge. It gives us a convenient equivalent only; yet we assume that we know what the alien is thinking about when he uses a word, pregnant with meaning probably to him, meaningless to us; and if he is a 'heathen,' we judge him accordingly. I wonder, to take an example, with which all are now familiar, from the daily life of the Japanese, when we render '*O cha*' by '*honourable tea*,' whether we are not turning the Eastern honorific into a Western grotesque.

And so to come back to *fung shui* in its application to the selection of a site for a grave, take these elements common probably to all humanity, throw in a grain of superstition and an ounce of greed for money, and the chasm between the East and West will be found to be not so deep as we are wont to assume. As for the pagodas, have we not in well-known places in England someone's 'Folly'?—a tall, useless tower built with no known object in the world, except to emphasise, or perhaps to mar, the landscape. The ideas are common to the human race; they only get treated differently in different parts of the world. We should call the pagodas 'watch-towers,' which they are not; that indeed is the one thing known about them, for the greater number are

hollow from ground to roof; the Japanese would call them offerings to the high divinities, places of peculiar worship; propitious but otherwise purposeless towers would be the Chinese definition of them. When were they built? Who can say? Why were they built? That is another matter. But obviously when you wish to utilise mother earth, whether for building a city or burying a citizen, due consideration of the effect of wind and water is the first essential. Reverence for the ancestor might be supposed to have something to do with the selection of his grave; but in this matter the ideas of the Chinese are hard to understand. The traditional reverence will at a certain time of the year impel all your domestic servants in a body to demand a full week's holiday, together with an advance of wages, for the purposes of ancestral worship at the tombs; yet the site of a grave is capable of valuation, and may be purchased for consideration by an undiscriminating foreigner for such mundane purpose as the making of a garden; and in the country I have walked over ditches on planks which came from some forgotten ancestor's coffin. But when you build a city, something must be done to ensure its permanence; so the pagoda is erected to influence the deities who have those destructive elements, wind and water, in charge; they stand sentinel along the waterways, perched solitary on the loneliest summits of lonely mountains, and the fact that the cities still exist bears witness to the wisdom of the precautionary propitiation.

At Wing Shun upon the river a pagoda was built whose history, by way of exception, is well known, for it was built within the memory of living man. The fact was that there was a rock on the river bank which, instead of being submerged as the river rose, would rise with it; for the tortoise underneath insisted on lifting it so as to keep its head above water. A most inconvenient obstacle to free passage of boats, and obviously of bad omen to the city with the broken wall close by. So the pagoda was erected by subscription; it is not a very pretentious one, unornamented, just a straight up-and-down tower, suited to the poverty of the people living by it; but it has been a most efficacious investment, for the rock has given up its bad habit of rising, or the tortoise has gone elsewhere. 'And do you really believe it?' asked my friend the missionary of the sailor who told the story; 'Why of course; had not the old men seen the rock rise? So it must be so.'

The mundane or 'good luck' side of joss so pervades Chinese life, the hunt for luck so occupies the energies of the people, that I am tempted, though with slenderest materials, to look a little below the surface of some of its manifestations; we shall find a special reason for some of them which we are not incapable of

appreciating, often a close relation to our own superstitions. One instance of this occurs to me at once. Just as a sailor holds Friday an unlucky day for weighing anchor, so for the Chinese there are unlucky days for starting on a journey. The resemblance between the outward form of the two superstitions might be nothing more than curious were there not some deeper cause lying at the bottom of both—the happening in the past of something fateful on the day in question, some disaster to some person of sufficient eminence to make it a black-letter day in the almanac. With us the superstition is linked on to the central fact of our religion; with the Chinese it has no such significance, but it has become more particularised, and has spread with infinite ramifications through every detail of life, and it is the repetition of the fateful act on the same day that is unlucky—the setting out on a journey, because that journey in the past which is recorded ended disastrously; the building of a house, because the house which its owner started to build on that day turned out to be haunted. But the whole point of the story is that it must be the 'same day'; and this does not recur as in our well-ordered system every year, but according to Chinese reckoning only once in the cycle of sixty years. There is therefore the abundant space of 22,000 days for the accumulation of lucky and of disastrous facts. The results are recorded in the *T'ung Shêng* Almanac, a Chinese *Zadkiel*, issued under the protection of the Imperial authorities, from which I have been supplied with the following typical extracts:

> 27th day, 11th moon (*i.e.* 28 12 10):
> To avoid—shaving the head, digging a well, and arranging a funeral.
> Lucky for—offering sacrifices and repairing roads.
> 28th day, 11th moon (*i.e.* 29 12 10):
> To avoid—purchasing fields, weeping, and treating diseases.
> Lucky for—offering sacrifices, praying for blessings, meeting friends, presenting memorials, taking up official posts, raising beams of new buildings into position, constructing kitchens, and marriages.

A curious custom has arisen out of this allocation of lucky and unlucky events to every day. When anything of importance has to be done, the presentation of an address to a distinguished visitor, for example, it is not dated, but is said to be written 'on a lucky day,' 'of a lucky month' being often added. Now at first sight there is a certain amount of common sense about this; for, in the case of a Chinese address, embroidered as it is on silk, it must be prepared some time beforehand; and if by chance the vessel were late in arriving, the date would be all wrong. Had such a custom prevailed among us, the new Law Courts of Hong Kong would not bear into the future the erroneous date 'MDCCCCX' cut in the granite of its pediment, for typhoons

and the unbusinesslike ways of contractors have caused its completion to be postponed. But the Chinese do not attribute the origin of the custom to anything so practical; it is just a way of 'dodging the almanac' ; for there are, as I have said, an infinity of unlucky days, and although no one in these latter times would think of confessing that he had consulted the book, yet it might so happen that on the very day on which the address was dated this warning might be found : 'To avoid—presenting addresses.' It is very superstitious, of course; it is an unreasoning belief, 'based on ignorance and fear' ; but still if, in face of the warning, the address were presented on the unlucky day, dire disaster *might* ensue to the distinguished guest, and it is as well that the coincidence should be avoided; so by the omission of the actual day, and the bold assertion that the day of presentation was a 'lucky day,' the imps who might otherwise commit their little devilries are put off the scent.

In much the same line of thought is the custom to refuse to admit that your house is empty; you assert that it is a 'lucky' house; for this reason : The Chinese word for 'empty' has the same sound as the word for 'unlucky,' and if you called it 'unlucky' people would think it was haunted and would of course decline to become your tenants. There can be no harm therefore in attributing the virtue of good luck to it, for people can see of themselves that it is empty.[1] Really that strange superstition, current even among educated Britons of to-day, that you must 'touch wood' if inadvertently you allude to long-continued good fortune—immunity from gout, for example, lest the bad luck of the aching toe supervene—is not very far removed from these Eastern superstitions. If it were Chinese it might perhaps be explained by saying that sleeping imps had better lie, and if you disturb them it is of course your own fault.

But the folk-lore of the East is not entirely based on superstition, and 'good joss' often stands simply for things which are suitable and of pleasant appearance; 'bad joss' just for ugly things.

The standard does not necessarily conform to ours, though it often coincides with it; it often indeed seems to be no more than the declaration of what the standard is. Thus, pimples (*query*, freckles), large ears, a big mouth, a big head, a protruding chin, and rosy palms are esteemed 'lucky,' the latter indicating pro-

[1] A very similar juggling with words occurs (at least according to the tradition of Canton) with the name of the almanac referred to in the text. Its original name was *T'ung Shu*, a 'Book about Everything'—it seems, indeed, to have been the forerunner of Mrs. Beeton's *Enquire Within about Everything;* but as the character '*Shu*' (Book) has the same sound in Cantonese as the character '*Shu*' (to lose), obviously an exceedingly unlucky name to give to a book, it was changed to *T'ung Shêng*, which means 'Everything to Win.'

spective wealth; ringworm, albinism, to be born with teeth, grating the teeth in sleep, unlucky. To have ears lying flat to the head is lucky, for the head looks more compact; to have flappy elephantine ears is unlucky, for the opposite reason. Sometimes the reason for the good or bad 'joss' lies hidden in some larger belief. Closed lips not showing the teeth are lucky, short ones leaving the teeth exposed unlucky, because 'they allow the good luck to escape,' that allowance of good luck which is given to every person to start life with; for all persons are born good, and only become bad by reason of their surroundings. Surely a pleasanter conception of life than the teaching of '*original* sin'!

This long parenthesis concluded, I come back to what might aptly be called the incarnation of all the superstitions, the pagoda. And first, I must note that quite apart from superstitious uses it undoubtedly serves another purpose altogether, that of emphasising some special feature in the landscape, for the site chosen for a tower which is to stand guardian over the town is naturally some prominent feature in the surrounding country. But I think there is something more in the selection of the site which one is apt to overlook at first, but which very soon makes its appeal. You cannot pass two days in Wuchow, for example, whose pagoda is on the range of hills opposite the city, without having your attention continually drawn to it, and this not merely because it stands up prominently against the sky, but because you gradually become conscious that it would not so impress itself on the brain if it were on any other part of the range. And presently you realise that if you yourself had been called upon to choose the site you would have agreed with the geomancer, that that is precisely the spot where it ought to be; it so fits into the landscape that it becomes an appropriate emphasis to its beauty, and altogether satisfies your sense of artistic propriety. This leads me to think that one of the bases on which the superstition of *fung shui* rests is purely artistic. We are apt to forget, so unspeakably ugly is almost everything which surrounds the life of the people, that in China we are in the original home of Eastern art: another of the minor mysteries of China. I do not think I am stretching my imagination too far when I say that I discern in the setting of the pagoda by the Chinese on the hills something of the deliberate thought which lies at the bottom of grace and all true art. And, as is the way of things of beauty, it begins to attract you, till presently you come to look for the pagoda in your morning walk; you 'look towards it' as naturally as you look towards the East before sunrise. Eliminate superstition and leave art in control, it seems to me that possibly this is at the bottom of the so-called worship of sacred mountains.

I too have 'worshipped' in this sense; for my window in Tokyo opened towards Fuji, and for three years every morning that its perfect shape was visible, robed in sunshine, snow-capped, or crowned with clouds, I looked towards the mountain with that reverential feeling which beautiful nature inspires. And now to art add religion, of which it is the handmaid, the primitive religion of the older days, and eye-worship changes to something of deeper significance. The history of that religion and its song teem with allusions which treat looking towards the 'holy place' as synonymous with worship.

But apart from this setting of the pagodas, which was I think influenced by the subtlest of art principles, monstrous ugliness does reign supreme in South China, at least in that part of it through which the West River runs. Even in things appertaining to religion, art and refinement are conspicuous by their absence. The temples themselves, though they often make considerable show, lack the grace of form and decoration which our Japanese experience has made us associate with the temples of the East; and often enough the show itself has passed away, for, like so many other things, a great number of the temples have passed beyond the last stage of decay. An exception to the ruin which is prevalent among the temples is one in a village below Wuchow, dedicated to the Mother of All Dragons, whither the people make frequent pilgrimage, their pious offerings having been piously applied to its upkeep. It is spick and span; and though the painting is gaudy in the extreme and the ornament grotesque, it is a refreshing change from the prevailing tumbledownness, and stands lotus-like in the surrounding sea of filth. A strange incantation to the deity was in progress while we loitered, one which, as I have already indicated, very probably differed essentially from the act of reverence of the sailors on the boat. A band of actors on their way down stream had paused to make oblation. All were in character, beards, moustaches, headgear, masks; and they had dressed in their best for the occasion; each came before the shrine, made his three deep obeisances with clapping of hands, presented even the dolls that joss might come to them too, to the accompaniment of horrid noise from pipe and drum, the burning of much incense, the crackle of many crackers; the little inferno supplemented by the delighted shouts and screams of all the ragamuffins of the village, and the yapping of all its dogs.

Beyond Yuet Shing the hilly banks of the river narrow to a gorge of two miles or so, and then we pass into the reaches below Wuchow. Wuchow is a walled city of some 70,000 inhabitants, who are said to be composed 'of the alert and progressive Cantonese, the slow-moving and unimaginative home provincial,

the original robust and proud man of Hunan, the shy Kweicho provincial, the non-characteristic Yunnanese, and two section which comprise any or all of the above elements but do not fuse the official class and the boating community.' A strange mixtur to those who see beneath the surface, but to the uninitiate traveller undistinguishable beneath the veneer of stolid indiffe ence to mundane matters, other than smoking, which is tl characteristic of all the people one sees in a Chinese town.

If by any strange misuse of language a Chinese town coul be called pretty, Wuchow would be deserving of the title; i surroundings of hill and river reaches, its pagoda, the Britis Consulate, lately transferred to an eminence between the We and the Fu Rivers, both rivers densely crowded with junks c commerce and habitation through which the interminable string timber rafts wedge their unceremonious way; the *Pais*—pontoon with wharf and godown combined—of the Chinese Customs an the merchant, along the river front; the river steamers, some them churning the water with their stern-wheels; these mark th prosperity which has followed the opening of the port. Yet th word 'prosperity' seems wholly inapt, for the features of a Chines town being what they are, there is no room for prosperity t show its face. That incapacity of a Chinese town to grow an older is everywhere so marked that it has left nothing on whicl by any possibility prosperity could set its outward and visibl signs. And the outward and visible signs of the treaty privileg would seem to show that its benefits have been somewha exaggerated, were the Western goods exposed for sale in the shop its only evidences. Much of the ware is gruesomely gimcrack brummagem of the worst, and would hardly find a place on hawker's barrow at a village fair. How can a people who rank high among the metal-workers of the world accept the formles soldered tin lamps we send them? How can they who weave silk and satins of finest texture, whereon the dragon disports himsel in sheen between the pæony and chrysanthemum, wear 'shirtings' 'figured, brocaded, and spotted' with the tragedies of art design, which we make them believe express the 'taste' of th West? One is tempted to wonder, seeing the palpable horro of so much of it, whether, if this is all it has to show, it was not wise of the Chinese to resist to the utmost the admission of ou trade. But the effect of the Treaty Port system has been widespread, and it seems to be an admitted fact that 'there is probably scarcely a family which does not use some foreign imported article—if not a supply of piece goods, at least enough kerosene oil to keep the house lit up, or one or other of the innumerable little articles made in Europe to please the native taste.' These terrible 'little articles' with which the shops are full are of course

the mere froth on the surface; the benefits of the system as against the total exclusion of old days are to be found beneath the surface.

Navigation properly so-called ends at Wuchow; beyond are the rapids and Nanning, to be reached only by motor boat. There comes first a stretch of fifty miles or so of considerable beauty between the hills, and we thread our way through the rocks and fishermen's cairns; every now and again there are bits of beautifully wooded scenery, but for the greater part of the journey there is nothing but sheer uninterestingness, and the monotony of the day is relieved only by the stops at the busy villages. Yet here as everywhere in China the traveller is in two states of mind, and the word uninteresting applies only to what he sees as he sits on the minute deck in the bows—a muddy river running between banks just high enough to prevent him seeing the flat land beyond them, for miles and miles, so that at last he begins to wonder why he should have started on so dull a journey. But it is just then that the spirit of the East comes to the rescue; the journey is a journey straight into the past, the ever-present past which I have endeavoured to describe; and not a junk which passes, nor train of straining men upon the tow-path, but goes to build up the fanciful thought that you are not steaming into the heart of China, but that the curtain of the past has been suddenly lifted, that you are on the waters of Abana or Pharpar or one of the rivers of Damascus, and that they are Syrian women who fetch water in an endless procession up and down the steps on the bank.

And then one is not really alone on the motor boat; there is a crowd of native passengers in the upper story who smoke and chatter and gamble through the night and day; and to-day I am very much the reverse of alone; for the larger portion of my minute deck space is taken up by a dozen pedlars who have come aboard at the last stage with their pedling boxes—full of more results of foreign trade—and there being no room for them upstairs, they invade my little deck, so that I have barely sitting space left. So much they respected; for I furnished them in the book that I read, and the pad that I wrote on, and the pipe that I smoked, much food for curious reflection and loud comment. A pinch of tobacco all round made things quite friendly, and I almost missed their society when towards nightfall we came to Kong How, where out of the darkness came many sampans, and pedlars and pedling boxes, amidst the shouting which is inevitable in China when anything or nothing is afoot, vanished as quickly as they came.

And so after three days and a half I am near the end of my journey, and curiosity is once more aroused, for the new Treaty

Port must at least be interesting. But Nanning differs little from the towns that we have already passed, except that it is larger, as large almost as Wuchow. And it has the same features; the Customs and the merchant's *Pai*, and the official residence of the Commissioner; there, too, is the long arid sweep of the bank, for the river is very low, and there are the huddled houses with the verandahs propped by poles, the pawnshops, the steps leading up the bank, and the continuous stream of women and children fetching water from the river. The new port taps a large area of trade into which the tin lamps and spotted shirtings before mentioned are finding their way, and there is much produce which wants to travel down the stream by motor boat or loaded junk to purchasers lower down the river to pay for them; it was worth the while, therefore, to go to all the trouble of making a special arrangement to open this new market for foreign trade. Otherwise the pigs and the mire and all the familiar horrors have gotten fast hold of it. The stench even is centuries old, unforgotten odours of unsavoury meals, its original germs still among its active properties. Here more than anywhere the fact that three years ago this city was closed to foreigners induces that feeling that you are looking into the past. But there are signs unmistakable that the spirit of the Treaty Port is beginning to stir men to some activity. The 'settlement' has been plotted out; wooden pegs indicate to the adventurous its future building sites and roads, and boundary stones and landmarks have been set up. The houses, it is true, are not yet even in plan; and after the plans are drawn there will have to be much draining of fish-ponds before they can be put into execution. The good missionaries are there already, and the *Sœurs*, as ever, are in the van of the advancing civilisation which lingers as yet on the further side of the hills. And there is a huge embankment wall ready to protect the houses when they come to the building, if haply the tempestuous river does not wash it all away before the time, as it has done its best to do twice already. It is sixty feet high, and even that is insufficient when the river is at its highest flood. These floods are too prodigious to find comfortable quarters even in the imaginative corners of the brain. The highest record occurred not so very long ago, when the Customs *Pai* was carried above the trees on the bank into the fields and far away.

I had come to my last night on board the motor boat; on the morrow I should return to the civilisation of Wuchow and the genial consular hospitality once more. It was moonlight; we had stopped for a breathless second off one of the villages to set down a passenger; the sampan which was to take him ashore had hit off to a nicety our little vessel, slowing-down on the

stream; passenger and weird luggage were transferred, strange bundles with the inevitable tin basin tucked into the blanket; each process involving rivermanship of a high order; the engineer's bell rings, and we are off again. There were mountain fires flaring against the sky, typical of ultimate barbarous life, wanton destruction of timber which has been going on for centuries, and has left whole ranges of hills bare; and thoughts of that eternal cry, 'Make the Chinese mend their ways,' came to me as I smoked my cigar in the little bow-space, and wondered whether it was not a superhuman task. For the people will not learn wisdom according to our lights, and reject the economics on which we assure them that our own prosperity is based, preferring still to judge the foreigner by his folly. I had been reading Dr. Arthur Smith's book, in which he expresses his passionate belief in the power of Christianity to regenerate Chinese village life; and I had heard my friend the missionary full of confidence tell me that 'something' was really being done, after the thirty or more years of strenuous labour in the vineyard —'something,' really something which he deemed worth the life and the treasure that had been spent in the achievement. I had cogitated, too, on a kindred subject—the many strange problems which the Court had of late presented; of the conflict of English law with Chinese household customs, wondering whether all was for the best after all, whether our system were not sometimes malevolent and not beneficent at all. And far ahead a familiar sight struck my eye though the haze—the red and green lights of another boat coming up river. On that as on ours there were only a Chinese skipper, pilot, and crew. But soon the 'red to red' made itself manifest; afterwards 'perfect safety,' and we went ahead with saluting siren as the ghost of a sister motor boat slipped swiftly by into the darkness. The moon looked down on the river, and the fields and the villages, as she had looked down on them these thousand years. Was it typical—of the pale ghost of the West passing over the face of the waters, and the stream of Chinese life flowing on with a great unconcern from the mountains to the sea?

F. T. PIGGOTT.

SHELLEY AT TAN-YR-ALLT

Of the four great poets of the early nineteenth century, only one, Wordsworth, sings out of the heart of an English landscape. We do not as it were run up against Keats in Hampstead; although we can without an effort perceive the shade of Fanny Brawne—dozens of shades of dozens of Fanny Brawnes—ogling young druggists in the neighbourhood of the Round Pond. Keats had no terrestrial country. His is the classic Fairyland of Claude and of Turner; a landscape in which nymphs are discerned. Two generations of our poets vowed themselves to Italy, yet Browning is the only one of them whose poetry would lose something essential if the poet had never passed the Alps. A plaster cast in a museum might have inspired Byron's 'Dying Gladiator' as effectually as the mediocre original. Greece was the source of his highest inspiration, and after Greece, the Lake of Geneva, or rather the electric personality of Shelley, with whom he felt its beauty. And Shelley? In spite of *Lines written among the Euganean Hills* and one or two other poems of Italy, Shelley's muse is not definitely Italian. She is a creature of the ambient air, water, the clouds, wind; alive rather to the large beauties of the general Earth than to special and local features. His Naples lacks the great cone of Vesuvius, which seemed formerly as necessary to its background as Fuji Yama to that of a Japanese sketch. Yet he has seized the whole spirit of Athenian landscape in one stanza of the *Ode to Freedom*, that of the ruins and deserts of Egypt in the thirty lines of *Ozymandias*; and this although he had never trodden the soil of Greece or of Egypt.

Mountains, with the wide harmonies of light and colour, mist and shadow, which the sky breathes over them, were intimates of Shelley's soul before ever he saw the Alps or the Apennines. It was the mountains of his own country, of the English Lakes and of Wales, which first stored his mind with images of everlasting, ever-changing mountain beauty. These render the harmonies of the sky with a delicacy, an elusive charm all their own. The hulking giants of Switzerland often wall out far too large a part of the heavens and are dull and monotonous in colour and texture, except where lakes lend them space and wrap vestures

of purple about their feet. The mountains of dry hot countries, precisely owing to their aridity, reflect with emphasis the blue and rose and gold of morning and evening and the blackness of storm-clouds. At close quarters and in ordinary daylight, they are colourless as bare bones. But the mountains of our misty islands are clothed as in finest broidery, are so rich in various colours of their own that in the nearest view and on the dullest day they feed the eye with endless variety of delicately lovely detail. Actual size is rarely a great factor in mountain beauty, and comparatively small though it is, there are in the world but few prospects of peak and crag, of wood and water so satisfying as that of the estuary of the Glaslyn where the boy Shelley once found a home. Twenty years old he was at this time. The fact is worth recalling, for it is as a grown man that this stripling has been judged. It was in the late summer of 1812 that he arrived there with his curious female family—his schoolgirl wife, his mature sister-in-law Eliza Westbrook, and Miss Hitchener. Only a year before Shelley had been staying at Cwm Ellan in Mid-Wales, nursing the remains of a heart shivered to fragments by Cousin Harriet Grove. There the cry of another Harriet had reached him : that of a young disciple, the daughter of ex-coffee-house-keeper Westbrook, who was suffering persecution. So he came flying to Clapham, armed *cap-à-pie*, to rescue the damsel from a whole party of dragons, father, schoolmistress and schoolfellows, all breathing fire against her on account of the enlightened opinions she had acquired from Mr. Shelley. Children they were, he and she, playing at a game of Crusaders and martyrdoms. The game was complicated by the inevitable romantic adoration of the schoolgirl for her bright-eyed beautiful young *preux*—or professor; for the knight-errant was also an enthusiastic prig, as many a good man and true has been at nineteen. Harriet was to him but a vessel, if a fair one, into which to pour the very crude new wine of his revolutionary gospel. The whole comedy of Youth and Folly would have earned but a paragraph in the poet's biography, had there been no hand to pull the strings of boy and girl. But there was Eliza Westbrook, the maternal elder sister, her devotion to Harriet, the child's devotion to her, filling the place of wifehood and motherhood. The most brilliant future she could have imagined for her sister would have been marriage with some young partner in a good City house—and lo! on her horizon flamed the heir to a baronetcy and several thousand a year.

We observe the elder Miss Westbrook at first endeavouring to convert the atheist, but soon abandoning the attempt and leaving Harriet's soul to its fate, to concentrate herself on securing Harriet's marriage. How she did so, how for a while bright

Pegasus—whom Eliza had figured herself as it were driving in a blazoned barouche alongside that neat little filly of a Harriet—submitted to the guiding hand; and how Miss Westbrook 'quite charmed' a Duke, while Percy and Harriet played in the garden; and how thereafter came 'despondency and madness' on a poor earthly creature, not made to race up sunrays and caracol in ether with the winged steed—all this, is it not written in quite a number of books?

Such a wanderer was Shelley that no place deserves by reason of his long dwelling there the name of his home. The difference between one place of his sojourn and another is rather that in one he must have felt himself at home and in another a stranger. In this sense Tan-yr-allt was assuredly one of his homes. Passers-by on the coach which runs from Portmadoc to Beddgelert look up, and on a steep green slope above them see a low square white house with a wide verandah, on which creepers grow: 'the house that stands on roses,' as a little girl once called it, at that age when we are all poets. Steeply about and above the house on its island of emerald turf, clipped yews and flowers, rise woods of well-mingled beech and oak and ash and fir, clothing the feet of the Tremadoc Rocks. The Rocks are in fact cliffs, rising high and sheer above the Traeth Mawr, the valley which was once the Great Sand or estuary of the Glaslyn. Wind and water have carved these cliffs into a semblance of battlement and tower, and the centuries have weathered them to many soft shades of grey, on which here the fine-leaved ivy lays the delicate ornament of its sprays, and there the bushy sort throws out in luxuriant growth its bold glossy leaves and black bosses of berries. In prehistoric and also in historic times, masses of stone have rolled down from the mountain and lie tumbled at the foot of the crags. Dwellers in the one or two small houses which have been built by the road sometimes look anxiously towards them, but Tan-yr-allt stands high and safe. The crags retire as it were to a respectful distance up the green and wooded mountain side behind it. When our poet lighted there the knoll or spur on which the house stands was evidently barer than it now is, although perhaps a little too much credit has been assigned to Shelley's landlord, who planted prodigally and well. This landlord was Mr. Madocks—the 'great' Mr. Madocks of a forgotten day, scion of a Mid-Welsh family and M.P. for Boston. At this period to enclose waste lands and grow crops on them was considered a philanthropic act. Diet was monotonous and bread formed a much larger part of poor people's food than it does to-day: although politicians continue to talk as though sago and corn-flour, cocoa and bananas had never 'swum into their ken.' This everlasting dry bread was dear, and the prospect of the Old World being fed

from the wheat-fields of the New would have struck even Shelley as the dream of an enthusiast. Accordingly the landlord who put a hedge round the strip of turf by a country road and grew or grazed something on it, far from being execrated as a land-thief, enjoyed the rewards of virtue in public praise and an approving conscience.

If such a one was virtuous, what was Mr. Madocks, who in the year 1812 had already reclaimed three thousand acres of land from the barren sea, and had spent a fortune in the so-far fruitless endeavour to rescue five thousand more? A hero assuredly, and one after the boy Shelley's own heart. A nearer acquaintance seems to have cooled enthusiasm.

In the year 1812 the embankment across the mouth of the estuary along which the Cambrian Railway now runs had been completed except for a hundred yards in the centre, through which breach the tide rushed with such violence as to make the further construction of the embankment a matter of great difficulty.

In Peacock's novel, *Headlong Hall*, he sends three of his philosophers for a morning walk from Llanberis to the Madocks Embankment, a distance of some twenty-five miles, which they appear to have traversed with the ease and speed of so many motor-cars. Peacock describes the scene as he saw it about the date of Shelley's arrival at Tan-yr-allt.

> Proceeding through the sublimely romantic Pass of Aberglaslyn, their road led along the edge of Traeth Mawr, a vast arm of the sea, which they then beheld in all the magnificence of the flowing tide. Another five miles brought them to the embankment. . . They walked to the extremity of that part of it which is thrown out from the Carnarvon shore. The tide was now ebbing; it had filled the vast basin within, forming a lake about five miles in length, and more than one in breadth. As they looked upwards they beheld a scene which no other in this country can parallel, and which the admirers of Nature will ever remember with regret. . . Vast rocks and precipices, intersected with little torrents, formed the barrier on the left; on the right the triple summit of Moel Wynne reared its majestic boundary; in the depth was that sea of mountains, the wild and stormy outline of the Snowdon chain, with the giant Wyddfa towering in the midst. The mountain frame remains unchanged, unchangeable, but the liquid mirror it enclosed is gone. The tide ebbed with rapidity: the waters within the embankment poured through its two points an impetuous cataract, curling and boiling in innumerable eddies and making a tumultuous melody admirably in unison with the surrounding scene.

The epithets 'vast' and 'terrific' were liberally applied by that untravelled generation to scenes which do not now seem to merit them. Yet the beauty of that 'mountain frame' remains 'a thing to wonder on,' to return to from far countries with ever-renewed delight, while the soft changeful skies of Wales shed on it their silver veils of mist, blue shadows of wandering clouds and

lights that fade and glow and fade again. There is still a long narrow stretch of sea-water or sea-sand, running inland from the embankment, over which the white wings of sea-birds drift and toss against the blue of distant mountains. But the Traeth Mawr, no longer sand, has put on a fair vesture of its own : breadths of golden and incense-breathing gorse, the green and tawny colours of rough meadow-land. The upstanding islets of rocks and trees still dot its surface; the Isle of the Druid, the Isle of the Rocking Stone and the rest. If the meadows are less beautiful than the water, they are less waste and sad than river sands are when the tide is down.

In one point Peacock erred. The Moel Wynnes are double, not triple; they are the Great and the Little White Mountain. Fine from any point of view, they are finer seen from the Festiniog side than from the Traeth. Cnicht on the other hand is strangely characterless on that side, while here it stands up a noble dominating peak.

The small town of Portmadoc, at the Carnarvonshire end of the embankment, is a modern sea-port which the Festiniog quarries created and have kept modestly busy for some sixty years. In spite of its name, it did not owe its existence to Madocks. It was on reclaimed land, close under the mountains, that he laid out his town of Tremadoc. Manufacture as well as agriculture appeared a form of philanthropy to the men of that age. And their shades may abide our smile, for a hundred years ago England took the lead in the science of agriculture, and if the nineteenth century had given us no manufactories, the twentieth would find no hen-roosts to rob. 'The great Mr. Madocks' was carried away by the enthusiasms of his time. He was not only convinced himself, but he convinced others that by a wave of his wand he could conjure up a manufacturing city in this corner of wildest Wales. So he erected as the centre of his city a neat little square and a small but dignified Town Hall which, as a building, only just falls short of excellence. 'What think you of the little colony we have just been inspecting; a city as it were in its cradle?' asks one of Peacock's pedestrians of the others. They proceed to discuss very intelligently all the evils of the industrial system, making so stupendous a growth in the England of that date. Peacock was not infected with any of the enthusiasms of his day, and his criticisms are perfectly modern and perfectly just. If everyone had been as sensible and enlightened as he was, England would to-day be an insignificant island, maintaining a sparse rural population, kept rich in food and poor in physique and intelligence by the continual emigration of the fittest. The prophet of Headlong Hall loses his prophetic powers when he utters vaticinations concerning the industrial city whose reek and hum he sees

going up to heaven here, at Tremadoc, where once the long sea-water lapped, reflecting the secular ruin of untrodden crags, where the housewife span at her low cottage door and her ruddy barefooted children bore home their loads of heather and bracken. He might have spared his tears. Tremadoc was assuredly at the height of its glory when these casual travellers from Llanberis could find a saddle of mutton and a bottle of excellent sherry ready and waiting at its hostelry.

Whatever the three philosophers did, Peacock himself would assuredly have called at the white house on the mountain side which Shelley, with apparent inconsistency, described as 'an extensive cottage' and compared to 'the villa of an Italian prince.' This comparison is explained by a sketch of the dining-room at Tan-yr-allt made more than fifty years ago, showing wall-decorations, mermaids, panels with vases and other objects, painted in sepia, in a style long popular in Italy. Recently, when several papers were stripped off the walls, ghosts of these decorations appeared confirming the local tradition that Italian workmen had been employed to decorate the house. There is something in the peculiar construction of the wide flat eaves here, and in other houses built in the reign of Madocks, which brings to mind those of Northern Italy. From the broad verandah was to be seen, then as now, a wondrous prospect of wild mountain forms, the ridges of Merioneth running out to the blue Bay of Carnarvon, to terminate in the rocky promontory on which is perched the romantic castle of Harlech—a sombre purple silhouette, or lifting blond and distinct in sunshine its defiant towers. Below lay the estuary and its islets.

Wherever there was a struggle, whether against man or against Nature, young Shelley threw himself into it with as much ardour as an average modern boy expends on a football match. We hear of him riding round the country to solicit subscriptions for Mr. Madocks' great undertaking, helping Mr. Williams, the agent, to write letters in his office, and last, but not least, suggesting a device by which the fury of the tide was curbed and at last the gap between the two ends of the embankment was successfully filled. And when a local tradition tells us that it was Mr. Shelley who suggested the device, it is sure to be true; for who would have credited that crazy young man with so much sense? By his advice a ship loaded with stones was sunk in the gap. It resisted the rush of the tide and formed a *point d'appui* for the other materials of the embankment. The poets reserve such surprises for us.

It was in the month of September, so especially beautiful a season in mountain places, that Shelley arrived at Tan-yr-allt and became the apostle of Mr. Madocks Very soon, however, the

motley household went up to London, to solicit subscriptions towards the completion of the embankment and incidentally to get rid of Miss Hitchener, erstwhile Shelley's Portia or Egeria, and now become his Brown Demon. A very tragical comedy that of Miss Hitchener, the successful schoolmistress of thirty-five, so dominated by the personal charm and the missionary ardour of a boy of nineteen as to sacrifice her career and her reputation in order to follow him about the country as his Egeria, in company with his wife and sister-in-law. But wives have from time immemorial had a poor opinion of Egerias. We can reproduce some at least of the writings on the private tablets of Numa's queen, without the aid of an archæologist. In this case the wife had the advantage in youth and beauty, and was by no means wanting in intelligence. Besides there was already an intruder on the hearth, Eliza Westbrook, who was little likely to brook another. A mature soul, too, must have had her moments of fatigue in pursuing the airy gambades of a youthful poet, cold shudders of frosty reason in the midst of his flaming enthusiams. So Egeria-Portia swiftly sank to earth as Bessie, and again from earth sank Hell-deep as the Brown Demon. From Tan-yr-allt she was taken to London and there ignominiously expelled from the family circle. The poor Brown Demon had a sensitive nature, and the fair September days she spent here must have been dark with the shadow of impending doom; but since she evidently loved beautiful landscape, one trusts that the brooding mountains laid some balm upon her wounds. I like to think of her as having had her happy moments pacing the wide verandah and murmuring to herself either the opening of Queen Mab or her own feminist ode, of which one line, and that surely immortal, has been preserved:

All, all are men—women and all.

In after years her disenchanted poet used to repeat this line with wild bursts of laughter. Yet if the fierce light of humour had been turned on his own utterances in the days of Miss Hitchener's glory, many of them would have been found almost equally absurd. Long afterwards, when the strayed schoolmistress had returned to her own path in life, and was following it amid esteem and affection, at the mention of Shelley's name her fine dark eyes would light up, and we may well believe she did not eventually regret that brief amazing flight of hers into Youth-and-Poet-land. To the modern Beatitudes let us add—Blessed is he who is not afraid of being ridiculous.

Shelley meantime was fervent in the cause of the embankment. It shocked and amazed him to find how cold and callous was the attitude of the Duke of Norfolk and other landowners whose estates lay in Sussex, when he appealed to them for subscriptions to add

several thousand acres to a remote corner of Wales. How much he collected before his return to Tan-yr-allt we are not told, but he himself was a generous donor, and the resumption of the work had been almost entirely due to his activity.

In those days and for many years after, the road from London to Tremadoc lay by Capel Curig, under the dark and craggy side of Snowdon, and down the fine valley of Nantgwynant. Shelley writing to Hogg from Tan-yr-allt, says:

> The scenery is more strikingly grand in the way from Capel Curig to our house than ever I beheld. The road passes at the foot of Snowdon: all around you see lofty mountain-peaks lifting their summits far above the clouds, wild wooded valleys below and dark tarns reflecting every tint and shape of the scenery above them.

Nantgwynant can wear a more smiling face than this, when her lakes reflect blue skies and her clouds soar high over the heads of the mountains.

This valley past, the Shelleys' way home lay through the beautiful if miniature Pass of Aberglaslyn, where in those November days the mountain torrent went leaping with white swirls of foam and battle-roar of waters, over deep shelves of rock and shining boulders, down to the Traeth Mawr and the sea. Above the torrent hung grey cliffs and the gold of autumn woods, and here and there, against the gloom of rolling clouds or the vaporous hues of the more distant heights, a group of Scotch firs reared their dusky plumes. When first the wanderers had come up from Llangollen to Tan-yr-allt the purple and rose of the flowering heather had still decked the mountain sides; now, not less beautiful, were spread over them the vivid colours of dead heather and withered bracken.

It was with a rush of joy that Shelley felt himself once more in the free and majestic company of mountains. 'Hail to thee, Cambria,' he cried:

> Do thou, wild Cambria, calm each struggling thought,
>   Cast thy sweet veil of rocks and woods between,
> That by the soul to indignation wrought,
>   Mountains and veils be mingled with the scene;
> Let me for ever be what I have been,
>   But not for ever at my needy door
> Let Misery linger speechless, pale and lean;
>   I am the friend of the unfriended poor. . .

These verses are not very good, but they are very characteristic; for while he calls on rocks and woods to calm and befriend his soul, it is human suffering which stirs his deepest interest. It was this passionate sympathy with his kind, this power of disengagement from himself, which made and makes Shelley so lovable a creature, with all his faults and follies; and sometimes

among the prophets in spite of his borrowed and dated creed. Yet by an apparent paradox, he never found himself as a poet until he had fled from the torment of life to the bosom of Nature. It is in *Queen Mab*, which was finished at Tan-yr-allt, that Shelley first manifested his genius. Fifty years later old inhabitants would point out the path between the verandah front of the house and the walled garden, where he was wont to pace 'with poetry.'

Meanwhile the labourers on the embankment were ill-paid or not paid at all; for Mr. Madocks had impoverished himself from a business point of view, though he seems to have been one of those flimsy people who can always find money for their own amusements. This may have been the reason of Shelley's abatement of enthusiasm in his cause. Even to-day, when social questions are so much debated at the Universities, few boys of twenty would devote so much of their time and money, give themselves so freely to their poor and suffering neighbours, as did Shelley during the winter he spent at Tremadoc. His visits to their cottages, his generous gifts of food and fuel, were long remembered, if less long than his eccentricities of attire and opinion.

There were few large landowners resident in North Wales, and a great number of squires who, although regarded as gentry, owned houses and estates no larger than those of yeomen farmers. Owing to their remoteness and small means, they were probably for the most part half a century behind English country gentry in their manners and ideas. Drunkenness was a flagrant habit of the squires and clergy of Wales well on into decorous Victorian days. When, in describing his neighbours, Shelley wrote: 'Lawyers of unexampled villainy rule and grind the poor while they cheat the rich,' there is evidence to show that he did not grossly exaggerate. But when he goes on to declare the peasants 'mere serfs, fed and lodged worse than pigs,' and the gentry to have 'all the ferocity and despotism of the ancient barons, without their dignity and chivalric disdain of danger,' his fancy evidently ran away with him. Peacock we have seen contrasted the healthy peasantry he saw around him with their imaginary factory-hand descendants, and it is probable that they found nothing to complain of in their warm and characteristic stone cottages, thatched with straw or bracken—for slate as yet was not—or the large, round flat oat-cakes, baked in a hole under wood ashes, and standing on their edges before the fire. These and porridge and milk and cheese were their staple food. Better the hygienist could hardly wish. And most likely even in those days these 'serfs' stood more in awe of the chapel-elders than of the landlord; for the tyranny of the Chapel in Wales has passed its centenary.

If they understood anything of what their youthful benefactor was saying, they were as much shocked at his opinions as though

they had been so many Bishops. Bysshe's week-day appearance, his wild hair and headgear, had scandalised the poor folk in Mid-Wales not a little, although on a Sunday, when he went to church with the family, dressed in the regulation coat and hat, they had pronounced him as handsome a young gentleman as you would see in a long summer's day.

Now while Shelley inhabited Tan-yr-allt, in the Mill-house below there dwelt a poet of some real account in the eyes of the country-folk—by no means indifferent to literature, like their English compeers. There are still extant engravings of 'Y Bardd en y Gwelly,' or 'The Bard in the bed,' as he was named. For this poor man was bed-ridden, and spent his life in a recess in the wall, lined with books. What an angel of light should he have come to this dark and confined prison-house, the Poet of Poets! Alas, no! The Bard must have been exactly what he looks in his portrait; not a poet at all, but a bed-ridden deacon. To him the ethereal visitant appeared as a wild-looking youth wearing a scandalously small cap and of a conversation 'not at all notable.' But to the day of his death he remembered with pride that 'the great Mr. Madocks' had once condescended to visit him. The old Human Comedy is always a-playing.

This winter at Tan-yr-allt, spent in deeds of kindness and in the creation of his first living poem, was probably the happiest of Shelley's life. His school-girl wife was pretty and amiable, and doubtless appeared to him of a brilliant intelligence, since she faithfully reflected his every idea. Yet she was forming that habit of incessant reading aloud which, as described by Hogg, was enough to make any husband ultimately desert. The world about him suffered no dimming of its beauty because of winter. When Midland fields are sodden and elms are sad, the Welsh mountains are but more full of colour for the moisture of clouds and the rush of foaming streams. It is a delightful thing to look down from their heights upon their bare oak-woods, and mark the delicate tracery of grey branch and twig against a carpet of emerald moss, sprinkled with the gold of fallen leaves. On the low open braes beside the sea, even in midwinter, some small flower will be springing and the gorse will be golden, the ivy brightly green in the shelter of a southward-facing crag. One may lie there warm in the sun and hear the lark sing and watch the ships sail up the channel to the port, so near they seem to be sailing on the grass. For let it not be thought that Wales is all and always cloudy. On the rain-map of the British Isles the Snowdon district shows as a black blot, but the West Coast of Carnarvonshire, right out to the end of Lleyn, is as white as the coast of Sussex. Beautiful, too, are the mountains when they put on the shining glory of the snow. These were Shelley's companions, and in spite of his shrill

denunciation of his human neighbours, and their equally violent denunciations of him, he had friends among them; notably the Nanneys of Gwynfryn, and Williams the agent.

Behind Tan-yr-allt rough stone steps lead up the wall of rock to where among green pastures perch certain small farmhouses, the nearest being that of Pant Yfon. Climbing those steps, I often see in imagination that bright-eyed, slender, youthful figure. A youth of twenty feels no need to pause for breath halfway up the steep ascent. Yet this youth will have paused to look back on the marvellous prospect of sea and mountain widening beneath; and assuredly as he did so his poet's heart and his heart of youth sung together within him. Boy-like he carried pistols with him, and being incapable of destroying life for amusement, he did so in kindness. The Welsh, like some other Celtic people, are not particularly merciful to animals, and he sometimes found a sick sheep left to die on the mountain. Out came the pistols, and the sheep ceased to suffer.

All this was brought summarily to an end by a mysterious adventure. One morning Mr. Williams was hurriedly summoned to Tan-yr-allt, and found Shelley in a state of wild excitement. He told his friend a tale of how he had been murderously attacked twice during the previous night by a villain, who on the first occasion had effected an entrance into a small room called the Office. He had fired a gun at Shelley, who in return had fired a pistol at him. He then knocked Shelley down, and they struggled together on the ground, Shelley succeeding in firing his second pistol. The man rose and fled, uttering fearful threats against Shelley, his wife, and sister-in-law. Again, later in the evening, when Shelley was keeping watch in the drawing-room, he saw a man looking in at the French bay window, which then opened into a verandah. The man put his arm through the window and fired a gun. Shelley's pistol having once more proved innocuous, he pursued the assassin on to the lawn, armed with an old sword he had found in the house. Imagine him in his flannel dressing-gown, his wild locks surmounted by the conical night-cap of our fathers, pursuing the foe sword in hand, while the wind roared in the rocks overhead and the rain lashed the thick darkness of the night. Once more there was a struggle, but the appearance of Dan, the Irish man-servant, put the assassin to flight. All this he recounted to Mr. Williams, who listened with the utmost gravity and in growing distress, for Shelley talked about a devil, said he had seen the fiend leaning against the trunk of a tree on the lawn, and finally drew what, for a poor draughtsman, was not a wholly unrecognisable portrait of the apparition. Now in Shelley's, or rather Harriet's, account of the affair we find no hint of a devil or an apparition; it would indeed have been against

all Shelley's most cherished convictions to assume the existence of such creatures. It is probable that Mr. Williams, an inhabitant of Calvinistic Wales, where the devil was never mentioned but with due respect, was confused and misled by the freedom with which a young man from Eton and Oxford would use his Satanic Majesty. And that when assured his assailant had left no footmarks behind him, Shelley may have replied with irritation that in that case he must have been the devil. At any rate the good Williams returned home sadly, with the conviction that his unfortunate young friend had gone out of his mind. Shelley's theory that a highly disagreeable but most respectable Englishman named Leeson, who disapproved of his opinions, had hired the assassin, naturally confirmed this opinion. No one stirred hand or foot to detect the villain of the plot, and this young couple, aged respectively twenty and seventeen, were left by their neighbours entirely without help or protection. This fact, and the circumstance that Harriet was expecting her first child, must be the excuses for Shelley's conduct, which was not very spirited; for he hurriedly evacuated the neighbourhood. Leeson avenged himself by declaring that Shelley had invented the story in order to avoid paying his debts. That such a calumny could have been repeated in a countryside which had had reason to know his ingenuous and honourable character and great personal generosity, is some justification of his severe judgment of his neighbours. Certain payments, such as that of rent, he was obliged to defer until he came of age; but we find in his record no trace of indebtedness, while the extreme simplicity of his life made him always able to indulge his natural generosity.

So the Shelleys passed away from Tremadoc, and in time even the 'great Mr. Madocks' passed away, he and nearly all his works. Of his two factories one is a ruin, the other a tan-yard. But the beautiful ball-room in his Town Hall and the church he built, perhaps also the tradition of his gaieties, long made his abortive little town a social centre. And it happened that a generation later industrial prosperity really came to these pastoral mountains, in a form undreamed of by Madocks; for the slate-quarries were discovered and developed. The quarry-owners were mostly English, and in the forties and fifties one of them, Mr. John Greaves, was living at Tan-yr-allt. It was then exactly as it had been in Shelley's day, with a wide verandah running entirely round the house, the green-rooms Madocks had built for his companies of actors in the shrubberies, and a little room called the Office leading out of the billiard-room, as described by Harriet in her letter to Hookham. There is a water-colour sketch made by Mrs. Greaves at this time, showing the mossy lawn on which the midnight encounter took place, and the beech trees—still

standing—against one of which 'the Devil' leaned. So late as 1860 the widow of Williams reiterated her husband's belief that the whole affair had been an insane delusion, and thirty years later the most pious of Shelley's biographers reserved their opinion on the subject. Yet already, before Mrs. Williams was interviewed, two little girls, living at Tan-yr-allt, could have given a complete explanation of the adventure. They knew well the eccentric old farmer, Robin Pant Yfon, so called from the name of his farm: that little farm in the green hollow above the rocky stair already mentioned. Robin's sheep and goats seemed to be always in trouble, and many a day would find him on the steep tree-shaded drive to the house, waiting to see the magistrate. But if sheep and goats were mostly a care to Robin, he had one glorious memory connected with them; for he had signally avenged the liberty Mr. Shelley had taken in shooting his expiring sheep, by frightening that young man away from Tan-yr-allt. He would enact the scene, 'jumping about in his grey worsted stockings and cochddu knee-breeches and brandishing a great hooked stick. I am sure,' adds the eldest daughter, 'he looked hideous enough to be taken for a visitor from the infernal regions.' Two other young men from the hills had assisted him. Probably the gun he fired was loaded with blank cartridge, which would explain no shot having been found. But the absence of footsteps, except exactly where the struggle took place, would have puzzled Sherlock Holmes, and shows the unreliability of circumstantial evidence or the want of it.

This 'hallucination' of Shelley—who never himself suggests that the incident was supernatural—has been made a ground for treating other adventures of his as 'hallucinations.' They were doubtless like that at Tan-yr-allt, real facts, seen by the lime-light of an excitable imagination. It is true that Shelley saw his own ghost at Casa Magni; but Jane Williams also saw it. And a few days before he was drowned, while walking with Captain Williams, he saw a little naked child, the recently dead child of a neighbour, rise up out of the surf immediately below their house, clap its hands thrice and disappear.

The character of Casa Magni is now completely destroyed by the building of a road between it and the sea and by other alterations. Shelley's earlier home of Tan-yr-allt is little altered, save for the increased beauty which time has brought to its surroundings. The younger sister of the little girls who knew the true story of Mr. Shelley's 'devil' so long before anyone else, lives there and keeps the poet's memory green. She has a collection of pictures which show the aspect of the place in and about the years 1812-13. Among them is a curious coloured print showing in the foreground workmen busied in blasting and quarry-

ing stone from Moel y Gest. In the distance is the embankment, still with a gap in the centre, and a train of horses and carts moving backwards and forwards upon it. In the middle distance ladies and gentlemen of sylph-like grace appear, giving an idea of the elegance of Tremadoc society in the days of the 'great Mr. Madocks,' whose initials are painted in large type on a block of stone in the foreground.

On the lawn where Shelley struggled with Robin of Pant Yfon has stood for some ten years a graceful urn on a stone pedestal. An inscription on it records a fact which ninety-nine years ago seemed of the least possible importance to Tremadoc—namely, that in this fair spot, in this house of Tan-yr-allt, for a brief space there sojourned the Poet of Poets, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

MARGARET L. WOODS.

Tan-yr-allt, April 1911.

THE IDLE POOR

A GOOD deal of fierce light has lately been thrown upon 'the idle rich.' They have been accused by Mr. Lloyd George of imposing 'a serious charge upon the community' by reason of the 'lives of luxurious indulgence' which they lead. It is not easy to see how the luxurious lives of an admittedly small class, which, at any rate, pays its way, can constitute a 'charge,' in any reasonable use of the word, upon the community. There are, indeed, idle and unprofitable lives in abundance which actually do impose a serious charge upon the community; but to find them we must turn to the other end of the social scale. They are not creatures of a demagogue's heated fancy, but grim facts to be gathered from Blue-books and similar unromantic sources. The Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission fixes the total cost of poor relief at nearly 60,000,000*l.* per annum,[1] and yet adds that, in spite of this vast expenditure, 'we still have a vast army of persons quartered upon us unable to support themselves, and an army which in numbers has recently shown signs of increase rather than decrease.[2]

It appears from Appendix, Vol. XXV. (Cd. 5079), issued on the 24th of February 1911 by the Poor Law Commission, that about one person in twenty-two of the population of England and Wales is a pauper in receipt of relief. Taking this population to be (as estimated by the Registrar-General in July 1910) 37,756,615, we get a total of 1,716,209 paupers, all of whom are either absolutely unproductive, or productive only to a trifling extent: they are in no case self-supporting.

The system of outdoor relief is mischievous and pauperising, but it is not incompatible with a certain small amount of productive industry. Let us, therefore, so as to be on the safe side, exclude all paupers in receipt of outdoor relief from the class of the idle and unproductive. Again, some paupers in receipt of indoor relief —the very young, the aged, the infirm in body or mind—are

[1] In addition to this, we have now to meet a 'charge' of nearly 13,000,000*l.* a year for Old Age pensions, which, in spite of the efforts of the Government to conceal the fact, are simply a form of outdoor relief.

[2] P. 52.

inevitably and blamelessly idle. Let us exclude these also, and confine our attention to able-bodied adult paupers in receipt of indoor relief. It appears that on the 1st of January 1910 there were 59,759, and on the 1st of July, 1909, 47,834 of these, excluding insane and casual paupers.[3] From these figures we get a mean of 53,797 able-bodied paupers in receipt of indoor relief.[4] We shall, therefore, be well within the mark if we conclude that we are supporting throughout the year a body of 50,000 able-bodied indoor paupers. Taking the annual cost of each indoor pauper to be 27*l.* 14*s.* 10¾*d.*,[5] it will be seen that we pay at least 1,387,239*l.* for the maintenance of these idle, able-bodied, and unproductive poor. Of these a few—comparatively a very few—can be classed among the deserving poor; some are on the border line, the bulk are wholly undeserving. These are idlers who really prey upon the community, and give nothing, or worse than nothing, in return. Mr. Lloyd George is discreetly silent as to the amount of the 'charge' imposed on the community by the unproductive rich: the Local Government Board is more communicative as to this class of the unproductive poor. It appears from the 39th Report above quoted, that for the year ending Lady Day 1909, pauper relief in England and Wales cost 14,717,098*l.*, not including 483,712*l.* raised by loan.[6] Much of this expenditure is admittedly inevitable and proper, but it is none the less a charge, and a charge on the industrious members of the community for the benefit of the unproductive. Nay, more, it is largely a charge for the benefit and preservation of a class which in the interests of the community had better disappear. The real danger, in fact, to the labouring classes lies not above, but below them; not in the extortions of the so-called idle rich, but in those of the idle poor. Not only does labour subsidised by out-relief tend to depress wages, and thereby directly injure the self-supporting workman,[7] but sooner or later the burden of all taxation falls on the poorer classes, who are the least able to bear it. None, therefore, are more interested than they in reducing the charge of the idle poor wherever reduction may be possible. The aged, the infirm, the incapable poor must be reasonably provided for, though even in their case the cost might be reduced by wiser methods of administration. But the able-bodied pauper stands on a different footing altogether. He has not, as a rule, much claim either on our sympathy or upon our pockets; and nowhere is reduction more possible or more desirable than in the case of two prominent types of this class—the workhouse loafer and the vagrant.

[3] *39th Report Local Government Board*, xiv. [4] *Ibid.* p. 135.
[5] *39th Report Local Government Board*, xliii. [6] P. 153.
[7] If the recommendation of the Report (issued in January 1911) of the Departmental Committee on Outdoor Relief be carried into effect, no person will in future be permitted to receive out relief while earning wages, p. 23.

The workhouse loafer is, to a certain extent, the product of the mixed workhouse, where the aged, the infirm, and the able-bodied are received under one roof, without any proper classification or separate treatment. Obviously the severer régime intended for the able-bodied pauper could not be applied without hardship to the aged or infirm. Hence a tendency arose to make the conditions of workhouse life easier all round. The result of this has been to render the workhouse in many cases far too comfortable, and thereby to call into existence the workhouse loafer. The mixed workhouse will probably disappear before long, but for the present the workhouse loafer is still with us, and continues to enjoy at the expense of the ratepayers luxuries which are quite beyond the reach of the ordinary workman.[8]

The recent Report of the Poor Law Commission shows that the high standard of comfort in the workhouses has made them positively attractive to many of the able-bodied. The result is that

> there has appeared, more especially in London, a class of demoralised people for whom the workhouse under its present conditions has lost its deterrent effect, and who regard it as a kind of club-house, in which they put up with a certain amount of inconvenience, but have very pleasant evenings.[9]

Some of the Commission found in one London workhouse a reading-room and a smoking-room, wherein about a hundred men were reading, smoking, playing dominoes or bagatelle, or doing nothing. Luxuries of this kind attract to the workhouse the very people whom it ought to repel,[10] and are largely responsible for the considerable increase in indoor pauperism during recent years. The Chaplain of the Holborn Workhouse, speaking from an experience of twelve years, said:

> The rapidly growing opinion amongst the poorer classes seems to be expressed by the remark of a man to me last week: 'So long as I can get sixteen ounces of pie for my dinner and my two children kept for life, and they don't ask me to do any more than polish the stair banisters, I'm not going to work.' [11]

It is intolerable to think of this contemptible rascal living in a lazy comfort which is hopelessly out of the reach of the honest workman, who will not sacrifice his self-respect and independence for a mess of pottage. But it betokens the deterioration brought about by the environment of a workhouse life, a deterioration which is amply attested by the evidence before the Commission. Then again, we have the men who can earn wages for part of the year outside, but 'place their money in safe keeping and enter the

[8] *Poor Law Conferences*, 1908-9, p. 256.
[9] *Report Poor Law Commission*, p. 133.
[10] *Ibid.* p. 140. [11] *Ibid.* p. 134.

workhouse regularly for periods of rest at the ratepayers' expense.' For this purpose they sham illness.

> Such people easily learn to complain of mysterious weaknesses, aches, and pains which are hard to disprove, the supposed possession of which entitles them to the best of fare and medical comforts which the institution has to offer.[12]

The really deserving women in the workhouse are comparatively few: the majority have given way to drink, and very many cannot be allowed out for a day's liberty without coming back the worse for drink.[13] Many of the able-bodied women, moreover, have illegitimate children.[14] Indeed, the sexual irregularities of pauper women form a considerable item in the 'charge' of the idle poor; and the very law which ought to restrain this mischief actively promotes it. A case is quoted in the *Eugenics Review* of November 1910 of a pauper woman who had had eight illegitimate children by four different men. She does not mend her ways. And why should she?

> So long as a generous community is willing to provide her with comfortable lying-in wards, with skilled medical attendance, with nurses, with every requisite accessory, and is also prepared to feed, clothe, and educate both herself and her children, why should she trouble to guide her footsteps aright in social life?[15]

In the same Review Mr. Sidney Webb declares that 'thousands of these "unfit" mothers treat the local workhouse or Poor Law infirmary simply as a free maternity hospital.'[16] Year by year they return for the annual confinement; and year by year some 15,000 babies (probably in their turn to become a burden on the community) are born in the workhouse. And who can tell what that burden may become? In the notorious Juke case it was estimated that the offspring of a single pair of ne'er-do-weels had cost the United States, in the course of seventy-five years, 250,000*l.* Even young married women, incredible as it may sound, will come to the maternity wards of the workhouse as their confinement approaches, and declare themselves unmarried so as to obtain attendance free of charge.[17]

It would be easy, if space allowed, to multiply instances of the mischief wrought by this system of making pauperism more attractive than independent effort.

It might be thought that a person with so little self-respect as the workhouse loafer would at least be free from any taint of pride. This, however, is not the case. He comes to regard the workhouse as his legitimate house, and its benefits and luxuries as his rights. 'I lives here,' said a pauper woman to the portress

[12] *Report Poor Law Commission*, p. 134.
[13] *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 59.
[14] *Ibid.* p. 58. [15] Pp. 191-2. [16] P. 233.
[17] *Report of Poor Law Commission*, p. 135.

of the workhouse, 'you are only a paid servant.' Another said to a gentleman holding an important post, 'You're only a servant; I want to see your masters.' A man observed to a group of nurses, 'If it wasn't for the likes of us, the likes of you wouldn't be here.'[18] Here then, at any rate, there is an opportunity for reform, for the reduction of a vicious expenditure, for the extirpation of a social mischief. Let us get rid, if possible, of the workhouse loafer, and of the conditions which have favoured his growth.

But if the workhouse loafer is a useless burden on the community, the vagrant is not only a burden but a danger. In one of his aspects, that of 'the casual,' he is a public pauper; in another he preys upon the community as a private freebooter. We learn from the Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy that he is on the increase[19]; but there are no trustworthy statistics of the numbers of the vagrant host.[20] The estimates vary from 20,000 to 150,000. In the opinion of the Committee the 'irreducible minimum' would not exceed 20,000 to 30,000, though in times of trade depression the total might be as high as 80,000.[21] And in all this vast army 'there is no appreciable element of honest poverty or of penniless industry seeking work.'[22] This conclusion is thoroughly established, and should be kept steadily in view. The Workhouse Masters' Association considered that less than 3 per cent. of vagrants were genuine workmen in search of employment; the President of the Poor Law Unions put it at 2 per cent., and Mr. William Crooks, M.P., thought that in London it would not exceed 1 per cent.[23] Still, this residuum of honest distress, exiguous though it be, ought not to be neglected, and a method, which has been suggested by the Vagrancy Committee, will be referred to later by which the case might be met. The rest of the vagrant body is composed 'of those who deliberately avoid any work and depend for their existence on almsgiving and the casual wards; and for their benefit the industrious portion of the community is heavily taxed.'[24] They have not as a rule even the excuse of physical infirmity, for the majority of them 'are in the able-bodied period of life, and the number below the age of sixteen or above the age of sixty-five is very small.'[25] Nor are they weakened by starvation, being found, as a rule, to be a well-fed class.[26] Indeed, the tramp will often reject the bread of the casual ward.[27] According to the regulations of the Local Government Board, the vagrant in the casual ward should perform a task in return for his food and

[18] *Report of Poor Law Commission*, p. 135. [19] P. 23.
[20] P. 16. [21] *Ibid.* pp. 22. [22] *Ibid.* p. 1.
[23] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 24. [24] *Ibid.* p. 1.
[25] *Ibid.* p. 25. [26] *Ibid.* p. 26. [27] *Ibid.* p. 32.

shelter; and although this is not always enforced,[28] many vagrants resort to common lodging-houses to avoid the risk of having any work imposed upon them.[29] From a census taken by the police in 1867 and 1868 it appeared that casual paupers represented about one-sixth of the total vagrancy of England and Wales.[30] When the routine of the workhouse becomes irksome they take a turn of prison life as an agreeable change. This is quite easily managed. The casual ward vagrant tears up his clothes, refuses to do his task, breaks a window, or commits some other offence which ensures his being sent to gaol.[31] The Chaplain of the Northallerton Prison reported that the professional tramp was the most hopeless class of prisoner to be met with.

> He looks upon H.M. prison as a house of rest and refreshment, and uses it freely for such purposes, deliberately committing offences in order that he may be sent there. Prison discipline seems to have no terror for such men. Some other method must be devised for dealing with them, or they will be an increasing quantity.[32]

This opinion is corroborated on all sides; and, indeed, the tramp's taste for prison is easily explained by the fact that the prison diet is better than that of the casual ward,[33] the prison labour is often less severe, and the conditions under which it is performed less unpleasant than in the casual ward.[34] Small wonder, then, that about one-fourth of the prison population consists of vagrants.[35] And, indeed, the vagrant easily slides into the criminal. He is responsible for many petty larcenies, thefts from back doors, and so forth, as well as for more serious offences, such as rick firing and robbery by violence. 'Assaults by tramps on the highway frequently occur, and there is no doubt that in certain districts the tramp is a source of terror to women and children.' The 'masterful beggar' of Scotland extorts alms by threats, chiefly by intimidating the woman in the cottage while her husband is absent;[36] and Mr. Roundell tells us that in parts of his district the poor are similarly exposed to the menaces of the sturdy mendicant.[37] But, besides these dangers to person and property, the tramp is still more dangerous as a disseminator of disease, particularly of small-pox.[38] From the reports on small-pox in relation to vagrancy issued in 1894 and 1904 by Dr. Armstrong, Medical Officer of Health for Newcastle-on-Tyne, it appears that over 50 per cent. of the small-

[28] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 28.
[29] *Ibid.* p. 88.
[30] *Ibid.* p. 21.
[31] *Ibid.* p. 54.
[32] *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons*, 1905. *Vagrancy Report*, p. 54.
[33] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 55.
[34] *Ibid.* p. 57.
[35] *Ibid.* p. 19.
[36] *Ibid.* p. 25.
[37] *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 37.
[38] *Our Tramps*, Hardwick, p. 11.

pox in the district dealt with was originally introduced by vagrants.

As to the character of the class, all authorities unite in pronouncing its members to be the lowest of the low, and after what has been said above it is hardly necessary to labour the point. But, quaintly enough, even in this degraded level social prejudices are found to flourish. Mr. Simmons tells the following story:

> I went into a casual ward one morning; one of the ordinary inmates of the workhouse, whose duty it was to see that the hammers and things used for breaking the stones were all right, happened to say something to one of the casuals who was breaking stones. The casual laid his hammer down, and looked the inmate up and down two or three times, and then said, 'Are you speaking to me, pauper?' 'Yes,' he said, 'I am speaking to you.' 'Well,' said the casual, 'all I have got to say is, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. I am here generally three months in the year, the other nine months I work; but no matter when I come you are always here. You are always living on the ratepayers; I am content to live on them for three months in the year. I am not a pauper; I am a casual.' [39]

We may be duly astonished at the casual's moderation, and share his contempt for the workhouse loafer, without being able to adopt his heroic estimate of his own career. We hear a different account of it from a more authoritative source. He belongs to a class of persons who flock into the workhouse

> to recuperate from the effects of their evil lives, and as soon as they have, at the ratepayers' cost, partially recovered their physical condition, they can leave the workhouse and resume their degenerate careers. Their period of stay is not long enough to cure them of their evil courses, but it is long enough to give them fresh strength to pursue them. In this way has sprung up that crowd of prostitutes, drunkards, mendicants, loafers, and the like, who are now known as the 'ins-and-outs.' These men and women form a hopeless problem under the existing Poor Law, and the case for sterner measures against them is aggravated by the penalties which their present mode of life imposes on their children.[40]

It is not easy to determine what the cost of the vagrant is to the public purse, as the charge is borne partly by the workhouse and partly by the prison. In London alone, during the year ending Lady Day 1905, the cost of the casual wards was over 35,000*l*. Taking the average number of inmates as 1134, this represents a daily cost of 1*s*. 8½*d*. per head.[41] In one ward the average cost was 4*s*. 9*d*. a day, and, therefore, 1*s*. 8½*d*. a day may perhaps be taken as a fair estimate of the daily cost of the vagrant to the workhouse. On the 1st of July 1909 16,712 were relieved in the casual wards of England and Wales, and on the 1st of January 1910 17,491 were so relieved.[42] These figures give a mean of almost exactly 17,000 relieved in the casual wards, at a

[39] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 32. [40] *Report of Poor Law Commission*, p. 138.

[41] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 30. *See*, too, *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 142.

[42] *39th Report Local Government Board*, p. 133.

cost to the workhouse of over 580,000*l*. The prison cost of the vagrant cannot be computed accurately, but it must be considerable, especially when, as usual, short sentences are inflicted. Thus, two vagrants who received a series of convictions in Lincolnshire, cost, in travelling expenses alone, 12*l*. and 16*l*. 10*s*. respectively.[43]

So much for the charge which is levied by the vagrant on the rates and taxes. But beyond this there is the toll which he takes as an independent freebooter from the foolish benevolence of private individuals. Opinions vary rather widely as to the amount which this reaches. Sir Eric Buchanan, before the Vagrancy Committee, expressed the opinion that 'at least 100,000*l*. a year was given away in London to street beggars, and that a successful beggar can collect 5*s*. a day.'[44] Earlier in the Report we are told of a beggar who obtained 12*s*. 6*d*. a day by asking for a penny to enable him to stamp a letter to a dying brother.[45] Prebendary Carlile, in a sermon preached in St. Luke's, Chelsea, on the 8th of January 1911, stated that he had come across a beggar whose takings often reached 10*s*. a day, and that a family devoted to the same lucrative profession would at times net as much as 7*l*. a week. In a recent case a beggar with a begging dog was credited by the police with taking 'pounds a day.'[46] These figures, of course, are more or less guesswork, but they are better than nothing, and perhaps the lowest of them, 5*s*. a day, may fairly represent the average take of the vagrant. Then, assuming the number of habitual vagrants (who are beggars to a man) not to exceed 20,000—the 'irreducible minimum' of the Vagrancy Committee—indiscriminate almsgiving contributes a sum of 1,825,000*l*. a year to the support of this interesting branch of the idle poor. If, however, we take the number of vagrants to be 85,000—the mean between the highest and the lowest estimates—then the sum contributed amounts to no less than 7,756,250*l*.

It is clear, then, that the workhouse loafer and the vagrant impose on the community a charge which must be reckoned in millions, and which, since both are increasing, is likely to become heavier unless prompt measures are taken to check it. As to the broad principles of such measures, there is no doubt whatever, seeing that all expert authorities are agreed on them. The life of the workhouse loafer is too pleasant, that of the vagrant too profitable. Consequently the workhouse, or other habitation which is to receive him, must be stripped of all attractions for the one, and the highway robbed of its profits for the other. While behind these negative deterrents there must be a system of sterner positive

[43] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 52.
[44] *Ibid*. p. 104.
[45] P. 25.
[46] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th of January 1911.

penalties which can be promptly applied to the incorrigible of either class. Some excellent recommendations have been made by the Vagrancy Committee and the Poor Law Commission, and a scheme including many of these has lately been approved by the Executive Committee of the County Councils Association. It is to be hoped, therefore, that some action may be taken upon it before long.

With regard to the workhouse loafer, the first step needed is some classification of the inmates of the workhouse by which he can be segregated and dealt with separately. Some such classification as suggested by the scheme referred to would meet the case. Under this the able-bodied pauper would be removed from the comparative luxury of the mixed workhouse to some more Spartan institution, where such reforming influences as may be feasible could be brought to bear upon him. These institutions should be in the nature of Labour colonies, with *régimes* varying from the unattractive to the penal. In the first, while the conditions of existence should be made distasteful to the loafer, every opportunity should be given, every inducement offered to him to mend his ways. If he avail himself of this chance he may rise once more to a life of honest industry; if not, he will sink either into an incapable or an incorrigible, and will have to be dealt with accordingly. The incorrigible will be consigned to a colony of the penal type, recommended by the Vagrancy Committee.[47] The incapable would probably find a place in some institution similar to those provided for the feeble-minded, from whom, indeed, he is 'barely differentiated.'[48] But above all—and as to the necessity for this the evidence is overwhelming—the amplest powers of detention in either case must be given to the authorities. The sick pauper would then be cared for in the hospital, the feeble-minded and incapable in some suitable institutions. The children would be brought up in homes and schools, and vagrants would be transferred from the casual wards to appropriate Labour colonies under the supervision of the police, or (as proposed in the scheme above mentioned) of a Government Department. The workhouse proper, freed by this means from all its present reproach, could then be utilised as, or replaced by, 'Old-age Homes' for the aged and infirm, such as those of which Miss Sellers tells us. These are provided in Austria, Denmark, Switzerland and some parts of Germany for decent old folk who have no kith or kin to take care of them, and are too feeble to take care of themselves. Such of them as have means pay according to their ability, the others are paid for by the State or Municipality as the case may be. The best of these houses are quite simple little places, often just 'two or three cottages thrown into one.' The

[47] *Report*, p. 82. [48] *Eugenics Review*, November 1910, p. 175.

furniture is plain but comfortable, the food simple but good. They are not only cheery and comfortable, but cheap, the cost per head being considerably less than the average cost per head in London workhouses. 'In the Danish houses, which are reserved exclusively for old-age pensioners, the average cost per head is only about 1s. 1d. a day; while in the Austrian homes, some of which are quite luxurious, it is some 1s. 3d.'[49] Such houses would be an admirable substitute for the blundering costliness of our old-age pension scheme, under which, by the sagacity of our legislators, the aged pauper can draw his pension and still remain on the rates. Mr. Harold Cox, in addressing the National Contributory Insurance Association, pointed out the frauds and evasions which were being perpetrated under the Act,[50] and these criticisms are confirmed by Mr. A. Carson Roberts in this Review of December 1910, and some of the Poor-law inspectors.[51]

The *bonâ-fide* workman honestly in search of work could be effectually helped by a system of way-tickets, such as that recommended in the *Vagrancy Report*, Chapter V., where the subject is fully discussed. Briefly, these tickets would ensure him food, shelter, and assistance on his journey, and keep him out of contact with the tramps with whom he is at present compelled to associate.

The vagrant is in some ways a greater evil than the workhouse loafer, but, in one respect at least, he might be the easier to deal with. For the public has the remedy entirely in its own hands. Vagabondage, it is true, does seem to have, for some characters, a charm which is not altogether unknown to the higher classes. An expert writes: 'The vagrant who is given over to a vagabond life only with the utmost difficulty can be reclaimed. His pleasure is in vagrancy.'[52] But it may be safely assumed that he is not entirely guided by æsthetic considerations in the choice of his profession, and would speedily abandon it if it ceased to pay. It is our business, therefore, to see that it shall cease to pay. Stop the profits of vagrancy, and vagrancy will cease of itself.

> Indiscriminate almsgiving is the main support of vagrancy. It is clear that the vagrant must depend largely on doles; in most cases he does no work, and his visits to the casual wards only provide for a portion of his time. It is the ease of obtaining charity that enables him to continue in his life of vagrancy. . . . The evidence we received was strongly to the effect that vagrancy would cease if it were not for almsgiving.[53]

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[49] *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28th of January 1911. The average cost of the indoor pauper in London is 34*l*. 18*s*. 3½*d*. per annum (*39th Report Local Government Board*, xliii.). The Danish and Austrian figures work out at 19*l*. 5*s*. 5*d*. and 22*l*. 16*s*. 3*d*. respectively.

[50] *Morning Post*, 27th of October 1910.

[51] *39th Report Local Government Board*, pp. 27, 51, 52.

[52] *Charity Organisation Paper*, No. 7, p. 1. [53] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 104.

The same Report closes with this final appeal:

Lastly, we would again draw attention to what, in our opinion, is the real cause of vagrancy, but which, unfortunately, is beyond the power of legislative or administrative action. Were it not for the indiscriminate dole-giving which prevails there would be little necessity for casual wards or labour colonies for the vagrant, and idle vagrancy, ceasing to be a profitable profession, would come to an end.[54]

Almsgiving of this kind may indulge the donor in a cheap philanthropic emotion, but it thereby demoralises him as well as the beggar who receives it.[55] In some parts of Germany there is a law imposing penalties on those who give alms to beggars.[56] The Vagrancy Committee considered that public opinion in this country would not support such a measure, and that it would be impossible to convince the public of the harm done by indiscriminate almsgiving.[57] This, however, is merely a counsel of despair, which sounds rather pusillanimous in the face of a grave national evil. It is at least possible that statutory penalties imposed—and enforced—on the weak-kneed benevolence which keeps the evil alive might help to establish a healthier mental attitude towards the vagrant. For, in any case, this is a lesson which sooner or later the community will have to learn, if the industrious and deserving are not to sink under the burden imposed on them for the benefit of the lazy and the worthless.

Moreover, the condemnation passed on free gifts of money must extend also to free food and free shelter. We may regret that this should be so, but the evidence is irresistible 'that both free food and shelter are demoralising to the recipients and a source of danger to the community.'[58] They make a life of vagrancy easier; they attract vagrants to the locality, and thereby aggravate the problem of unemployment; and they steadily lower even the low standard of a vagrant's living.[59]

From all parts of London, from Edinburgh, Glasgow and Manchester the same unbroken story comes, and it is impossible to disregard it.[60] In a letter to the *Morning Post* of the 16th of December 1910 Mr. Loch, of the Charity Organisation Society, writes, that 'the meals on the Embankment do not lessen homelessness but facilitate it.'

In the Vagrancy Report the case is summed up thus:

Having regard to the evidence we have received, we can come to no other conclusion than that free or cheap shelters, coupled with the indiscriminate distribution of free meals, constitute a serious evil. . . . If the public could be brought to realise that these institutions do not help the deserving man, but tend to debase him, and that they enable the idle man to continue in his idle, aimless life, it might be possible to hope for their abandonment.[61]

[54] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 121. [55] *Ibid.* p. 105. [56] *Ibid.* p. 104.
[57] *Ibid.* p. 105. [58] *Ibid.* p. 91. [59] *Ibid.* p. 94.
[60] *Ibid.* pp. 92-96. [61] *Ibid.* p. 96.

Meanwhile, if we cannot at once dry up the profits of the vagrant's life, we can do a good deal to make that life distasteful. Even under the existing law a person on a third conviction for, *inter alia*, begging becomes an 'incorrigible rogue' and liable to hard labour with whipping. 'It appears that though practically all habitual vagrants are qualified to be treated as incorrigible rogues within the meaning of the Act [Vagrancy Act, 1824], few are actually dealt with in this manner.'[62] This may be chiefly due, as is suggested, to the difficulties of identification. In London, however, these are not so great, and the Report proceeds:

It is difficult to see why the more severe procedure is not resorted to more *frequently in the case of habitual vagrants whose antecedents are known to* the police. It may be that magistrates feel that prison under present conditions is not the right place for this class of offender, and we are inclined to think that if the detention were to be undergone in some other form of institution the disinclination to put the Act in force would be considerably lessened.[63]

This is clearly the right line to take. Speaking of this class of man, Mr. Fenwick said: 'Reform him, if you can, instil into him habits of work, if you can, but keep him under restraint somewhat in the way you do the habitual drunkard.[64]

As to the nature of the Labour colonies to which the vagrant should be committed, a great deal of interesting information is to be gained from a paper read before a Poor Law Conference on the 7th of October 1908 by Mr. Preston Thomas,[65] who has made a close study of the subject, and who also gave evidence before the Vagrancy Committee. His conclusions can only be glanced at here. He found that a great institution for this purpose at Merxplas, in Belgium, had the effect of taking the vagrants off the roads, but had no reforming influence on them. Much the same was to be said of the Labour colonies of Germany. But in Switzerland, and notably at Witzwyl in the Canton of Bern, he found a more hopeful system in force. Under this there is an arrangement for providing the genuine labourer in search of work with food and lodging at a 'rest-house'; while the habitual beggar, the drunkard, or the 'work-shy' man, after one or two warnings from the police, is taken before a Magistrate, or the district council, and committed to a forced labour farm for periods varying from six months to three years. There he has to work hard, while strenuous efforts are made to reform his character. If he prove violent or insubordinate he is transferred to an ordinary prison, but such cases are rare; and it appears that many of the younger men, at any rate, are permanently reformed. Some of these are passed on to a free Labour colony, which serves

[62] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 58. [63] *Ibid.* p. 59.
[64] *Ibid.* p. 59. [65] *Poor Law Conference*, 1908-9, p. 459.

as a sort of half-way house: others are retained as officers at Witzwyl, while for others situations are found by a society formed for the purpose. The net cost of the forced Labour colonies is said to be very small,[66] and might quite possibly prove cheaper than our present method of dealing with vagrants.[67] It appears that the annual cost of our prisoners is about 23l. per head in local prisons and 27l. in convict prisons. The Vagrancy Committee considered that the net cost of a Labour colonist should not, in the long run, exceed 4s. or 5s. weekly—about 13l. a year.[68] The average cost of the indoor pauper in England and Wales is 27l. 14s. 10¾d. a year.[69]

Here, then, is the framework of a system which is, at any rate, worth an experiment. Something of the kind has, in fact, been recommended by the Vagrancy Committee,[70] and these recommendations were adopted by the Poor Law Commission.[71] The character of the various institutions composing this system would be made to correspond with the characters of their respective inmates. They would show a gradation of *régime* from the highest, where the conditions would be least severe, and reforming influences would have the fullest play, to the lowest, which, as the Vagrancy Committee recommend, should be a colony of a penal type. To the highest of them would be sent the workhouse loafer, the work-shy, the shiftless, and others trembling on the verge of but not yet sunk in habitual vagrancy: to the lowest would be ultimately consigned the utterly demoralised characters who are criminals in all but name.

But with the vagrant as with the loafer the fullest powers of detention must be given or the scheme will fail. The present system of short sentences will necessarily disappear, and the detention which is to replace it should be of a different character altogether. Its discipline must needs be strict, its conditions uninviting, but, except in the penal colony, there should be no savour of the prison about it. For its aim is not punishment, but, on the one hand, the reform of the inmate, on the other the protection of the community. This principle of 'preventive detention' is embodied in the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, and the language of the Statute is worth studying. Section 10, subsection (1), empowers the Court in certain circumstances to pass a sentence of preventive detention on an habitual criminal, if it is of opinion that by reason of his criminal habits 'and mode of life it is expedient for the protection of the public that the offender should be kept in detention for a lengthened period of years.' This is the true principle to apply to the loafer and the vagrant. The

[66] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 68. [67] *Ibid.* p. 81. [68] *Ibid.* p. 81.
[69] *39th Report Local Government Board*, xliii.
[70] *Vagrancy Report*, pp. 74-82. [71] *Report*, p. 431.

detention should be treated not as a punishment but as a measure for the protection of the public, like a sanitary regulation. Or, as the Vagrancy Report puts it, that 'as far as possible, the habitual vagrant should be treated not as a criminal, but as a person requiring detention on account of his mode of life.'[72] It is insisted, and rightly insisted, that the detention should be accompanied by efforts at reform, but we must not be over-sanguine about their success. For it is to be feared that the confirmed loafer and the habitual vagrant are seldom capable of being reformed. It is a mistake to suppose that the typical pauper is merely an ordinary person who has fallen into distress through adverse circumstances. As a rule he is not an ordinary person, but one who is constitutionally a pauper, a pauper in his blood and in his bones. He is made of inferior material, and therefore cannot be improved up to the level of the ordinary person. It is not suggested that pauperism *per se* is capable of hereditary transmission as a definite integral quality; but it is clearly, to a great extent, the outcome of qualities which can be so transmitted. Speaking broadly, pauperism is a token of the inferior capacity which belongs to an inferior stock. The hereditary nature of this incapacity may lighten the moral reproach against the loafer and the vagrant, but it emphasises the necessity of protecting the community against them, and, in particular, of protecting it against the perpetuation of the degenerate stocks which they represent.

This is an aspect of the case which, till lately, has been too much overlooked, but it is really the most important factor in the problem, seeing that it affects not only ourselves but our posterity. On this ground alone the proper authorities should be invested with the power of segregating and detaining—*permanently*, if necessary—those who burden the present and imperil the future of our race. It is necessary to insist upon this, because the recommendations of the Vagrancy Committee on the point are obviously inadequate. They propose a detention of not less than six months or more than three years.[73] These shorter periods may suffice for cases in which reform is possible, but in the case of the man who either cannot or will not be reformed nothing short of permanent detention will effectually protect the community. Even the full-blown Socialism of the Minority Report of the Poor-law Commission approves, to a certain extent, of the principle of detention,[74] which is favoured also by the Committee for considering the eugenic aspects of Poor Law reform, the Royal Commission on the Feeble-minded, and various Poor Law Inspectors.

It is indeed an urgent necessity that the confirmed pauper and

[72] *Vagrancy Report*, p. 59. [73] *Ibid.* p 76.
[74] *Minority Report*, p. 1238.

the habitual vagrant should be eliminated as quickly as possible by rigorously preventing them from reproducing their kind. The future quality of our race is rousing the alarm of all inquirers. On all sides we hear notes of warning that the strong, the healthy, the worthy are on the decrease; the weak, the unhealthy, the worthless on the increase: and if this process goes on unchecked, civilisation 'will soon arrive at extinction by the elimination of all who are able to carry it on.'[75] Reforming measures of this kind are habitually opposed by the sentimentalism which seems to be ousting common sense; but, as the Eugenic Committee report, 'if the public could see the facts as they are there would be much less sentimentalism in the matter.'[76] It is, indeed, high time that this should be brushed aside in the presence of what threatens to be a national danger. Moreover, sentimentalism is largely responsible for that misplaced sympathy with the idle, the unfit, and even the criminal, which masquerades as benevolence, and is all the more dangerous on that account. And it is partly responsible, at any rate, for the lazy toleration which has been extended to the current Socialist doctrines which would ruin the State for the sake of the individual, and bring down the individual in the ruin of the State. Nevertheless, if we are to have Socialism we must be prepared to pay the price; and a stricter control of our social relations is part of the price. If the community is to be made responsible for the support of all its members it must be entitled in self-defence to determine who its members shall be, and upon what condition its support is to be provided. The only other alternative would be a gigantic system of outdoor relief, which would beggar the country—nay, would beggar the world.

The 'charge' said to be imposed on the community by the idle rich is an empty fiction, fashioned only for the gratification of political antipathies and social spite. The charge of the idle poor is a solid and serious reality, which weighs grievously on the shoulders of the present generation, and, unless we take timely heed of it, may overwhelm those which are to come.

NORMAN PEARSON.

[75] *Eugenics Review*, November 1910, p. 171. [76] *Ibid.* p. 175.

COUNTRY HOUSE VISITS

We live in an age of specialists. The amateur is losing everywhere his precarious footing on the structure of life. He is profoundly discouraged, soon he will cease to exist. The water-colour drawings and portfolios of music, belonging to good-natured people cursed with the artistic temperament, have disappeared from country houses, while the same broad principle may be laid down about country-house entertaining itself.

A high standard has been raised, and those who are not able to conform to it by providing their guests with the best of shooting, fishing, or golf, no longer have the courage to invite parties to spend a few days at their country seat. I for my part regret these changes; there was something naïve and charming about the do-nothing days spent under the sheltering roofs of unambitious country houses, provided the visit was not paid too late in the year. These parties of my younger days contrast strangely with the Saturday to Monday caravanserais that fatigue us so horribly during the London season, and the shooting weeks to which one is pledged three months or so ahead.

England is rich in manor-houses, whereas she is singularly poor in houses of the calibre of Longleat and Hatfield, and in all probability ancestral halls such as those inhabited by the blue-blooded men and maidens of Mr. Galsworthy's romance 'The Patrician,' thanks to the drastic methods of the Chancellor, will shortly become obsolete. Possibly a larger scope will be found for them in the future as sanatoria and lunatic asylums.

I have a theory that an expression of the national genius can be found in the small country houses I am trying to describe. Many of them gems of architecture, built in the golden stone of the West of England, or in stone married to flint, or bricks rose-coloured with the patina of time, they lie brooding on water meadows, or perched on a ridge of downland. Others less venerable belong to the 'H was a house' type, but all of them have been cherished and tended by generations of small gentry, who have their roots deep down in a yeoman ancestry, walls that have been warmed by the love of father and son, besides being

mellowed by sunshine and weather; gardens where old espaliers that have ceased to bear are shaded by pergolas of modern roses; grass paths, and sun-dials so moss-grown they cannot mark how quickly time is flying.

It is to a manor of this kind that I am leading you. You must approach it in the right spirit, prepared a little for the 'gentle reign of dullness,' yet with no horrid sense of apprehension which haunts one on the threshold of a grander style. The photographs of the stateliest homes in *Country Life* are instinct with this dread. I never see views of the Terraced Walk, the Italian Garden, the Visitors' Wing without an almost physical sensation of terror. How empty and passionless they look, these flat grey prints, yet with what burning longing one has yearned to leave such scenes when animated by the febrile *va-et-vient* of fellow guests!

The invitation of the old days was issued, perhaps, three weeks before the day named—it was written by the hostess in a smooth J pen hand on crested writing-paper. The crest has often pleased me, a pointer toying with a pæony, or some such device above a motto obscurely paradoxical.

It was couched in simple language; there was a veil of mystery, too, which lent enchantment to some of its promises 'to meet a few friends,' or 'some others will be here.' It was coy—'We hope to tempt you,' and deprecating—'Cannot we persuade you?' Thus, dexterously, the net was spread.

Revisiting is pleasanter than the experience of a first visit. I forget which Wordsworth liked best in Yarrow. Personally speaking, I am ill at ease in a strange house, but I return to a familiar one with a comfortable feeling of security; the arrival, however, is never an easy gulf to bridge, both hosts and guests sink to unfathomable depths of platitude. A masterly grasp of Bradshaw fortunately enables me to evade these gambits by arriving late, and I immediately accept the challenge of being shown to my room.

The visitor's bedroom is his castle, and I know just what I like mine to be. A little worn and faded, but comfortable with the early Victorian comfort of chintz fourposters and cross-stitch foot-stools. Good mahogany furniture, made by Gillows in the 'fifties, a hob grate with a kettle, and in a little old-fashioned bookcase a strange medley of books—flotsam and jetsam carried here by a tide of guests. The works of Miss Edgeworth, two Tauchnitz volumes of Robert Hichens, some anthologies, a life of Parnell, Whitaker's Almanack, and the Bible. Before the fire a not too luxurious armchair invites me to meditation.

No fear of ghosts in such a room as this, but I confess to a creepy feeling in some beautiful Tudor halls, enough at least

to make the visit disagreeable, no Capuan ease under the pale pink duvets and lace-trimmed sheets of Rothschild's châteaux and Elinor Glyn's romances—nothing of the white walls and gay cretonnes which belong essentially to the super-cottage architecture of nowadays—the bedroom that I love (apologies to the Laureate) strikes a graver note. I love it, and its spacious hanging cupboard which amply accommodates my wardrobe.

The first evening of the four which I have been invited to spend here is, perhaps, the most trying.

The guests come down wan and tired. They have removed the stains of travel, but their more acute consciousness is a little dulled by the hours they have spent at various junctions, and the recollection that a maid has allowed a derelict kit-bag to drift relentlessly forward on the main line instead of anchoring it to the bulk of the luggage. People eye each other with a vague suspicion, they become more genial later under the influences of food and drink.

After dinner the bridge table calls, two or three of us take a perfunctory interest in the hostess' game of patience, she plays deftly with a flow of small talk, and a flash of diamond half-hoop rings. One couple, isolated on a sofa by 'force majeure,' have sat next each other during dinner, but these accidents will happen, and the hours kept are not late ones.

Our host is set in a low key, he depresses the social mercury by an equal distrust of the climate and the partridge prospects. The male guests are visibly affected by his sardonic mood; after several attempts to lift the cloud of melancholy that envelops him, they retire hurt. Some of the ladies discover in the course of the evening that he can be roused to what approaches enthusiasm by describing the admirable manner in which his chauffeur helped to install the electric light. It certainly bears traces of a 'prentice hand. We struggle with it when trying to read in bed that night, and are signally defeated by its obduracy.

It is a country house convention that women breakfast upstairs, but I have not discovered which is the better scheme—the well-covered tray which heralds its arrival by a loud knock on the part of the second footman, or to face at 9.30 the depressed group gathered round the dining-room table. Some of my women friends breakfast in a hat; this partly solves the problem, one feels it a protection and an equipment to some extent; but alas! I have never become immune to the shyness of this particular hour. I believe men feel it as much as we do, yet how few possess the larger courage of demanding their breakfast in their room.

The composition of a successful party is as uncertain as a soufflé. The same receipt does not always procure the same

result, and in both cases the hostess has to gamble. Husbands and wives are dull together, and it is a little hazardous to ask them separately. One cannot help welcoming a 'liaison' so hallowed by custom and recognised by Mrs. Grundy that the man and woman can be invited together without any beating about the bush. The responsibility of entertaining them is reduced to vanishing point, and one can ignore cheerfully the angry disagreements varied by a languid indifference they show towards each other—in public at least.

For the sake of argument we will imagine a party of the old-fashioned type. A snug forgathering of seven or eight agreeable people—our host and hostess entertain in this manner during the summer and autumn months. A mild rubric is closely followed by them on these occasions, and by the well-disciplined guests they have invited. Let me introduce them.

From the other side of the county—a misleading phrase we often use—come neighbours, a blameless couple in the prime of life. He is a familiar figure on election platforms, and in less stirring times gravitates by some natural law to every agricultural show. His time and energy are thus fully spent; he also organises County Council lectures within a radius of ten miles from his home, a distance which his overworked and rather underbred carriage horses can carry him. She is a gentle, faded woman, an accomplished bazaar-opener, and the secretary of the local Nursing Association (which she works on the Holt-Ockley system).

A literary flavour is given to the party by the presence of a man of letters, who is presented to us by the host, with a voice carefully modulated for the editorial note. One is usually taken at a hopeless disadvantage from being unacquainted with the author's works. When there is no answering spark of recognition, the gentleman is pronounced to be a great authority on rock-gardens, and the writer of that charming volume 'Mites of the Moraine.' A tall willowy lady, also staying here, has a lyrical gift, we are told, but writes almost entirely in the Derbyshire dialect; the padding of the party consists of a *parti* and a detrimental, both invited to meet an American girl whose crisp sayings are not entirely appreciated by the ladies, and a female cousin of the house on whom devolves the fagging for hosts and guests alike.

Our eligible young man is in the —th Hussars, and he is doing Brigade-Major to the Territorial Brigadier. He is handsome, bronzed and inarticulate. The War Office need not despair of our second line of defence while such men are still willing to hold these billets! True, it is regrettable that he should take no interest in the Boy Scouts, a movement with which our host has

identified himself whole-heartedly, but his winters are busy; by dint of untiring effort and much travelling, he manages to hunt four days a week with provincial packs, and in the summer he seems to be away a good deal.

He has met the lady from Boston once before, on a homeward-bound voyage from India where she had been doing the Mutiny cities. He vaguely remembers her neat ankles on a deck-chair this young officer *is* vague, so the headquarters of the County Association assure me.

And now we have become known to each other, let us hear the programme which lies before us. It is lightly sketched out on the first evening by our hostess, while the coffee is being handed round. The thread of her narrative is broken for an instant when the American 'bud' produces a cigarette from a Russian enamel cigarette case, but after a tremor of involuntary consternation she resumes it again with what Jane Austen describes in Mrs. Bennet as 'unwearying civility.'

The day after our arrival our host has provided an old-fashioned day's partridge shooting, with an occasional drive; the ladies, he hopes, will lunch with the guns—delightful. The second day a motor expedition to the dear old minster, which well deserves a visit from all lovers of Early Perpendicular—there is a pause during which the listeners feel a little anxious; the third day there is a lawn-tennis tournament (ah! we breathe again) at a neighbouring club-ground. On the fourth day 'relâche' both morning and afternoon, though this is purely unintentional. The ducal garden party, at which the ladies of the party were to have figured has been postponed. The cause of this disappointment provides a topic which seems inexhaustible. The dear Duchess is doing a rest cure; she was really on the verge of a nervous breakdown when Lady Agatha announced her fixed determination to marry an Oxford Don, who has sworn allegiance to the Independent Labour Party. This, if I may say so, is the *leit motif* of our châtelaine's conversation. Although this stricken family is quite unknown to us before our arrival, at the end of the visit we seem to see the supine Duchess. Nor does it demand any great stretch of the imagination to visualise the aristocratic, if somewhat foolish, facial angle of her daughter.

On being shown a large signed photograph of the lady I feel it is 'up to me' to make some suitable remark. The heavy silver frame is taken off the piano, which, by the way, is not available as a musical instrument from the number of fine pot-plants the gardener exhibits on it. I take refuge in generalising on the want of individuality in photographs of this kind. Even Lady Agatha looks like Miss Zena Dare. My hostess quite agrees with me, she

prefers miniatures, and fetches some execrable ones for my inspection. I have learned to dread the portraits of my friends, miniatures more especially, and those pastels which they describe as 'soft.' My host creates a welcome diversion by joining us. He appears, however, to be in a positively Saul-like mood to-night, and I can discover no David in the party. He directs a few sinister remarks against the weather, and makes expeditions into the front hall to test it, causing an icy draught to circulate round the legs of the bridge-players. The glass is falling, he assures us. I am reminded, as I watch him knocking it, of a blackbird tapping for a worm, with a beady eye, and his head on one side. A dreary scrutiny of the other kind of barometer takes place also. That glass box, which has its place in every well-ordered country house, in which a spirit hand seems to trace a prophetic scrawl on the chart.

The day of the shoot is disconcertingly fine in open defiance of the oracles. The stain of autumn is on the trees, and, like showers of confetti, the leaves are blown from them, while we sit under the lee of a boundary fence which takes the keen edge from a north-west wind. After luncheon we are invited to gaze at the rows of slaughtered game. We prod the birds with our umbrellas and shooting-sticks, and turn from them and a horrible Gehenna of ginger-beer bottles to walk home across the stubble.

By this time we have all become more or less *intriguée* by the fair Bostonian, but we are too delicate-minded to inquire if she is an heiress; we have merely discovered that her Christian name is Sadie—her other name is less fortunate, but as she will change it for one recorded in De Brett we need not worry. To use one of her own expressions, there is a great deal of 'get up and get out' about Miss Sadie.

While our hostess's attention is absorbed by the tea-urn, a beautiful piece of Queen Anne plate which refuses to boil and leaks persistently, some of us feel emboldened to question her as to the receipt of an excellent home-cured ham which appeared on the previous evening, and was highly commended by all the husbands. The secret will die with her, I fear, for, though obviously flattered, she became almost sphynx-like in her determination not to reveal it.

Looking back on these days, I remember the frozen numbness of the drive to the minster. The eligible Hussar took some of us in his Rolls Royce, others less favoured followed in the 1907 Panhard belonging to the house. To linger in the chilly precincts seemed a kinder fate than to drive back in the teeth of the gale, so we loitered in the echoing aisles, and gazed abstractedly at those parts of the Abbey of which we knew the nomenclature. The poetess's delicate susceptibilities were outraged by the gaudy glass

filling of some ancient tracery, a window presented by the relict of a lamented mayor. Fortunately the eyes of Miss Sadie were holden, and she expressed as much admiration for this as for the flying buttresses and silent cloisters. She managed to escape almost immediately in quest of tennis shoes; they were not to be found in the town, but a pair of pepper-and-salt rubber-soled sand shoes were purchased to wear on the following day.

I wish I understood the system of these new fangled lawn-tennis tournaments. However many times one is ruefully defeated by hard-hitting couples, there is always another pair anxious to play one the allotted seven games. It lasts an interminable time, the balls are wet and sodden, the players weary and footsore, the lawns are drenched with dew before the prizes are assigned. Those who merely looked on sat dazed, unable to watch the flight of the ball, and aware only of a kinematograph of white flannel trousers. We concluded rather sadly at the end of the evening, judging by the violence of the service which spared neither age nor sex, that truly the days of chivalry are dead.

The doctor and his wife won; he had to hurry away to a case of appendicitis, and his better half carried off the trophies.

The last day dawns—a pearly mist pierced later by the sun. We ramble in the garden, though September has wrought havoc there, the rank wild growth of annuals not yet uprooted, Michaelmas daisies bent by the storms, and starry Japanese anemones. The border is still charming, and speaks of loving ministrations and a carefully chosen colour-scheme. It is, however, critically viewed by one of the ladies, a rival gardener, no doubt, who repeats at intervals a remark one so often hears, and which does not carry conviction: 'Ours is such a *cold* clay soil.' Before the full blaze of midday the young people visit the rose-beds, Miss Sadie is kodaked among them, for the Visitors' Book, shafts of light fall on her burnished head—it is a pretty picture—I press the button twice. After luncheon the male guests grow restive; we are camped under the beech trees, the postponement of the Duchess' garden party is again deplored, the men find themselves repeating remarks about the weather with a mechanical monotony—'What a day for this time of year!' Another man 'It is a day!' Miss Sadie is outraged by their lethargy, and asks for the names of new books. She galvanises the little group into greater mental activity. French novels are mooted; the young lady does not flinch, she merely says, 'Do recommend me some that are mildly improper, but not aggressively squalid.' She would have done better to have left this unsaid; luckily she herself is so thin-skinned socially that she notices the goose-flesh of the older ladies, and murmurs one or two disarming names—Pierre Loti, Cherbuliez, Octave Feuillet. Then the talk is of recent American

literature. Miss Sadie explores a somewhat dangerous territory with the literary man. We feel instinctively that she has only a bowing acquaintance with Emerson and Hawthorne. She ranges over a wide field which covers Buster Brown and William James, but she seems most familiar with the first.

The slow-footed hours pass, and are marked only by telegrams which, when borne across the lawn, arouse a frenzy of barking on the part of the two dogs, a black Pomeranian and a leggy fox terrier. These have likewise to be chastened for a maddening habit of truffle-hunting on the croquet ground; they tear up the lawn remorselessly.

The young men leave us towards tea-time, both have been unexpectedly called to town, the summons synchronising rather curiously with our visit to the minster. The luggage is piled high on the back seat of a dog-cart, a struggling half-broken Labrador is also held there with difficulty. This animal, more suited to coursing than to any other sport, has aroused the execrations of host and keepers by persistently running hares. Miss Sadie sees its owner depart with a pang, though she realises sadly that she has not scored a single point below the line.

The visit is over, already the rush of the outer world is making itself heard in our ears, there is a lingering melancholy in all good-byes.

We look sentimentally at the silhouette of house and garden. Lights wake up at the windows, it is time to go indoors—the place has become dear to us—more dear, perhaps, because we are leaving it to-morrow, but we cannot analyse our sensations very clearly, as the dressing-gong has rung.

The last evening is like the first. The shaded brilliance of candles on the bridge-table, the murmur of voices from the sofa, the host's short laugh, a little grim, perhaps, and presiding over the scene, conscious, yet indulgent of all our shortcomings, our hostess playing patience—she is, perhaps, reading our destiny in the chance fall of all those cards, it is pleasant to hear their dull snap as she plays them, and to watch the swift movement of her hands. The diamond rings flash. The last evening is like the first, and makes me believe in a sort of cosmic stability and continuity.

Those things which, on first entering this room, offended our captious sense of beauty, seen through the mist of familiarity, have no power to hurt us. The mid-Victorian 'pouffs' and ottomans, the cut-glass chandelier, the sexless Carpaccios which clothe the walls, we overlook, because, like a thread of gold running through the skein, there are really fine *objets d'art* which also belong here—coloured engravings and mezzo-tints, satinwood and Sheraton, two Romney portraits, these, as well as the rest, are treasured;

and just as the parent does not love the comely child more than the ill-favoured one, the owner of the unequal possessions is not going to cast out the productions of an age less happy in its taste. He may be wrong, but I like *him for it*, and I wish to lodge a protest against those æsthetic vandals who purge old-fashioned houses of everything that does not belong to a period to which furniture dealers have given a meretricious value.

But this is mere digression—we must make our farewells. Some, the early starters, express their gratitude and their regret at leaving over the bedroom candlesticks which, owing to the uncertain temper of the electric light, a friendly butler still provides—others are obliged to go through these formalities with host and hostess the following morning on the front doorsteps. Formalities, it is true, but we are conscious of a genuine sadness; the chapter is at an end; it may be that the book is closed.

> Partir, c'est mourir un peu.
> On laisse un peu de soi-même
> Dans chaque heure et en tout lieu.

BARBARA WILSON.

A SERVILE WAR

APPROXIMATE equilibrium between supply and demand and its correlative continuity of employment are obviously, in spite of modern facilities for international intercourse, more difficult to maintain when, in the present era, our staple industries are dependent upon the fluctuating demands of foreign consumers than in former times when our economic condition was based upon inter-consumption within our own shores.

The coal industry is almost singular in maintaining a steadily increasing output, but it is subject to sharp variations in prices, which, though they do not involve discontinuity of employment, result in considerable fluctuations in the scale of remuneration for labour. Our other main industries, and in a notable degree shipbuilding, encounter frequent, and often prolonged, periods of depression, accompanied by displacement of labour and reduction in wages.

To these variable conditions of industry are to be attributed by far the larger proportion of labour disputes. In these disputes trade unions generally play a conspicuous part; they are the agencies which control, direct, and finance the struggles of labour against capital; they are sometimes the initiating force of strikes, more especially those which concern the general interests of the trade they represent. But trade unions exercise pacific as well as belligerent functions in trade disputes: they often successfully, and sometimes unsuccessfully, attempt to restrain impetuous and unreasonable action on the part of workmen, or unfair and oppressive conduct on the part of employers; and this is notably so in the case of old-established unions, wherein the officials act with a greater measure of confidence and self-reliance than the officials of newly-established unions, who, in their anxiety to enjoy popularity and not jeopardise their positions, are apt to follow the course which the temper and reckless spirit of excited workmen dictate rather than that which prudence and ultimate advantage enjoin. At times, indeed, as was illustrated by the recent strike at the 'Combine Collieries' in Wales, men will reject the advice of tried and experienced leaders, but in most instances they submit to the guidance of their unions.

The essential distinction between labour disputes of the present day and those which arose before the organisation of workmen in unions, and their consolidation into federations of unions, is that in former times strikes were sudden and spontaneous outbreaks of revolt against labour conditions which were regarded as intolerable, devoid of plan for amelioration, destitute of representative guidance or machinery for negotiation, and almost invariably terminating in the defeat of the strikers.

Trade unions, on the other hand, being the vigilant guardians of the interests of labour, are in constant communication with their constituents, and receive prompt information of every grievance, however microscopic, consider any grievance, not only from the point of view of the individuals aggrieved, but in relation to its effect upon questions of general policy, and occasionally anticipate the action of the workmen in the ventilation of grievances which might otherwise remain for an indefinite period unremedied.

Those who imagine that labour unrest and strikes are mainly the creation of trade unions fall into grave error; in those days when trade unions were non-existent, or in their nascent state were destitute of organising power, labour troubles were far more prevalent, and, as in the conflicts between workmen and their employers which followed the repeal of the combination laws in 1824, and the Luddite riots of an earlier period, were accompanied by disorders of a magnitude in comparison with which the recent disturbances were insignificant. What trade unions have done is to give intelligent direction to disputes when they arise, to provide the means for waging war, and, without resort to violence, by unity of action to bring very formidable pressure, both direct and indirect, upon employers.

Under a system of industrial competition, cessation of work as an effective means for protecting the interests of labour must of necessity always play a considerable part, and the history of labour abundantly proves that strikes, although they may fail in their immediate purpose, have, from fear of their recurrence, generally resulted in the ultimate improvement of the condition of the workmen; strikes, whether confined to particular industries or extending to the magnitude of a servile war, have been, and still are, the final means by which labour has broken down or materially impaired what Adam Smith describes as 'the tacit but constant and uniform combination' of employers not to raise wages. Later on I will discuss whether, under the competitive system, it is within the power of the State to devise means which may be more effective than its recent tentative efforts for the avoidance or mitigation of industrial disturbance.

The chief gravity of the recent labour troubles arose from the fact that the highly perfected organisation of the transport

unions enabled them to impede the distribution of commodities essential for the convenience and comfort of the whole population, and even for the adequate maintenance of the inhabitants of many of our towns; for ships and railways are now the only practical means of serving our population with adequate supplies, and it is under present labour conditions an alarming fact that workmen engaged in the transport industry, who number at a liberal estimate not more than 6 per cent. of the total population of the United Kingdom, could by a general strike paralyse the whole carrying trade of the country. As was recently pointed out in a Continental journal, those countries in which the population is largely rural—*e.g.*, France with 41.42 per cent., Germany 35.11 per cent., Austria 60.80 per cent., and the United States 35.64 per cent. of their populations engaged in agriculture—would not suffer in the same degree from interference with transport service as the United Kingdom, where the proportion engaged in agriculture only amounts to 12.66 per cent.

There is a widespread impression that trade unions exist solely or mainly for the purpose of regulating wages and hours of labour, and as a coercive agency for the redress of labour grievances. It is true that these duties constitute an important part of their functions, but as regards the application of their funds and the occupation of their officials they are quite subordinate to the expenditure and labour involved in the transaction of their business as sick and accident benefit societies, as is demonstrated by their financial returns for the year 1909, a period of considerable labour unrest. Of the total expenditure of sixteen principal mining and quarrying unions, amounting to 372,633*l.*, 17.7 per cent. (65,797*l.*) was expended on labour disputes; of the principal fifteen unions in the metal, engineering, and shipbuilding trades, the corresponding figures are 1,082,119*l.*, 1.9 per cent. (21,115*l.*); of the twenty principal textile unions, 291,718*l.*, 15.6 per cent. (25,556*l.*); of the eleven principal transport (land and water) unions, 170,894*l.*, 5.8 per cent. Obviously in years of acute labour disturbance the dispute expenditure is larger, but taking the mean expenditure over the period of ten years ending in 1909, the corresponding percentage was approximately: the mining industry —a decade of exceptional disturbance—20 per cent.; the engineering, etc., 6 per cent.; the textile, 12 per cent.; the transport, 5 per cent.

Trade unions have existed in this country from a very early period, but their functions were for a long time confined to sick benefit purposes. In the eighteenth century, when the periodical assessment by justices of workmen's wages became obsolete, they increased in number, and to a small extent attempted the protec-

tion of labour. With the growth of the factory system, and the expansion of our industries, they became general in all trades, but they carried on a very unequal contest against employers, whose combinations possessed a greater staying power than that possessed by combinations of workmen. Moreover, severe penal enactments were rigorously enforced against combinations of workmen to improve the conditions of labour, their funds were meagre, their organisation weak and disintegrated, their leaders were imprisoned, and under these conditions trade unions played no effective part as a controlling or moderating agency in the disputes between employers and employed. It was not until the legislation of 1870 and subsequent years that they were relieved from penal disabilities and their funds protected against fraudulent misappropriation, or that they possessed any legal recognition. Up to that time negotiation, conciliation, or arbitration was rarely resorted to: strikes or lockouts were the almost inevitable outcome of misunderstandings between workmen and their employers, and, after a brief struggle, often disfigured by wild excesses, they terminated in the submission of the workmen.

Although accurate statistical information as to the number of strikes in any given period is only of very recent origin, yet it is certain that they are less numerous in those trades which are provided with powerful unions than they were prior to the formation of the unions, and at the present time the number of workpeople involved in trade disputes in any one year forms but a very small proportion of the total number of persons employed. In 1910, the year of the maximum number of persons involved in trade disputes, the persons so involved represented only 5 per cent. of the total number of persons employed in industrial occupations, as against 2.9 in both 1908 and 1909.

Board of Trade statistics inform us that the aggregate number of working days available for the whole industrial population, excluding agricultural labourers and seamen, may be estimated at 3,000,000,000, and that the aggregate duration of all the disputes in 1910 was 9,894,831 working days, or, spread over the whole industrial population, the amount of working time lost owing to disputes was less than one day per head of the industrial population. The coal-mining industry represented the greatest loss of time—two days per head of those employed—but the condition of the coal industry was abnormal, the application of the Eight Hours Act involved something like a revolution in the working arrangements of the men employed and the domestic conditions of their families; and even now the difficulties resulting therefrom have not been altogether adjusted. It was therefore inevitable that friction should arise in the efforts of the men to secure the full

benefit of the Act, and, on the other hand, of the employers to preserve the profitable working of their mines.

But however insignificant from a purely statistical point of view the number of these disputes may be, they involve a large measure of mental and physical distress, inflict serious financial loss upon employers and employed, and in an era of keen international competition probably entail permanent injuries to some of the trades involved. It is therefore a matter of urgent necessity for the State to address itself to the task of endeavouring to devise a method whereby disagreements between employers and employed may in their initial stages be adjusted by an authority which will command the general confidence of those immediately concerned.

In considering this problem, it is desirable to note what are the most fruitful causes of labour disputes, to review the results, and observe the means by which those results have been attained. The number of disputes involving stoppage of work reported to the Board of Trade in 1910 was 531, which affected 515,165 workpeople. Of these, no fewer than 117,000 were engaged in mining. Disputes concerning wages or hours of labour accounted for 44 per cent. of the persons directly involved—viz. 167,000—and it is significant, in view of the charges made against trade unions, that trade-union questions only represented about 9 per cent. of the persons involved, a figure slightly above the mean for the preceding ten years, which was about 8 per cent. It is obvious that disputes concerning wages and hours of labour, which affect the individual workman in a direct and immediate manner, are from their nature more difficult to adjust by external agencies than what are termed trade-union disputes—*e.g.*, which raise the question of the recognition by employers of trade unions as negotiating agencies on the part of their workmen, the co-operation of workmen by 'sympathetic' strikes with workmen in other trades who are on strike, general rules regulating rates of wages in a given industry; disputes concerning these matters, though they ultimately involve individual interest, in their immediate effect mainly concern the workmen only as constituents of an organic entity, and their solution can therefore be approached in a spirit of equanimity and temperance.

As already observed, conciliation and arbitration are the means of settling a considerable number of labour disputes. Of the 531 reported disputes in 1910 involving stoppage of work, 58 were so settled, and if we turn to the record provided by the Board of Trade of the most important disputes in 1909, we find that they were ninety-eight in number, of which sixty-five pertained to the mining industries. Of these sixty-five, the great majority of which were of very brief duration and were settled by direct negotiation between employers and employed, seven were adjusted

by arbitration, and one by conciliation; and of these eight disputes, two were settled by the Board of Trade under the Conciliation Act of 1906. Of the remaining thirty-three disputes in various trades, eight were settled by arbitration; but of the whole number—ninety-eight—it is noteworthy that twenty-eight terminated in the unconditional submission of the workmen, and in fifty-three out of the ninety-eight disputes wages were directly in issue, and indirectly in a considerable proportion of the residue.

Statistics by no means fairly represent the part which arbitration and conciliation occupy in the settlement of disputes. The most significant proof of the growing tendency of employers and workmen to resort to conciliatory methods is the fact that those engaged in the leading industries of the country have, by their representative associations of employers and employed, entered into agreements whereby disputes are referred to boards of arbitration or conciliation. As an illustration of the nature of these agreements, the following extracts from an agreement made in 1907 between the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers will be of interest. To this agreement the Steam Engine Makers' Society, the United Machine Workers' Association, the Society of Amalgamated Tool Workers, the Scientific Instrument Makers' Society, the National Society of Smiths and Hammermen, and the United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers have become parties, and it should be noted that the Amalgamated Society of Engineers is among the wealthiest and most powerful trade unions in this country. The agreement commences with the recital that

> The Federation on the one hand, and the trade unions on the other, being convinced that the interests of each will be best served and the rights of each best maintained by a mutual agreement, hereby, with a view to avoid friction and stoppage of work, agree as follows:
>
> 1. The federated employers shall not interfere with the proper functions of the trade unions, and the trade unions shall not interfere with the employers in the management of their business.
>
> 2. Every employer may belong to the Federation, and every workman may belong to a trade union or not, as either of them think fit.
>
> Every employer may employ any man, and every workman may take employment with any employer, whether the workman or the employer belong or not to a trade union or to the Federation respectively.
>
> The trade unions recommend all their members not to object to work with non-union workmen, and the Federation recommend all their members not to object to employ union workmen on the ground that they are members of a trade union.
>
> No workman shall be required as a condition of employment to make a declaration as to whether he belongs to a trade union or not.
>
> With a view to avoid disputes, deputations of workmen shall be received by their employers by appointment for mutual discussion of any question in the settlement of which both parties are directly concerned, or it shall be competent for an official of the trade union to approach the local

secretary of the employers' association with regard to any such question; or it shall be competent for either party to bring the question before a local conference, to be held between the local association of employers and the local representatives of the trade unions.

. . . .

Failing settlement at a local conference of any question brought before it, it shall be competent for either party to refer the matter to the executive board of the Federation and the central authority of the trade union or trade unions concerned.

The passages I have above quoted deal in a broad and generous spirit with three questions of paramount importance affecting the relations of employers and employed. They recognise on the part of the employers the full status of the trade union as a negotiating agency on behalf of the workmen; on the part of the workmen they remove the ban of exclusion from non-union workmen; and on the part of both parties they accept the principle and establish the practice of remitting disputes to the consideration of a joint board of workmen, trade union officials and employers.

Agreements of a similar character and form have been established between the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and the various trade unions connected with shipbuilding, the Federation of Master Cotton-spinners, the various employés' associations and the trade unions of the cotton-weaving industry, the Durham, Northumberland and Yorkshire coalowners' and miners' unions, and in numerous other trades.

We thus observe that the efforts of the leading trade unions and of some of the most important of the employers' unions are directed towards the attainment of conciliatory methods for the prevention and termination of disputes.

The vexed question of trade-union recognition still remains open as regards many important industries, notably the transport; it lay at the root of the recent railway dispute. The employers can adduce many formidable reasons against acceptance of the principle. It would undoubtedly tend towards the aggrandisement of the unions to which it was conceded; every workman would forthwith realise that it was his interest to become a member of that body which was regarded by his employers as the authorised medium for the discussion and settlement of grievances, and an organism so perfected would be able to bring more formidable pressure to bear upon employers than unions can under present conditions. On the other hand, friendly relations between employers and trade unions on the outbreak of any discontent enable the employer to confer with responsible and intelligent officials rather than excited and perhaps unreasonable men who regard with suspicion and distrust the most conciliatory overtures on the part of their employers, but would be more disposed to respect the advice of their own experienced and faithful officials. Moreover,

it is to the interest of the trade union and its leaders to discourage and if possible prevent strikes, which necessarily entail heavy expenditure, and in certain aggravated cases total depletion of the union funds. For these reasons, fortified by the fact that trade-union recognition has on the whole worked extremely well both for employers and employed, the balance of advantage seems to be distinctly in its favour.

Conciliatory methods for the settlement of trade disputes are undoubtedly making steady progress, but there is no ground for an optimistic view as to the future relations between employers and employed. Strikes which owe their origin to some petty misunderstanding may, indeed, be prevented by well-conceived conciliatory methods. Nothing can be more pitiable so far as human nature is concerned than that the industry of a great geographical area should be paralysed, many thousand men remain idle for months, with the concomitant destitution and misery of their families, because a handful of men have a misunderstanding with their employers as to what should be their proper rate of remuneration. Yet this is what actually took place last year in Wales : a small number of men at one of the Cambrian Combine Collieries were dissatisfied with their scale of payment, their employers refused to increase it, mutual bickering ended in the strike or lockout of these men ; then their fellow-workmen at the colliery struck work, not for any grievance of theirs, but from sympathy with the aggrieved workmen. Both sides remained obdurate, and then from this tiny spark spread a great conflagration, and 25,000 workmen employed in all the Combine Collieries left their work, and for many weary months the senseless battle was waged. My own observation, extending over many years, has satisfied me that a very large proportion of strikes could be avoided if obduracy and pride did not prevent the parties from acting in a natural manner.

But there is a deep-seated cause which must for an indefinite period generally prevent the settlement by arbitration or conciliation of labour disputes which involve hours of labour and rates of wages, and indeed all those which touch the economic condition of labour in relation to capital; there is undoubtedly a renaissance of that socialistic movement of which the Chartists of the first half of last century were the pioneers.

The leaders of the Chartist movement regarded direct legislative action as the only true policy for the redress of labour grievances and for the attainment of their ultimate aim—the substitution of State Collectivism for competitive capital; they had no sympathy with trade unionism, nor indeed with co-operative production or distribution ; they regarded both forms of labour organisation as narrow, sectional and selfish in their policy, as constituting

an aristocracy of labour indifferent and even adverse to the general interests of the proletariat. At the same time they recognised in trade unions a series of organisations which, by a process of consolidation and co-operation might create and sustain a Parliamentary Labour Party, whose mission it should be to carry to a successful consummation their grand ideal of a socialistic State. The trade unions made a very feeble and inadequate response to the Chartist appeal, and, indeed, under the electoral qualification prior to 1869 they had scant opportunity of sending Parliamentary representatives. In the latter part of the nineteenth century they elected Mr. Macdonald, and later on Messrs. Burt, Broadhurst, Crawford, Fenwick, Wilson and a few other trade-union leaders, but they were sent less to serve the interests of labour at large than those of the particular industries with which they were associated; they were members of the Liberal Party, and had little or no sympathy with socialistic ideals; they were in no sense inheritors of the old Chartist traditions. That they exercised a quickening influence on both political parties in the promotion of measures in the interest of labour the most ungenerous critic must in justice concede, but their conformity to party requirements to some extent limited their freedom of action, and the preferment to office of Mr. Broadhurst, and subsequently Mr. Burt, definitely associated the old type of Labour representation with the Liberal Party.

The election of Mr. Keir Hardie marked the advent of a new era in Labour policy. He represented the Chartist conception that Labour must act as a political force, not in minute sections each pursuing its own particular advantage, but in unity and co-operation for the general good. His task was confronted with many difficulties, and when in 1906 he became the chief of a small party pledged to his policy, there were about the same number of Labour representatives, mainly from the mining districts, attached to the Liberal Party and repudiating his leadership.

An active propagandism in the industrial districts won over trade unions to his policy, and, with a few exceptions, notably Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, and Wilson, the dissentient Labour members acceded to his party and gave Mr. Keir Hardie the leadership of some forty members.

Whether the Labour Party will continue as an independent political force is a matter of speculation. Its combative character has certainly been modified since the accession of the Liberal-Labour members, the Liberal leaders display a natural anxiety to conciliate its leaders, and though apparently no offer of Ministerial rank has been made to any member of the Labour Party, the appointment of one of its most eminent members, Mr. Shackleton, to an office under the Government affords a precedent for admitting

Labour members to a share of government that strikes at the root of that party independence which, in their case, has been so jealously guarded by the Irish Party. The Labour Party, it is said, have departed from the wholesome practice of party management by an annually elected chairman, assisted by a committee, and have appointed a permanent leader which confers a much larger measure of personal influence, and therefore facilitates the settlement of differences with the party in power.

But whatever may be the destiny of the Labour Party, it has undoubtedly changed the conditions under which labour has carried on an unequal contest with capital. Formerly labour had no adequate machinery by which it could attract public interest to its grievances; now it possesses a Parliamentary platform; formerly its influence over Parliament and the executive was indirect and feeble, now a formidable Parliamentary group can coerce a Government, dependent upon its support, by promise or performance to satisfy its demands, and can utilise the machinery of private Bill legislation to persuade public and private companies to make concessions in favour of labour; formerly each trade union fought its battles with little or no assistance from kindred bodies, now trade unions are so federated, largely through the influence of the Labour Party, that by the tremendous pressure of a general strike they can dictate terms to employers or provoke an industrial war. Trade unions are now the national constituents of forty members of Parliament, a considerable proportion of whom seek to supersede competitive capitalism by a system of State or Municipal Socialism.

It is obvious that these new conditions operate prejudicially against the settlement or avoidance of strikes. Aggrieved workmen no longer solely rely upon their own union to vindicate their rights and redress their wrongs, its strength has often been unequal to the task; but now, behind their union, stands the solid phalanx of federated unions, and behind that again the Parliamentary group, which can compel an imperious Minister to listen to its demands. Nor can we ignore the potent fact that the working man has formed new conceptions not only of his power but of the rights of labour; his ideas are enlarged, his desires quickened, the young men who dream dreams have pointed the way to new industrial conditions when labour shall be lighter, and from the narrow margin of subsistence he shall pass into the spacious area of abundance.

Again, recent Government intervention has tended to increase the confidence of labour in its power. I do not refer to the exercise of departmental functions by way of conciliation and arbitration under the Act of 1906, but to the interposition of the executive through the personality of a Minister of the Crown;

if unsuccessful it tends to discredit the Government, and in any event it tends to encourage the idea that by resorting to extreme measures the services of the Government may be enlisted, in the wholly illusory belief that such services will be more effective than humbler agencies. It is manifest that it is beyond the power of the executive or of Parliament to regulate and adjust by administration or legislation the vast majority of those controversial matters from which strikes arise. Legislation may alter in some respects general rules which govern employment—*e.g.* the hours of labour, but its powers can go no further.

Mr. Lloyd George in 1907 made a laudable effort to avert a formidable strike of railway employés; his courtesy and ingenuity prevailed in inducing the acceptance of a scheme of conciliation, and in 1908 it was in general operation. Forthwith there ensued dissatisfaction and mutual recrimination, which finally culminated in the threat of a general strike. Again the Government intervened, this time by the Prime Minister; his proposals for pacification, apparently misunderstood, were flouted, and were immediately followed by a general strike of railway employés, which to a large extent paralysed land transport. It is interesting to note, with reference to what I have already said as to the tendency of Government intervention to raise extravagant expectations, that shortly after the interview with the Prime Minister one of the leaders of the strike movement, in encouraging the men to persevere in their efforts, told the very unlikely story that when the men's leaders told the Prime Minister a general strike of railway employés would follow the refusal of their demands, he 'turned pale, and staggered.'

Again Mr. Lloyd George intervened, and, with the assistance of some of the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party, contrived to arrange what now threatens to be a mere temporary cessation of hostilities.

Since the commencement of the railway strike the labour situation throughout the country has been aggravated, and there can be little doubt that the much-criticised action of the Home Office has created great resentment among the working classes. No sane man can question that it is the paramount duty of a Government to maintain order, and sometimes the employment of troops may in the end be the more humane method; but in the ostentatious movement of troops throughout the country with all the circumstance of war, in the distribution of commands among brigade officers, in the quartering of troops in places where no disorder existed and without any requisition from the civil authority, in the refusal to direct an inquiry into alleged excessive violence by police—and excess by authority against citizens is

more dangerous to the security of the State than riots or tumult—grave offence has been caused to the working class.

While the report of the Royal Commission on the railway and arbitration scheme is under consideration by workmen and employers, it is undesirable to criticise its conclusions, nor would much profit arise from such criticism; it deals with matters of detail rather than questions of principle, with the single exception that it peremptorily excludes trade union recognition upon all questions which involve 'discipline and management.' This exclusion constitutes a negation of the fundamental policy of trade unions and there is grave reason to believe that this refusal will result in disappointment to the workmen and non-acceptance of the settlement it proposes.

I have endeavoured to present a faithful picture, necessarily sketched in outline, of the present industrial situation; it is perplexing and troublesome, and promises no speedy amelioration. Statesmanship has done, and probably can do, but little in the direction of amendment. Labour troubles have their roots planted deep in present economic conditions. Provision for old age, sickness and accident, or eleemosynary doles during unemployment do not meet the great twin evils—instability in the demand for labour and inadequacy in its reward. In an era of joint-stock companies with inflated capitals, sympathetic relations between employers and employed have almost vanished. On the one side the law of supply and demand, on the other resentment and revolt.

There are indeed two directions in which some amendment of the unhappy relations which exist between employers and employed may be effected—viz. by an amendment and extension of the machinery which the Board of Trade now possesses for the settlement by conciliation and arbitration of trade disputes; and, secondly, by the recognition and practical application of the principle on the part of employers that the workman has a larger interest in the fruits of his labour than the capitalist or *entrepreneur* is prepared to concede.

I have already referred to the machinery of the Conciliation Act of 1906; it has been manipulated intelligently and beneficially by the able officials of the Board of Trade, notably by Sir G. Askwith; but the chief defect in its administration is that the services of the Board of Trade are rarely invoked or tendered in the early stages of a trade dispute; it is only when the dispute has assumed its full proportion, and much loss and suffering have resulted, that intervention ensues, with the result that at this embittered stage conciliation becomes much more difficult.

Workmen are perhaps disposed to entertain needless suspicion of outside arbitrators. One of the witnesses before the Royal Commission on the Railways dispute frankly declared he had no

faith in an outside arbitrator, as labour disputes were a war of class against class, and the arbitrator would probably belong to the class which was hostile to labour. If the Government intend to persevere in their policy of intervention in labour disputes they must do their best to disabuse labour of an opinion which is to a great extent unfounded. The Board of Trade already possesses among its officials in the Labour Department men who formerly belonged to the ranks of labour, and that element might well be strengthened by judicious selection. But the most urgent need is the establishment of a Ministry of Labour. The President of the Board of Trade has manifold duties to perform, and despite his undoubted zeal it is impossible for him to devote that assiduous attention to the duties of the Labour Department which the economic difficulties between capital and labour demand.

But a Minister of Labour sitting in his offices in London can do little unless he enjoys the services of able coadjutors throughout the provinces; he requires an intelligence department, agents stationed in the chief industrial centres whose duty it should be to watch with vigilance the relations between employers and employed in their districts, and not merely to ascertain and report the imminence of a labour dispute, but to be ready and competent to use their good offices for its adjustment. Into the details of a scheme of this character it is not possible to enter here, but it is reasonable to believe that if, on the commencement of a labour dispute, there were available the services of a mediator enjoying the prestige which would attach to an accredited representative of a Minister of Labour, very many disastrous strikes would be averted.

The miners of Durham, assisted by the mutual respect which subsists between employers and employed, have, through the agency of a conciliation board, composed of both parties, which operates with rapidity and efficiency, and deals *in limine* with those differences which must inevitably occur between employers and their workmen, enjoyed for a number of years past remarkable immunity from labour disputes.

Workmen of all civilised countries have grasped the full meaning of the economic truth that capital is the product of labour, and of the ethical principle that they are entitled in a larger degree to share in the wealth they create. The prudence, if not the benevolence, of many employers, has caused them to give practical recognition to this principle, and generally with the happiest results. I had the privilege of personal acquaintance with the late Sir George Livesey, who was chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, and enjoyed some special opportunities of becoming intimate with the enlightened scheme of profit-sharing which he introduced into the conduct of that great concern.

Workmen regard with suspicion schemes of profit-sharing, and sometimes with good reason, for they are open to this objection from the workmen's point of view, inasmuch as they impede that mobility of labour which enables a workman to secure the highest price for his services, by tending to confine the workman to the employment wherein he enjoys a share of the profit. But if the employer give the workman an approximately fair share of the profits, this objection properly disappears. It was in this spirit that Sir George Livesey approached his task. His workmen were admitted to the business as shareholders, their representatives were given seats on his board of directors, and, if my information be correct, as I believe it is, he has succeeded in creating a truly co-operative sentiment on the part of the workmen in the conduct of the business.

It is true that in many businesses there are great difficulties in applying the principle of profit-sharing; where dividends are small owing to trade depression or inflated capital, the shareholders are not disposed to surrender any portion of the profits, but these difficulties, though of great moment, are matters of detail upon which within the compass of this article I cannot debate.

The principle of profit-sharing is sound; it is a step towards a larger application of co-operative effort; it does not violate though it may not conform to the principles of Socialism; it tends to the promotion of industrial peace by according to the worker, not a 'living wage,' but an established right to an equitable share in the wealth he produces.

L. A. ATHERLEY-JONES.

THE DEFEAT OF 'CONTINENTALISM' IN CANADA

FROM A CANADIAN STANDPOINT

Exactly a fortnight before the recent Canadian elections there appeared, somewhat obscurely, in the *Times*, a Montreal telegram headed 'Reported Message from Mr. Kipling.' The message turned out to be a vehement appeal to the people of Canada to reject the Reciprocity proposals. Doubtless steady-going readers who read that paragraph felt somehow that an impropriety had been committed. The careless ones scoffed, and even the poet's admirers regretted his renewed incursion into politics. Politics was not the business of poets; let Mr. Kipling keep to his rhymes and his romances. And '*Reported* Message from Mr. Kipling'—thus the shocked *Times* sought charitably to cover up the indiscretion; and it was the very last we heard of it in those columns. One or two other journals either doubted its authenticity or referred to it as an aberration in a man of genius.

Apparently not a single newspaper in this country attached any high value to this 'message'; and yet, even then, some of us who knew Canada and the temper of the Canadian people, who realised what the situation was *in esse* and *in posse,* the real character and aims of the two party leaders, the motives that lurked behind the Reciprocity proposals, and the danger to be apprehended if Reciprocity with America were again consummated (as it had been in 1854), we could not believe that such an appeal would fall on deaf ears.

> I do not understand [wrote Mr. Kipling] how nine million people can enter into such arrangements as are proposed with ninety million strangers on an open frontier of four thousand miles, and at the same time preserve their national integrity.
>
> It is her own soul that Canada risks to-day. Once that soul is pawned for any consideration, Canada must inevitably conform to the commercial, legal, financial, social, and ethical standards which will be imposed upon her by the sheer admitted weight of the United States.

She might, for example, be compelled later on to admit Reciprocity in the murder rate of the United States, which at present, I believe, is something over one hundred and fifty per million per annum.

Why, then [Mr. Kipling went on to remark], when she has made herself what she is, should she throw the enormous gifts of her inheritance and her future into the hands of a people who by their haste and waste, have so dissipated their own resources that even before national middle-age they are driven to seek virgin fields for cheaper food and living?

Whatever the United States may gain (and I presume that the United States proposals are not wholly altruistic), I see nothing for Canada in Reciprocity except a little ready money, which she does not need, and a very long repentance.

We knew, and said so, that our countrymen must be already greatly altered in character if such a downright utterance as the foregoing left them cold. The sage admonition, therefore, of one London journal only provoked laughter :

Mr. Rudyard Kipling [it said], who has achieved a considerable reputation by his literary talent, would be better advised if he left politics severely alone for the future. His lecturing to Canadians about their fiscal affairs will be deeply resented.

For it was all part and parcel of the British misapprehension of the situation that, although Canada's soul was at stake, most of the commentators, in the Press and on the platform, thought it was merely her purse.

Not until after the elections had brought Mr. Borden triumphantly into power did we know how fully our prognostications had been realised, or how universally throughout the Dominion Mr. Kipling's message had penetrated. It will interest British readers now to know that it was printed not as a paragraph, not as a column, but that it filled an entire page in many of the leading Canadian newspapers. Nor is it too much to say that it was read and digested by virtually the whole English-speaking voting population of the Dominion, or that it was discussed more than any single speech or pronouncement by Mr. Borden or Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the whole course of the campaign. Indeed, in celebrity it ranks with some of the most notable public utterances of recent years, even with Mr. Chamberlain's announcing his Tariff Reform policy or Mr. Taft's 'Canada is at the parting of the ways' speech. Yet the celebrity still continues restricted to the other side of the Atlantic; of this interesting and effective manifestation we dwelling in England have heard nothing, or next to nothing. Some of its significance is conveyed to us in the following extract from a private letter written by an influential business man at Brandon, Manitoba, in the very heart of the farming country of the Canadian West. It is dated the 28th of September :

Although I am, as you know, a convinced Liberal and a follower and admirer of Sir Wilfrid, and fully intended to vote Liberal as usual, when it came to polling-day I gave my vote for Aikins, the anti-Reciprocity candidate. It was Rudyard Kipling's letter influenced me, as it must have influenced thousands. We had all heard Borden, Foster, and Sifton, but Kipling and Kipling alone struck absolutely the right note. *We saw how we stood in the eyes of the world as compared with the United States*, and we realised that 'ten to one is too heavy odds.' . . . Out here we are great admirers of Kipling, but only once before in his life, when he wrote the 'Recessional,' has he hit the nail on the head so exactly.

I hasten to say that I am not now intent upon appraising the precise value of all the causes of the Canadian Liberal *débâcle*; nor do I claim for Mr. Kipling more credit for influencing Canadian public opinion than he deserves or the facts available warrant. But the salient point in his message, the reference to Canada's soul (as a consideration apart from her bank account), seems to suggest a factor of the situation which has here been somewhat neglected.

The truth is that the people of the Canadian provinces, separately and jointly, and in differing degree, have been engaged in a moral struggle, often fierce, often seemingly hopeless for them, against the peculiar forces and tendencies which characterise America in the world's eye. What these peculiar forces and tendencies are, a host of cis-Atlantic observers, from Basil Hall to Mr. Wells, from M. de Tocqueville to M. Paul Bourget, have sufficiently specified, and the finer and more candid spirits in the United States admit, while deploring, their existence.

Besides these, there are also national traits, more venial, more superficial, but equally objectionable to British people in general, and Canadians in particular, which account for some part at least of the passionate Canadian prejudice against becoming 'Americanised.' As long ago as 1817 the Abbé Douthier expressed a fear lest the simple, God-fearing French-Canadian *habitant* would suffer loss of character through contact with the loose and irreverent spirits across the border. That fear has been expressed again and again since, and a Canadian humorist has drawn an only too faithful picture of the honest, contented Jean Baptiste Trudeau figuring in another *milieu* as the vulgar, bragging, showily dressed 'J. B. Waterhole of Chicago.'

'Keep the barriers up!' exclaimed Beverley Robinson, now more than two generations ago. 'Why should our ancestors have left the bosom of the American Republic in order to escape contagion, if we allow the Republic to follow us here? We believed in King and Constitution, and they did not. We believed in the British flag, and they did not. We believed in the principles of social subordination, in reverence for our rulers and respect for age and position, in purity in public life, in simplicity, cleanliness,

fair play, and the amenities of private life; and because we believed that they did not hold to these things we left them. Shall we go back now when their early vices are grown inveterate? Shall we now welcome their principles? Again I say, Keep the barriers up!'

Nor can it be said that these sentiments ever degenerated into a mere U.E. Loyalist shibboleth, or that as the century wore on justification for this early attitude became lessened.

'All sentiment,' wrote the American, Oliver Wendell Holmes, when in the fulness of years and wisdom, 'is dying out of our people; no loyalty for the sovereign, the king-post of the political edifice; no deep attachment between employer and employed; no reverence of the humbler members of a household for its heads; and to make sure of continued corruption and misery, universal suffrage, emptying all the great sewers into the great aqueduct we must all drink from.'

For a long time attempts were made to isolate this terrible disease of democracy, but the Civil War stopped all that. For forty years past every traveller in the States has been struck by the homogeneity of the people. From seaboard to seaboard not only are speech, dress, and deportment the same, but the Press is the same, and public opinion is the same. 'The days of diversity,' writes Professor Sedgewick, 'are numbered. All races are trimmed, lopped, and squeezed into the American mould.'

'Those,' in Mr. Frederic Harrison's opinion, 'who direct the State, who administer the cities, control the legislatures, the financiers, merchants, professors, journalists, men of letters . . . are all of marked American type.'

Five years after the close of the Civil War, that ill-fated attempt of the Southern planters to throw off the despotism of the mobocracy, the late Sir William Butler described America as 'that vast human machine which grinds Celt and Saxon, Teuton and Dane, Finn and Goth into the same image and likeness of the inevitable Yankee—grinds him, too, into that image in one short generation, and sometimes in less. . . . Assuredly, the world has never witnessed any experiment of so gigantic a nature as this immense fusion of the Caucasian race now going on before our eyes in North America.'

This, then, is the 'Continentalism' against which Canada has set her face; which, summoning up all her forces for a final effort, the finality of which was pointed out to them by President Taft himself, she has succeeded in dealing a powerful blow.

For, notwithstanding innate dislike and distrust, the 'sheer admitted weight' of the States was beginning to tell on Canada. At the outset of the Laurier *régime* the process of assimilation began to alarm the friends of the British connexion. The policy

(not open, not frank, but veiled in fine phrases) which they can never forgive Sir Wilfrid Laurier for is this: that while indubitably recognising that Canada's national salvation lay in maintaining her equilibrium, in her power of resisting the foreign virus, he yet threw all the weight of his office and his personal influence into the American scale. For this he can never be acquitted at the bar of history, which will sum him up as a French-Canadian who was dazzled by the glamour of American material prosperity.

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into office we saw a nation of five millions of people, the same stock as that from which the English nation sprang, struggling for moral independence, struggling against absorption—whose very origins in Canada spoke eloquently of sacrifice; whose ideals were admittedly higher, whose public and private life was purer, and yet whose elected leader, the moment the opportunity offered, was ready to lead his people away from, and not into, their Promised Land.

Far be it from me to assail the fallen, but as a former supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier I cannot help recalling with shame that it was from his lips that I first heard the phrase 'manifest destiny.' 'I am a subject,' he once grandiloquently told a Boston audience, 'of the British Crown; *but whenever I have to choose between the interests of England and Canada it is manifest to me that the interests of my country are identical with the interests of the United States of America.*'

Note the circumlocution—mark the guarded phrase! He knew that material interests were as nothing to a people who long aforetime had sacrificed their material all to a principle. 'Manifest destiny' was often on his lips before he came into power in 1896; afterwards, owing to the circumstances of his election, if he used the phrase less, he laboured for the policy underlying the phrase more.

But we need not here follow him into the labyrinthine divagations of a policy which will duly receive the attention of the historians of the Laurier *régime*. It only needs to say that in the process of preparing Canada for her 'manifest destiny' Canada has suffered greatly during the past fifteen years. Was there not something infinitely sad—infinitely pitiful—in the idea that all the sins and blunders which have combined to make the best Americans despair of their commonwealth should be repeated in Canada? That all the fatal pitfalls that our American neighbours fell into should, after all these years of immunity, also be dug for us? The growth of political corruption during the Laurier *régime* has alarmed his own followers. Even so staunch a Liberal and pro-Reciprocity man as Mr. Joseph Martin, M.P., and others, including Mr. Cahan, K.C., have assailed the political morality of the late administration in unmeasured terms. According to the

former, 'All Government contracts, concessions and privileges, including even the appointment of judges, are put up for public competition, and go to the highest bidder.' Mr. Cahan has dwelt upon the 'widespread systematic and ruthless robbery' of public moneys which has been going on in various administrative departments. Mr. Borden's tremendous indictments of the Government for the reckless handling of public funds in connexion with the Quebec bridge and the new transcontinental railway fill several Blue-books.

And another phase of 'Continentalism' for which Canada will yet have to pay dearly was the system of promoting indiscriminate immigration—one of America's worst blunders, and partly responsible for the lawlessness and the 'murder rate of one hundred and fifty per million per annum.' As if the mongrel hordes of Europe —Sicilians, Czechs, Poles, Galicians, and Huns—would ever really assimilate the manners, institutions, and amenities which our British forefathers so slowly and painfully through the centuries established for us!

Most interesting and instructive is it to note the reception of Mr. Kipling's indictment of America in that country itself. While resenting Mr. Kipling's 'uncalled-for bitterness,' many of the leading newspapers are constrained to admit that the poet's charges are neither novel nor baseless.

'Let us be frank with ourselves,' remarks one journal. 'The time for America's hiding her head in the sand is past. Why is it, with all our efforts for self-improvement, our standard of civilisation is really lower than that of other lands? Would Canada really be contaminated by association with us? or are our critics only animated by petty spite and jealousy?'

Another observes: 'We long ago gave up attempting to please fastidious Europe, but for our one monarchical neighbour to turn upon us and claim an ethnical superiority is indeed a revelation.' The same newspaper recalls the words written by Charles Dickens to John Forster, and suggests that after seventy years they precisely represent the feelings, not of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, but of Mr. Henry James!

> I don't like the country. I would not live here on any consideration. It goes against the grain with me. It would with you. I think it impossible, utterly impossible, for any Englishman to live here and be happy. I have a confidence that I must be right, because I have everything, God knows, to lead me to an opposite conclusion: and yet I cannot resist coming to this one.

'If,' says a leading New York journal, the *Sun*, 'there is a growing spirit of lawlessness in this country, there are many reasons to account for it. Some of these go far to palliate

certain forms of lawlessness, while others make it less excusable. The perplexing multitude of our laws, the unwise attempt to interfere with matters that are beyond the province of Government, the attempt to convert economic tendencies into statutory crimes, the increasing complexity of life, the racial deterioration due to undesirable immigration, are some of the many reasons which explain that which is in part only an apparent increase of lawlessness.'

Canada herself might well take heed of this, and even England might reflect upon another cause enumerated by the *Sun*. In its opinion the State is too much towards sentimental leniency with criminals, crime is too often credited to disease, and it is a mischievous error on the part of the community to ignore the wicked purpose and criminal disposition of the offender. It adds:

Mr. Kipling would have less reason to complain of the increasing number of murders in this country if every criminal trial here was conducted with the speed and sanity of the Crippen trial in England.

'It was,' says a writer in the New York *Evening Post*, 'the late Justice Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, who once said in a public address that the rule of the mob in this country had become the habit of the American people. It is a shame and a disgrace that this statement can truthfully be made of us. But it is the truth. And the shame of it is all the greater because the people of the United States pride themselves upon their law-abiding proclivities, a pride not justified by the facts.'

I hope, then, I have succeeded in showing briefly what 'Continentalism' means to Canada. The danger has been great, but the defeat of the Laurier *régime* greatly lessens it. The injury has been signal, but it can now be repaired. Never again, in our time, will a Canadian Prime Minister seek to betray his country to America. Never again will the soul of Canada be subjected to such risk. Reciprocity is an ethical, not solely an economic proposition. Henceforward it should, and will, be the plain duty of our leaders to set the feet of the people upon the right paths; to arrest as quickly as may be the corruption that is already eating into Canada's political heart; to take down the false standards of life and conduct and manners which have been held up to our youth; to purge our Press and current speech of vulgarity; to show us by their example the reverent habits and better ways that were current amongst us before the aliens came. As I have written elsewhere:

We are going to assimilate these alien peoples. Our civilisation will suffer as our neighbour's has suffered; our serenity will cloud for a time, and when the contents of the melting-pot have cooled the alloy may be a

permanent part of our whole national being. But we shall not falter. The curious current gospel of altruism mixed with greed will, nay must, yield to other notions of human and national progress.

The defeat of 'Continentalism' is indeed a step forward towards the realisation of the hopes of Canada's founders. Its success would have doomed all their dreams and efforts to futility and decay.

BECKLES WILLSON.

LITTLE EXPERIENCES OF A RANCHWOMAN

IN the 'Wonderful Country' of New Mexico—presenting, as it does, in its area of something over 122,000 square miles so much that is varied and interesting—romance would seem to belong to its past. It has been well said that 'the antiquarian will find enough of what is old beyond tradition, yet new to the fourteenth century, to keep him occupied for years in patient research. It is not necessary for Americans to go to Egypt or Persia to find ruins and relics of people who have passed from the face of the earth, they can be found here in New Mexico.'

Tempting as the story is from the days 'old beyond tradition' to the modern days of cattle wars and bad men, I here pass it all by, though with reluctance, to narrate a few episodes coming under my immediate notice while living on my ranch some forty-four miles north of the Texas border line—a sojourn beginning in 1894 and ending in 1907. It is not necessary to give exact dates, as the little histories of the neighbouring mountains and valleys are largely ignored by polite society; but they happen just the same, as every true Westerner, or he who has, voluntarily or involuntarily, been intimately associated with New Mexico life, knows well.

All would seem to be peace in the fertile and beautiful valley in which my lot was cast. And its air of peace does not belie it. The agricultural Mexican is, generally speaking, a peaceable person, and as a rule is more disagreeable in his citified than in his rural aspect, the latter being his natural one. A *peon* who worked for me a number of years—one of the comparatively few who, while speaking English perfectly, still retained certain desirable qualities of the uneducated native—had occasion sometimes to ride to the neighbouring city to bring home a horse of my selection. Before starting he invariably borrowed a revolver from me, and upon his safe return would tell how he had remained in the Texas town only long enough to rest and feed his own animal, and had kept strictly within the precincts of the livery stable. 'Too many bad Mexicans there for me!' he would exclaim, with solemn headshakes.

Mountaineers everywhere are more or less a law unto themselves; and here no allusion is made to Kentucky feudists, but to

the usually inoffensive inhabitants of the Blue Ridge of Virginia and the southern spurs of the Rockies. These do not cherish grudges from one generation to another, and when they commit murder, do so for what they consider lawful and sufficient reason—as a rule. When sheriffs are sent after them, they stand together to a man, cattlemen included; to arrest them in the ordinary manner is next door to an impossibility. But not seldom they proceed to the county town, and give themselves up, serenely confident that no mountain witness will be found to give testimony against them, and their faith is indeed founded upon a rock.

Some years ago a prominent lawyer of New Mexico started with his little son to drive sixty miles across the high ranges from our county town to that of an adjoining county, where court was being held. Cattlemen, great and small, were having troubles of their own regarding the mysterious disappearance of stock from certain ranches, and accredited report had it that the man of law carried with him documents liable to incriminate two or three well-known cattlemen, one of whom was the hero of the mountain country and by no means wanting in admirers outside that magic enclosure. From all accounts nature has suitably endowed him for the *rôle* of popular idol. Experienced trailers were employed, posse after posse carefully searched the high country lying between the ranch at which father and son had taken dinner and the town for which they were bound, but nothing tangible was discovered. The horses loosed from the empty buggy had announced by their frantic arrival at the ranch house some disastrous occurrence, and from that moment the search set in; but despite sensational reports, nothing, so far as I remember, was ever found but that deserted buggy, the print of a small shoe, a dried pool of blood—later pronounced to be that of some animal—and indeterminate tracks around the vehicle, soon lost in the sandy trail. The details of the whole story, dragged out, as it was, month after month, are too many to relate here. It was as if some winged foe (it was before the days of flying machines) had descended from the blue arch of the sky, and had spirited away father and son. For years rumours reached their home that one or both had been seen in Mexico or elsewhere, but all alike proved to be myths.

Suspicion, justly or unjustly, fastened on the man whom we will call Frank Gray, and on two of his closest allies—all cattlemen. The sheriff and his deputies went up into the mountains after them, but all in vain. The sheriff's chief deputy, who had well earned the name of being the most daring man in that country, assured me himself that they would never catch Frank Gray. 'The mountain people will see to it that he is never without horses, and he and the other fellows can ride around us

just as long as it suits them.' Only once did the posse actually sight the fugitives, to whom no doubt the game of 'I—spy' was an amusing one. My acquaintance, an expert detective as well as sheriff, learned that Gray and his companions were in a deserted house somewhere on the ranges. Thither the posse rode with haste, to find that the house was an *adobe*, and, like most *adobes*, had a low parapet running along the edge of the flat roof. Sure enough three familiar heads popped into view over the parapet at the sound of horses' hoofs. The sheriff rode up, and, after reading his warrant, endeavoured to reason with Gray. He was merely laughed at, and bade to come and get his men. At once shooting began, and one of the deputies fell. Then Gray showed himself again, and pointing out the inequality of such a combat between two parties, one of which was protected, the other in the open, concluded thus: 'Now, I don't want to hurt you, Pat, nor Ben neither. We're all old friends, and I'm sorry I had to do up Jim. But sure as you stay here, neither of you two will leave this place alive!' Unfortunately, the presentation of the case left nothing to be said on the other side, and the disgusted sheriff and his deputy had to ride away, sending later for the body of their companion. The deputy related the anecdote to me himself.

And now we come to my small share in the story. About the time of the lawyer's disappearance, or not long before it, I was looking for a reputable couple to rent the back of my big house, the wife to prepare and serve my meals, as I did not wish to be compelled that summer to sleep away from home. A person, whom I rightly distrusted, recommended a mountain couple who wished to live in the valley awhile, as the husband expected to be away a good deal attending to mining interests in Arizona; but there was a boy old enough to act as protector, if such were needed, and who made his home with the pair. Immediately on seeing the mountain woman's wholesome, good-looking face, all distrust on my part vanished; not only so, but I found that previous to her marriage, a few months earlier, she had long been cook in a family with whom I was on intimate terms, and they had liked her well. And so did I, up to the dramatic close of the episode; she was in no way to blame. Her husband was not often on the ranch; neither do I believe he ever went to Arizona. I learned later that he had left another State, after committing a murder there, and had come to New Mexico, where he had met and married the mountain-bred girl. So far they appeared to be mutually attached.

After the warrant was issued for the arrest of Frank Gray and his companion, or companions, feeling in the valley town ran high. Cowboys and small cattlemen were frequent visitors at my ranch, their horses giving evidence of long riding, and the

men cheerfully proffered pay for their feed while they rested in a spare corral. All these men were chivalry and courtesy itself to the lone ranchwoman, and often I thanked my stars for the peace and ease brought me by these mountain people, after the rudeness and impudence too often served out by their 'educated superiors.' One Sunday in particular, I remember two or three 'mountain boys' were spending the day at the ranch, and the husband and wife were going with them on some all-day trip, ostensibly to visit neighbours. Early in the morning a tramp had taken possession of a small fruit-house on my land, and, turning the key in the door, refused to budge. The wife and I had driven to town to try and get a deputy sheriff to put him out, but the excitement of sending posses into the mountains rendered my personal affairs for the moment profoundly uninteresting. I have no idea now that the 'visit to neighbours' on which the husband insisted, in spite of the wife's protest at leaving me, was anything so innocent, and on the ensuing day there was an air of mystery prevailing evident even to the preoccupied senses of the busy ranchwoman. The hobo and I, however, did not remain in sole occupation of the ranch that Sunday. One of the cowboys chivalrously protested that he was 'not a-goin' to leave a lady alone with a no-account hobo,' and that if I would supply him with a heap of reading with pictures to it, he was there to stay just as long as the tramp stayed—which he did, and longer, as toward evening a deputy appeared and took my unwelcome guest away to gaol. Not many, if any, men in that valley would have sacrificed their Sunday to guarding the ranch and the person of an entire stranger. Buried in books and papers he sat silent for hours, too diffident to enter into conversation, but responding courteously to occasional friendly observations when I returned late in the afternoon from dining with neighbours. A young and pretty woman, or an old, infirm one, might have expected something of the sort, but in this instance neither of the above descriptions fitted; and I may add that all my dealings with mountain people have been more or less of the same nature.

This being so, my own behaviour on the following morning was not so crazy as might appear. When about seven o'clock the wife brought me my breakfast, I remarked that there did not seem to be a man left on the place, with the exception of my Mexican boy, who had been in for orders. She glanced at me rather queerly, and retorted that Bob—the white boy—was in the kitchen. Later I drove to town, to find excitement and partisan feeling at the fever point. In big, bold letters, a reward was offered by the Territorial Government for the arrest of any person or persons implicated in any way in the disappearance of

Judge K. and his son. Search-parties were still engaged in riding out of town toward the high ranges. It may be mentioned that Gray spent a day openly doing some 'trading' in the border city while he was being hunted in the mountains! A friend called to me from her porch, and on driving as near to her as I could she begged me, almost with tears, to go back to the ranch, fetch what I needed, and prepare to spend several days in her house—that every man in town was armed, that trouble was looked for before night, and that the storm would probably break on my ranch. So that was the explanation of the cowboys, I said to myself! For a few moments I was in danger of yielding to my friend's entreaties, but reflection brought wisdom.

'No,' I said. 'I am better protected than I ever have been since living on the ranch. That tenant of mine thinks too much of his wife to permit her to be scared or injured in any way; but if she leaves I will come to you gratefully. Those men around me now are, I assure you, of the kind who look out for women!' On arriving at home I went straight to the wife, and told her all I had heard. Just at first she hesitated as if seeking assistance—then suddenly gave in, and in passionate words declared that 'John' and the boys would not allow a hair of our heads to be touched; if there should be any fighting it would not be near us—'John' would see to that. I was absolutely convinced of her good faith, and after telling her of the security I had felt ever since she and her people had been in my house, said quietly—'Mamie, you know Frank Gray, of course?' She glanced at me half wildly; then burst into tears. Know him? Why, of course she knew him! Wasn't he playing cards at her father's house, and didn't he sleep there the night before that lawyer was claimed to have been murdered? He could not possibly have reached the scene of the crime until long after lawyer and boy had vanished, even if he had kept his horse at a hard run the whole distance—no, it was not possible! I let her talk on. Presently she threw her head back, and, with a fine gesture, cried, her eyes once more filled with tears:

'I tell you right here that my John would give his life for Frank Gray any hour, any day, and think it well given!'

But the peaceful valley, unaccustomed to much 'gun-play,' remained undisturbed; and I shall always believe that Frank Gray, through the mountain form of wireless telegraphy, 'stopped the fuss.' The men returned soberly that evening, only to depart early the following morning. The incident, however, was not closed.

Two or three days later, the deputy sheriff—whom I then knew slightly and came to know very well—the sheriff's right-hand man, and later himself sheriff—walked up to my porch. Doffing his hat

half-way up the path, he began to expatiate loudly on the beauty of the place, the flowers and trees, and as I stood on the edge of the porch he informed me in the same unusually raised tones that he would like mighty well to rent the house himself, as his wife had taken a fancy to it. Would this be convenient? And what rent would I expect? My astonished countenance—for I had no idea of renting—was his sole answer at first; then I exclaimed in amusement at such a proposition.

'Well, let's go in the house and talk it over, anyhow!' he rejoined, at the full pitch of his lungs.

Everything was wide open, according to the New Mexican custom, but after following me into the parlour he shut the door. His voice sank almost to a whisper, and in a few words he explained his real errand. My entire household, with the exception of myself, was under the strongest possible suspicion; in fact, it was practically ascertained that 'John' and every man who came on the place were adherents of Frank Gray, and knew where he was and were in actual communication with him. At this point the colour began to rise in my face under the scrutiny of the sheriff's clear, shrewd eyes; and now that he has long since been appointed special detective for one of the great trans-continental railroads, I often think of that summer morning when I found it so hard to keep the guilty colour out of my cheeks—though why guilty I scarcely know.

Well, to make a long story short, he wished me to spy on these people, in the interest of the Government, and on pretence of driving a bargain about the rent he proposed to come every few days to hear what I had to tell. As I said, I grew to know this man well, and to feel the deepest gratitude for kindness and chivalry extended to me in tragedy and trouble—in short, for a while I depended on him, and never did he fail me; but at that moment, looking out into the radiant garden, flowers and blue sky and bluer mountains were dimmed for me by a sudden mist of indignation. Betray these people, who had been good to me in their own way? Never!

'No, Mr. Thomas,' I said at last, 'I cannot do that. I cannot play the spy.'

We looked full at one another for a few seconds. Then he picked up his hat and rose to go.

'I am sorry,' he said; 'I did not think you would look at it that way. You understand, I am only doing my duty?'

'Certainly I do! But for me it is different. And I know absolutely *nothing*, beyond the fact that the woman declares Frank Gray was at her father's house the night before the——' I hesitated on the word. The sheriff smiled a queer little smile.

'Yes,' he said, looking down at me kindly but quizzically,

'it's sure hard riding from old man Bent's cow-ranch to where that buggy was found!'

That closed the episode so far as serving my adopted country was concerned. Yet, as I said, the sheriff and I became good friends.

A day or two later the woman came to me in some distress, saying that she had to leave me but did not want to do so. 'John' had a fine offer of work in an Arizona mine. So far as I could ever learn, the couple returned to our own New Mexican mountains, and, according to general belief, at the behest of Frank Gray; further, it was believed that he had placed these people in my house that affairs in town might be watched without attracting observation. But somehow the plan did not work, and they were ordered back to their mountains. After Frank Gray had amused himself 'as long as he felt like it,' he calmly jogged in to town and gave himself up—he and his companions. They were all released on bail, and after the trial were dismissed on the plea of insufficient evidence.

Had I space, I could relate other and infinitely more sensational incidents, in which I was forced to play my part; yet none of these were really calculated to injure the peaceful reputation of our fair valley. And in regard to Mexicans—it can safely be affirmed that no woman could have passed so many days—not nights—alone on a ranch in the Black Belt without molestation. In our valley I was constantly alone with the *peons*, except, of course, for casual callers, and although surrounded by white as well as Mexican neighbours, even a thirty-acre ranch involves a certain isolation from one's kind.

So many unusual and serious episodes led to my friendship with the deputy, or sheriff as he later became, that neither space nor perhaps inclination permit of their recital; but one comparatively small affair may find place here, marking as it did my second meeting with that formidable foe of bad men.

I had re-engaged as cook a white girl, who, after serving me to perfection, not only in the house but aiding me in more arduous duties with fruit-packing, chickens, etc., had been recalled to the city by her mother. Soon after I had drawn my initial breath of relief and joy at her reappearance, I began to notice an alarming deterioration in her, and one morning she was plainly intoxicated. Greatly disturbed by the phenomenon—as it then appeared to me—I drove to town, debating within myself what I had better do. On leaving the post-office, letters in hand, and still undecided, I was confronted with a yet more remarkable phenomenon in the shape of a white man untying my mare for me; and, as he turned, with a lift of the hat, I recognised the sheriff. On pretence of

arranging the lap-robe, after I had taken up the reins, he said in a low voice:

'Wait for me at the big cottonwood on the acequia outside town. I have something important to say to you.'

Amazed but obedient, I had just pulled up in the shade of the tree when he was not only beside me, but in the buggy, requesting that I would drive rapidly until we had put half a mile between us and possible observation. Then we paused again.

'Do you know anything about that girl in your house?' he began.

'Only that she was the best girl I ever had, and is so no longer.'

'Do you know who she is?' he persisted, his penetrating gaze on my face.

'Yes,' I replied, innocently enough. 'Her parents live in the city. I don't know what is the matter with her now. She was drunk when I left home.'

'Now!' he repeated, with a grim kind of laugh. 'I knew for a fact that you were not the kind of a lady—though I have only met you once before to-day—to keep a notorious character like Julie Black in your home—knowingly, that is. How she contrived to behave herself for seven months with you last year beats me!'

And as he proceeded with his horrid recital, it beat me too. Unfortunately, there was no actual legal offence warranting her arrest at that moment; she was not 'drunk and down.' But the sheriff had seen her in saloons late at night with men when I supposed her slumbering in her room at the back of my big house; and in truth I had slumbered alone many a night, with unlocked doors, she having beguiled the neighbour's boy, who also slept in the house, to walk with her the mile to town; he refused manfully to let her use my horses, and, it must be said for him, returned at once to the ranch. When Julie returned it was usually with men—the very thought of whom under my roof caused me to shudder! Of all this the sheriff had made very sure before speaking to me. The nocturnal trips were simplified by the fact that the dogs, large and small, adored her, and knew her step afar, although I could recall subdued growls on the part of the little Chihihuahuas occupying my section of the house, always quicker to suspect the unusual than the larger breeds; also that a heavy door separated my part of the solid adobe building from the back premises, and that, the walls being something like three feet thick and the floors laid directly on the ground, distant sounds did not reverberate.

After I had turned the mare's head towards town, my informant concluded thus:

'It's best for me to leave you here. Go right home and send that woman away. Then go to the city for awhile, and leave the boy in charge; he's straight all right, and has had enough of Julie's doings—give him a gun, and he won't let her set foot on the place! Now don't you worry! I'm laying low for that girl, and have been for a week or more, and it's up to me to run her out of town first square chance I get.'

So home I went, not without trepidation it must be confessed—still, it was the old case of needs must. There chanced to be no work doing on the ranch just then, but the boy was there. Julie was still half drunk and altogether abhorrent, but I succeeded in making her pack her trunk in readiness for the wagon later on. Imagine my horror then when, having bid me farewell quite agreeably, she suddenly whirled outside the door, and poured forth a torrent of abuse, mingled with oaths and assurances that *she* was not going home—not she! The boy was nowhere to be seen, so, not being the bravest of the brave, I locked the doors, fastened the outside blinds—and trembled. Never shall I forget the puzzled, questioning expression of the two little dogs who had found cause to love that woman, as they sat side by side, with cocked ears, and eyes shifting alternately from my face to the garden half concealed by the blinds—the outer world from whence proceeded those wild, weird sounds. Could that indeed be their cherished Julie? Peeping through the slats, I perceived the big guard-dog sitting on his haunches beside the raving girl, his bewildered gaze riveted on her scarlet countenance, his tail waving dubiously at intervals.

Well, to make a long story short, she marched off. A few days later I was informed by a benevolent neighbour, as I stepped into my buggy at the station, that Julie had been painting the town red in my absence, and sure had it in for *me* all right! This was comforting, especially as it was the boy's dinner-hour, and I shall never forget how slowly I drove up the tree-shadowed drive to my house, dreading every instant a sudden attack at the hands —or perhaps at the gun—of an enraged female. I was sitting in the buggy, making up my mind to descend to the unprotected open of the path and unlock the empty house, the eager little dogs on the seat beside me remonstrating at my extraordinary conduct, when the boy appeared, saying that he had hurried back, thinking I might be scared. And what a tale he had to tell of Julie's doings! And what an eternity of weeks it seemed before the sheriff was in a position to 'run her out of town'! It was surmised that she really was, in her way, attached to me in our former considerably more agreeable association, and that her bitterness where I was concerned was intensified by this fact, and by her fury

that I should have found her out at last. 'Poor woman!' I was compelled to ejaculate, in spite of all—in memory of the days when she had served me so loyally and well.

It was not long after this little affair that the sheriff deemed it necessary to teach me how to use a 'gun.'

EDITH NICHOLL ELLISON.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SEVENTY YEARS

THOSE of us whose memories extend back to the reign of King William the Fourth have this advantage at least over a younger generation, that we have a more lively appreciation of modern conveniences than our juniors. To have lived through the Victorian age, witnessing, one by one, its enormous changes, is to have laid up a store of recollections which have never been equalled in previous generations.

Of all the numberless inventions of the last seventy years, I am inclined to set first as boons to the multitude motors and bicycles. Ten years ago nobody would have ventured to predict for motor traffic the extraordinarily rapid development we have seen. The motor-bus, van, and cab threaten to oust their horse-drawn rivals altogether, and, in a sense, to annihilate distance. Travel has been so simplified by the new method of locomotion that the results must be more far-reaching than we can see in these days of its infancy. Already the public motor is a serious competitor of the railways that bring workers in tens of thousands to their daily toil in and about great cities; and he were a rash prophet who attempted to foretell the changes that road-travel will undergo in the near future.

Yet the motor had its forerunner—invented before its time had come—in the old steam-carriage which for a short time plied upon English highways. This conveyance was short-lived, its existence overlapping the coach on one side and the railway on the other. It was a combination of engine and carriage, and conveyed passengers and luggage.

I never travelled in the old steam-carriage—it was going out of use in my childhood—but my old friend Mr. Tegetmeier, the veteran naturalist, now in his ninety-fourth year, has told me that he did so; the longest journey he made was one of forty miles. These vehicles were neither fast nor comfortable; they were noisy, dirty, and jolting; offering no particular advantage over the well-horsed and well-appointed coach, they gained little popularity, being regarded in much the same spirit as the dust-raising motor was regarded ten years ago.

As regards the bicycle, the service this invention has been to all classes is incalculable. The first 'velocipede' proper, as the

machine was called, attracted a great deal of notice when it was shown at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in Hyde Park. It was a four-wheeled contrivance to carry two persons, and, I remember being told, could be driven sixty or seventy miles a day.

The principal maker of velocipedes was a Dover mechanic, and they were sometimes to be seen on the country roads. The two-wheeled velocipede did not come into vogue until nearly twenty years later; men of middle age remember the old 'bone-shaker,' and the crowd attracted by the enterprising rider. The future that lay before the velocipede was quite unsuspected; and, indeed, the bicycle was to pass through many transformations before it arrived at the high-geared, rubber-tyred machine of our own day.

It crosses my mind that had England been the possessor of better roads in the days of the Regency, the bicycle might have been evolved from the old 'dandy-horse' known to us through contemporary prints. This was a bicycle of the 'bone-shaker' type in practically every respect, with the important exception of the pedals. The rider sat astride his 'dandy-horse' and, resting his weight on the saddle, drove it along with his feet on the ground.

Returning to the ancestor of the modern bicycle, many people must remember 'The Velocipede Derby,' as it was called, held at the Crystal Palace in the spring of 1869. The affair was sadly marred by wet weather, but it served to show that the bicycle had then established its hold on popular favour in England. The races at the Crystal Palace were arranged to demand skill in the rider rather than speed; the course was winding, and competitors had to make a sharp turn round a post to return along the course to the winning-post. A French cyclist, Mons. Biot, was the winner; and, disliking as I do the sight of young men bending double over their handles, I like to recall the fact that Mons. Biot's upright seat on his machine was the subject of general and favourable remark. Many English riders still adopt the doubled-up attitude; these might profit by the example of lady cyclists, who invariably preserve an upright posture.

One cannot touch upon the subject of road travel without recalling the days of dog-draught. The use of dogs for draught-work was prohibited, so far as London was concerned, in 1839; but it remained legal in the country for another fifteen years, and I well remember the numbers of dog carriages and carts that plied on the Essex high-roads and lanes. They were as common in England then as they are in Belgium to-day, perhaps more common.

All sorts and conditions of men used dog carriages; the small farmer to carry his milk or vegetables to market, the tradesman

to distribute his goods, the pedlar to hawk his manifold wares about the country, the carrier of parcels and the poorer people who had to cover considerable distances and could not afford to keep ponies—for sixty years ago we had not begun to import thousands of cheap ponies from Russia and elsewhere.

The dog was the poor man's pony and his most valuable ally in his business, cheaper and faster than the ass which, to some extent, replaced him. Most of the dogs were sturdy mongrels, as big as a foxhound but stronger and more heavily built; you might see carts drawn by two, three, or more of them, but a pair, as I remember, was the most usual team. With a well-balanced load on two wheels, the proprietor's weight often regulating the poise, a pair of dogs got over the ground at a wonderful pace, racing down the hills at a speed impossible to horses.

Dog-draught was abolished in deference to agitation raised by people who knew very little about the subject. No doubt there were cruel dog-owners, but these were the exception; public opinion in the country was on the side of the dog-users, for it was unusual to see the dogs other than kindly treated and well cared for. They were seldom overworked; in his own interest, the owner saw to it that they were well fed, and up to the work required of them. The battle for the retention of dog-draught was hard fought.

The coaching interest, still powerful in the 'forties and 'fifties, was dead against the dog carriage, and fomented agitation among the ignorant; there was no love lost between the coaching fraternity and the owner of the dog team. The dog-owner deprived the coach of a goodly share of the revenue to be earned in the parcel traffic; plying, as the dog carriage did, along byways off the coach routes, it was largely patronised by those who liked to have parcels delivered at their own doors instead of sending to obtain them at the inn or office where they were left by the coach.

If the coach-owner had reason to look askance at the dog carriage, the driver of the dog team gave the coachman further reason for dislike. The highways were narrow; many old coach-roads were made only wide enough for one vehicle, with occasional sidings scooped out of the bank to allow of passing another (these are still to be seen in many parts), and the dog-driver could, and often did, revenge himself by 'holding up' the coach which might come behind him. Nothing angered the coachman, bound by a time-bill, so much as wanton obstruction of this kind, and the feud between driver of horses and driver of dogs ran high.

Had it not been for the agitation fomented and encouraged by the coaching people the dog carriage would have been with us longer—I dare not say 'until to-day,' having regard to the sickly sentimentality which seems to be the ruling spirit.

One of my earliest recollections of great changes is the opening of the Great Eastern, then called the Eastern Counties, Railway, in the summer of 1839, and the detestation with which it was regarded. How well I, then a schoolboy at Chelmsford, remember the long lines of trucks discharging their loads of earth to form the railway embankment! As the construction of the line progressed, the hostility of all classes increased. The then Lord Braybrooke, through whose park it was to be carried, would not have it on the surface on any terms; and the company, perforce, made a tunnel where they might have run on the surface without even a cutting. The line as first constructed stopped at Spellbrook, between Sawbridgeworth and Bishop Stortford; there is no station there now, nor has there been for many years.

The original plan had been to carry the main line past Saffron Walden, but local opposition was so strong that the route was altered, and that town and its neighbourhood were left many miles to the east; Walden is fed by a short branch-line now. Waldenites must regret the attitude adopted by their fathers, but it was that of the vast majority when the first railways were being made.

When the line was brought on to Bishop Stortford the trains were boycotted; people would not travel by them, continuing their allegiance to the coach, which held its own stoutly notwithstanding the blow it sustained by the transfer of mail contracts to the railway company.

I do not think the antipathy of the eastern counties to the railway was overcome until the Great Northern line to Cambridge was opened a good many years later; and then the train owed the patronage it received to the cut-throat competition upon which the rival companies embarked. Many a time did I buy for half-a-crown a return ticket between Bishop Stortford and London when, in their eagerness for custom, the companies reduced fares almost to vanishing point.

It must be allowed that the accommodation, particularly third class, was of the rudest description. The open, roofless passenger-trucks were soon done away with, but the long 'cattle-pen' carriages are remembered by travellers much younger than myself. The luggage was piled on the railed roof, after the fashion of the slow road-coach, and might be covered over or might not; one needed a stout trunk to withstand the usage of the railway in its early days.

The trains were slow, the permanent way indifferently laid, and the lighting of carriages, when that improvement was made, wretchedly bad; altogether, the traveller of the 'forties and 'fifties had some reason for preferring the coach with ills he knew to the railway with ills he knew not.

From the railway to the telegraph is a short step. The first telegraph-line for public use was that set up along the Great Western Railway from Paddington in 1838 or 1839. The telegraph was not very generally patronised in its early days, and with good reason; the business was in the hands of private companies, and there was much delay in the despatch of messages, while the frequency of error was the cause of complaint.

The number of places from or to which a message could be sent increased very slowly; in 1865, when there were over 10,000 post offices in the country, all the telegraph offices of all the companies numbered only about one thousand. Rates for messages varied. One company sent fifty words for a shilling a distance of 100 miles; but I think it was the same company that charged five shillings for twenty words if the distance was over 100 miles. Charges were regulated by mileage; a shilling for twenty words sent 100 miles, two shillings for 200 miles, and so on. A telegram to Ireland cost from three shillings upwards. Over and above the actual cost of the message, too, were sundry charges which amounted to nearly as much as the original cost. The telegraph-wire was not freely used, even by business firms, in the 'sixties; it was, as I have said, unreliable both as regarded expedition and accuracy.

Writing of the telegraph recalls the notorious murder in 1845, for the wire in that case played the same part as wireless telegraphy in the arrest of the murderer Crippen last year. John Tawell, the 'Salt Hill murderer,' administered prussic acid in a glass of porter to a woman named Sarah Hart in her cottage at Salt Hill, near Slough. The groans of the poisoned woman in her agony attracted attention, and neighbours going to her assistance saw Tawell leaving the cottage. Suspicion being aroused, a telegram (or 'message by electric telegraph,' as it would then have been called) was sent to London; and Tawell, when he reached Paddington, was met by a policeman. The use made of the telegraph-wire in effecting the man's arrest naturally drew public attention to the then new convenience and caused a great sensation.

The trial of Tawell may be remembered for the endeavour made by his counsel, Mr. F. Kelly, to prove that the prussic acid found in the victim's stomach was derived from the pips of apples, a line of defence which procured for him the nickname 'Apple-pip Kelly.' It was said that Mr. Kelly wept while pleading his client's cause.

The successful laying of the telegraph-wire between Dover and Calais was a great event, but the excitement over the business was as nothing to that aroused when it was known that the third attempt to lay a cable between Valentia and Newfoundland had

succeeded. People talked of little else, and the papers were full of the new wonder. How short-lived was the Valentia cable is matter of history, and when it ceased to carry messages, only month after Queen Victoria and President Buchanan had exchanged congratulations by telegraph, men who condemned the work as beyond human power were of course not wanting.

The last and permanently successful attempt to lay an Atlantic cable caused little sensation, as was natural enough; the enterprise had failed so often that when the new cable was laid in 186 most people thought that its failure was only a question of time.

Turning to another subject, closely allied to traffic, what change has come over the streets of London since I first knew them in the later 'forties! The City streets, or most of them were paved with stone setts, and the West-End thoroughfares were macadam. I don't know that the paved streets were much better than others. It must have been in the early 'sixties that when I wished to bring a very small Shetland pony home to Essex, I was afraid to take him along Cheapside lest he should break his legs in the numerous holes among the stones. The difficulty was overcome by taking him through the City in a cab.

Experiments had been made with wood-paving in some of the streets in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, but it did not answer; the wrong wood was used, and, as the art of laying it had not been mastered, the streets so paved soon were in a much worse condition than macadam. The results in no way repaid the expense, and wood was abandoned, to be tried again and successfully in the 'seventies.

So commonplace a proceeding as the lighting of a cigarette invites mention of one enormous convenience which was practically unknown in my childhood. Friction matches had been invented, but were little used. Nearly everybody used the tinder-box with its flint and steel, troublesome as the thing was by comparison with the reliable match of a later day; undependable in wet weather, however carefully kept from damp, at the best of times it was a tedious business to get a light.

The flint-lock gun long survived the tinder-box, and the production of flints provided work for many hands; flint-making was a large industry in Norfolk, whence the best came, and flints for export are still produced there. I well remember seeing flint-lock guns in the hands of sportsmen long after percussion caps had been invented; percussion guns did not gain much acceptance until Eleys produced their damp-proof caps, and even then there were many who continued to shoot with their old flint-locks. The change took place more gradually than that from the muzzle loader to the breech-loader.

Almost every action of modern life suggests a change; the ac

of writing these words, for example, recalls the fact that, though quill pens are still in use, I remember the time when one seldom saw any other kind. Steel pens in their early days were expensive and ill-made, and few people used them. The paper we had seventy years ago may have been partly to blame: it had neither the substance nor the surface we take as a matter of course nowadays; high postage rates operated against such a luxury as thick letter-paper.

It is interesting to recall the whole history of photography as one may do who has lived through the Victorian era. The daguerreotype was only invented after Queen Victoria's accession, and for a time it held much the same place as a miniature. One need not be very old to remember the early days of photography; the stained hands which were the 'trade mark' of the photographer in the days of wet plates; the travelling operator with his little black tent who went about the country taking portraits and pictures of their houses for his patrons.

There was one curious use of the photograph which prevailed for a time and seems to have been forgotten; I mean, the fashion—introduced, I believe from Paris—of printing the owner's photograph on his or her visiting-cards. This craze—which had a certain convenience, perhaps—came in some time after the Crimean War, but it did not last very long, nor was it very generally followed.

I remember when envelopes came into use, and what a boon they were considered after the old system of closing letters with wafer or sealing-wax. Before envelopes were invented, letters were always written with an eye to the position of the wafer or seal, a blank space being left to correspond with the place where this would be put on the outside, lest the written portion should be torn in opening. The introduction of another convenience occurs to me—namely, perforated sheets of postage-stamps; before this innovation we had to cut our stamps with scissors.

Apropos of letters and postage-stamps, the first pillar-boxes I saw in the streets after my return from the Crimea were still regarded with interest and curiosity in London.

Some changes which have taken place during my recollection crept in quietly and gradually, but none the less add enormously to the comfort of life. It is difficult now to imagine a decent house without its bathroom; but it is not so very long since the fixed bath with its hot and cold water supply was a novelty, a thing visitors were invited upstairs to examine and envy.

The occasional outbursts against vaccination are unaccountable to one who remembers the old days. When I was a lad the number of people whose faces were pitted with smallpox was legion; 'Blind from Smallpox' was on the card worn by most of the unfortunate street-beggars who had lost their sight.

The anxiety of parents to have their daughters married at an age which would now be considered almost scandalously immature was one by-result of the frequency and severity of smallpox; if a girl's face were marred, her prospects of matrimony were of course impaired, and the ambition of mothers—so common was smallpox—was to see their daughters safely married before they caught the disease.

Among sensational discoveries, I suppose few were more discussed than chloroform when the doctors made known its properties. When a medical student, my friend Mr. Tegetmeier, of whom I have made mention on an earlier page, saw and assisted at many amputations and other operations without chloroform; his anecdotes of sights seen in the hospitals would hardly bear repetition.

As regards the general public, discovery of the method of keeping meat fresh in a low temperature deserves a high place among inventions. This discovery was a timely one, following, as it did, the terrible losses of cattle from plague, which had forced up the price of meat, milk, and butter.

Preserved—not frozen—meat arrived from Australia at that time, but ingenious minds were at work upon the freezing problem, which, it was confidently believed, could be solved. The first cargo of frozen meat from Australia proved a total failure, and for a few years nothing more was heard of the great scheme which was to provide everybody with cheap fresh mutton and beef; but the inventors were busy making experiments, and in 1877 the influx of frozen meat began.

The electric light, as an application of science to domestic use which we are accustomed to regard as quite modern, is one of the discoveries which were made before the time was ripe. Professor Tyndall used an electric light to illustrate a lecture at the Royal Institution in the 'fifties. The abortive experiments made in lighting the Houses of Parliament, Billingsgate Market, and the Thames Embankment with electricity are within the memory of a much younger generation, as is the telephone, which, by the way, was also invented before the world was ready for it. A 'speaking telegraph' was made as long ago as 1848 or thereabouts, but the device was laid aside for thirty years, until Professor Graham Bell perfected his invention.

Posterity 'scores' over the older generation. Our descendants may, a century hence, hear the words of great orators and singers preserved by the phonograph. What would not we give to hear from a gramophone one of the great speeches of Gladstone or Bright, to look no farther back! The phonograph for practical business purposes is still at its beginning; but so useful an invention cannot fail to have a great future before it.

I doubt much whether anyone would venture to predict a great future for the aeroplane, except perhaps as an instrument of war with which men may properly accept risks otherwise scarcely allowable. It has always appeared to me that the future of the dirigible balloon is by far more certain than that of a machine whose ability to remain in flight depends upon so many factors, both within and beyond human control. But after the experiences of my lifetime I hesitate to suggest that those who come after us will not gain the knowledge of air currents and the other, now obscure, conditions which should eliminate one set of risks.

Professor Wallace, a few years ago, wrote a book called *The Wonderful Century*, and never was book-title better chosen. Those of us who saw the last coaches and have lived to see the motor-car, the dirigible balloon and the aeroplane, who saw the earliest public telegraph-wire and have lived to the day of wireless telegraphy, may find some satisfaction in the thought that we have seen an era such as no previous generation saw, and such as can hardly be rivalled by eras to come.

WALTER GILBEY.

PATRIOTISM HERE AND ELSEWHERE

When in Roumania some six years ago, I chanced one Sunday morning to be passing a church just as the service came to an end. It was in a little market town that lies between Campina, the great petroleum centre, and Sinaia, where King Carol and his Queen, Carmen Sylva, spend much of their time. The whole countryside seemed to have turned out that morning: crowds of men, women, and children trooped forth from the porch, in their smart national dress of white linen embroidered with blue, orange, and red; and there was much saluting, much exchanging of greetings, and chattering. For a few minutes the little square before the church was thronged. Then the men and women began slowly to wend their way homeward, followed by the girls and young children, while the boys marched off straight to a field a few hundred yards away. And there they stood quietly waiting with an odd solemn look in their great dark eyes. So grave was the expression of their faces, indeed, that had it not been for a certain alertness in their bearing, I should have taken it for granted at once that some religious ceremony in which they were specially interested was going to be held. They were a fine set of lads, although most of them would have been all the better, perhaps, for a little more flesh on their bones. Not one among them was 'chubby'; not one was listless or dull. On the contrary, they were all thin, several of them as thin as thin could be; and they all had bright, intelligent faces. From the lofty fashion in which they held their heads they might have been the sons of kings or princes, yet poverty was stamped on them in unmistakable terms. Their much-embroidered clothes, although clean, were terribly hard worn; while as for their shoes, some of them were the merest frauds.

The eldest of the boys was hardly fourteen, while the youngest was certainly not more than ten, yet there was something quite manly about them. The very way they set down their feet betokened a sense of responsibility. Evidently they had, or thought they had, work on hand of great importance. Just as I was wondering what this work could be, a drill-sergeant appeared; and in a second every boy was a soldier. They fell in—still with that odd solemn look in their eyes—they saluted, they marched,

they formed square, and went through the most varied movements. And in all that they did they showed not only a certain skill, but boundless zest and ardour, their faces glowing the while with proud enthusiasm. From first to last their whole demeanour was in exact accordance with their expression: even as they stood at ease these boys looked for all the world as if they actually were officiating at some religious ceremony. This Sunday drill was for them, I found later, a religious service, if not a ceremony, just as much a religious service as the Mass in the church that morning. They looked on it, indeed, as the second part of the Mass, its complement. In the little church they had prayed that Roumania might be defended from her enemies, and in the field they were learning how to defend her. Roumania is to them something sacred, it must be remembered: something which it is not only their duty to defend, but also their highest privilege, their keenest joy. This, although they are only poverty-stricken little peasants—the grandsons of serfs.

'It is a fine thing to have a country to defend,' a Roumanian once said to me; 'it makes all the difference in life, even to our children, our having a land of our own to fight for. When I was a lad Roumania was a Turkish province.'

No sooner had the boys left the field, than men began to make their way there. They came in twos and threes, quite a goodly company, all in their fine church-going clothes, all holding their heads high and stepping out briskly. There was nothing preternaturally solemn about them, however. On the contrary, they came as those who are well content to come, as those on pleasure bent, laughing and talking and bandying jokes. They belonged evidently to the same class as the boys, the peasant class; and they were for the most part in the prime of life, between twenty-three, perhaps, and forty, although there were some among them who seemed younger. They, too, had come to be drilled; and the moment the drill-sergeant took up his station, they fell in in single rank before him. Then laughing and talking ceased at once; every man settled himself down in the most business-like fashion to doing his work. There was not one among them, indeed, who seemed to have a thought in his head beyond doing his work well.

The older men were already trained soldiers, that was easy to see; they had been taught how to fight, and well. They could shoot straight, and they went through their drill with a precision that would have won for them applause even at Potsdam. For they had served their time in the regular army and were reservists. They had turned out that morning, not as their younger comrades and the boys, to learn how to defend Roumania, but to ensure themselves against forgetting how to defend her efficiently. And they had turned out every whit as eagerly as the boys, without a

doubt in their minds but that it was a privilege, as well as a duty, to keep themselves fit to defend her.

Now, this Sunday drill entailed no expense on anyone, it must be noted; no real sacrifice either of time or anything else. No one's work was left undone while it was being held, no one's business was going to rack and ruin. For on Sunday mornings there is practically no work to be done, no business to be attended to. These men would at best have been only loafing had they not been at drill; while as for the boys, they would probably have been getting into mischief. And being drilled is certainly more wholesome, both for body and mind, than either loafing or getting into mischief. Nor is this all: these Roumanians would have laughed aloud in sheer amazement had anyone suggested that it was hard on them that they should be called upon to give up part of their Sundays to fitting themselves to fight well for Roumania. Why, for them the great thing in life is that they have a Roumania to fight for. Besides, their drill was for them evidently a pleasure as well as a duty; they enjoyed it much more thoroughly than even the most ardent of London footballers enjoys a football match. They would not have laughed, however —for that they would have been far too much shocked—had anyone suggested that they might spend their Sundays more profitably than in learning how to fight. For the first of all duties is, they hold, after serving their God, to serve their country; and how could they serve it if they could not fight?

Another day, a weekday, I was in a large Roumanian town when the balloting for soldiers was taking place. The road leading to the préfecture was thronged with young men, the elder brothers, perhaps some of them, of those boys I had seen in that field. They, as the boys, were not only clean, but spick-and-span, with every hair in its place; and they had donned their best clothes evidently for the occasion. They, too, were a fine-looking set, alert and active, with earnest, intelligent faces. Yet they were only what we should call Hodges; they had spent most of their time theretofore digging and delving and tending cattle.

On the balloting at that time depended whether those who balloted should become at once regular soldiers, and be drafted off to some great barracks for two years' hard service; or whether they should join the regular army only for a week now and then, and spend the rest of their time at home, working as usual on weekdays, and being drilled on Sundays. One might have thought, therefore, that before they balloted, there would have been anxiety among those young men; and after, lamentation among such of them as had drawn regular-service tickets, and rejoicing among such as had drawn the non-regular. There was not a sign, however, of anxiety, nor yet of lamentation, although

there were many signs of rejoicing. They who must start off for their two years' barrack service seemed quite content, more content, if anything, than those who must remain at home. No one grumbled, no one seemed depressed; on the contrary, all-round cheerfulness was quite the order of the day, and with it a sort of instinctive joyful gratitude.

Now, in another country I had once witnessed a balloting for soldiers, and it was a very dismal business, one fraught with tears and growls. I inquired therefore why things should be different in Roumania; why all these young men should seem so glad to become soldiers.

'Because they are glad, heartily glad,' one of their compatriots assured me very emphatically. 'Although they are only peasants, they love their country, love it as they love their own mother; and they have sense enough to realise that if they did not become soldiers they might soon have no country to love. And in their eyes to have no country is the most terrible of all calamities, the most degrading and demoralising. For they know all that it means, you see; their fathers and grandfathers have taught them that—I wish you could hear some of the tales they tell. Sixty years ago Roumania belonged to Turkey, and her peasants were serfs, mere chattels, whom anyone might pillage at will, anyone might kick. When we think of those days, the most sluggish among us becomes a fervent patriot, and counts it as naught to give up two years of his life, a fraction of his Sundays, too, to guard against such days ever returning. Roumania is free now, strong enough to hold her own against all comers, but only because her sons are soldiers trained to defend her. This is a fact to which every little schoolboy here is alive. Can you wonder, then, that our young men become soldiers gladly?'

In Switzerland not only do the young men become soldiers gladly, but they regard it as the greatest misfortune that can befall them if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. No one who has been sent to a reformatory, a penal colony, or a prison, is allowed to enter the national army; and this even for a loafer is a more severe punishment than years of hard labour. For it stamps him for life as one judged unworthy to fight under his country's flag, or even to wear his country's uniform; and with such a man no decent Swiss will willingly consort. I once found, in a penal institution in Switzerland, a great strong fellow of about twenty who was eating out his very heart with shame and grief, not because of the crime for which he had been sent there, but because he would never be able to be a soldier. Life was not worth living, he seemed quite convinced, unless he could take his place side by side with other lads of his age, and fight with them for the Fatherland should the chance ever come.

In Switzerland, as was the case in Roumania six years ago, even schoolboys are taught soldiering; but whereas the little Roumanians wore their church-going clothes while being drilled, the Swiss wear uniform provided for them by the community, and it makes them look the veriest miniature warriors. As soon as a lad is ten he may begin to be regularly trained, on scientific principles, not only to march and go through evolutions, but to shoot. From nineteen to twenty he is specially drilled by State-paid officers; and at twenty he must join the national army if he is normal, non-criminal, and in fairly good health. There he goes through a regular course of military training, which turns him, so far as in him lies, into an efficient soldier as well as a crack shot. When his training is over, he is free to return to his usual work on weekdays, but he must still continue to be drilled and practise shooting on Sundays. For until he is forty he is at the call of his country, and he is required by law to keep himself fit to defend it.

In Switzerland most of the drilling is done on Sundays; not only the drilling of the reservists, but of their younger comrades and the boys. Excepting for the young men going through the regular military course, indeed, all of it is done on Sundays or Saturday afternoons. For the Swiss, being both intelligent and economical, see no reason why young folk should be allowed to waste their time and fall into loafing ways on Sundays and holidays, when they might be more usefully employed, just as pleasantly, too, and more reverently, fitting themselves to defend their country. And on this point the young folk are in cordial agreement with their elders, as their faces show when they turn out for their Sunday drill. It is one of the most significant sights in Switzerland to see them trooping off to the shooting-range, or making their way to the exercise-ground. They are all so glad to go, so eager to learn how to fight for Switzerland, to defend her, should she ever be attacked. Were you to say to them that being drilled on Sundays was a hardship, they would assuredly decide forthwith that you were mentally afflicted. For there is nothing on earth they enjoy quite so much as learning how to shoot. Watching a football match would seem to them very poor sport indeed compared with soldiering.

In Bulgaria the man who did not wish to learn soldiering, or who grudged the time in which to learn it, would be regarded as 'uncanny.' His neighbours would look on him as one with whom there was something wrong, in whom there was something lacking. For a normal man must love his country, they hold: and loving it must be eager to learn how to defend it. They would look on him, too, as an irreligious person; for they are as firmly convinced as their neighbours that the first of all duties, after serving God, is to serve the Fatherland; and that

the way to serve it is to learn how to fight. They would, therefore, instinctively treat him as a pariah, and hold no intercourse with him lest the punishment due to him should fall on them. They love fighting for fighting's sake, it is true, for they are a warrior race; but stronger even than their love of fighting is their feeling that it is a sacred duty to fit themselves to fight. They have not only a country to defend, it must be remembered, but a country to deliver, one which, as they all believe, it is their mission as a nation to deliver. Even poor little peasants dream dreams in which Macedonia and Bulgaria are united, and no Macedonian need ever again see, unless it be his own wish, either a Turk or yet a Greek.

As soon as a Bulgarian is twenty-two, he says good-bye to his homestead and trudges off to the nearest military station. For the State ordains that he must spend two years of his life, from twenty-two to twenty-four, in the national army, being regularly trained as a soldier.

And he does spend them there without a murmur; although none too cheerfully, perhaps, for he is of the sort that takes life seriously. Long before he is twenty-two, however, the average Bulgarian is already a skilled fighter, one well able to hold his own against most trained soldiers. Lads of sixteen have done yeoman's service for Bulgaria before to-day; while once a lad of eighteen had already made his mark throughout the Near East as a military leader. For in almost every village in the land there is a society that makes it its business to train and drill boys while they are still at school; and to fit them to fight for Bulgaria even before they join the army, should the necessity arise. And both trainers and trained delight in their work, and are never quite so happy as when doing it, even though they must do it for the most part on Sundays.

These societies are, as a rule, organised by the peasants themselves, reservists, who combine the rôle of apostle with that of drill-sergeant, and preach patriotism while teaching how to fight. These peasants are, of course, none too rich—many of them indeed are extremely poor; none the less, any money they need for their juvenile troops they take out of their own pockets. This is a notable fact; for the Bulgarians are thrifty by nature, as thrifty as the Scotch, as prone to ponder well before parting with even a bawbee. They pinch and save the whole year round, by choice, too, as well as necessity. They seem to grudge every penny they spend, indeed, unless it be spent for Bulgaria. But for Bulgaria nothing is too good, nothing too costly; when she is in question they are as lavish with their money as with their time and strength. The most churlish among them would go without his dinner any day, and make his wife and children go dinnerless,

too, rather than that she should not have the very best guns t
can be bought. If Tsar Ferdinand has to-day an army of w
even Great Powers stand in awe, it is because Bulgarian peas
hold that no sacrifice is too great to make *pro patria*.

In Montenegro there is no real need for drilling at all
every Montenegrin is born a soldier. None the less, as soo
a baby-boy can toddle, he begins to be drilled *con amore* by
other baby, one probably that can only just walk. And on S
days and weekdays alike, to his life's end, he continues to
drilled, or rather, for most of his time to drill himself. A
and again when in Montenegro I came across quite little
conducting with infinite zest military manœuvres; and on
occasion I found, in an out-of-the-way place, a party of sch
boys practising elaborate movements which they were plan
to carry out against the Turks, with a view, oddly enough
giving a helping hand to an English fleet supposed to be
Antivari. This was during the Sinai Peninsula episode, w
hopes were running high in the Balkans that there migh
war between England and Turkey. 'If war comes we
of course, be on the side of England,' more than one Mont
grin informed me quite jubilantly. 'You surely do not t
that we could stand aside with folded hands while English
were fighting against Turks.' And on the mere chance that
might come, they straightway began to drill themselves
vigorously than ever, without waiting for even a wink from
authorities. In one village I found a thousand men all in b
array.

A Montenegrin boy is already a crack shot at an age w
an English boy is not allowed to touch a pistol. By the
he goes to school, indeed, he is often a trained soldier, and al
a past-master in the art of scouting. For soldiering is the
business in life of the whole male population of all ages a
and that through love of Montenegro. From sixteen to
every man belongs to the army, and may be called upon to g
active service at any moment. Even after sixty every man
the strength to carry a gun is a reservist, and holds himself gl
in readiness to go, whether called upon or not, as soon as
there is the chance of a fight. From one year's end to ano
they have always their pistols within reach, in their belts du
the day, by their pillows at night; and they never allow m
hours to go by without giving a glance to make sure that no
is approaching. For it is a tradition among them, one foun
on the bitter experience of their forefathers, that the Tur
for Turks read Schwarbs to-day—may come creeping up
mountain-side any night; and were they to come and find
people napping, Montenegro might cease to be free. And n

than that, let all else go, they hold; let the land be left untilled, or tilled only by women, nay, let men and women alike be left unfed. For better a thousand times that they should all die than that the stranger should hold rule in Cetinje.

Cetinje is the only Near East capital over which the Turkish flag has never waved. 'The Sultan's troops built mosques in Vienna, but they never built a mosque in our city,' is a Montenegrin boast.

'Our city,' it must be noted, is what we should call a little country town, for its population all counted is well under 5000. Montenegro itself, indeed, is a mere dwarf among countries, so far as size goes; for it is not much more than half as large as Yorkshire, and a good third of it is barren rock on which not even tufts of herb will grow. Little and poor though it be, however, never was there a land so idolised, so faithfully guarded and watched over. For hundreds of years its menfolk gave up their lives entirely to defending it against all comers, contenting themselves with bread and water that they might have the wherewithal to buy powder and guns. And even to-day there is not one among them but holds that his first duty is to his country. Not only is his own life, but the lives of his wife and children are as naught in his eyes compared with Montenegro's safety.

A Montenegrin once told me that, in given circumstances, there must be war between his little country and a certain Great Power; and that when war came, if it came, men, women, and children would all turn out and fight.

'But what could you do against so many?' I asked, for Montenegro has only a quarter of a million inhabitants, babies included, whereas this Power has an army of two million trained soldiers.

'What could we do?' he replied, looking at me in surprise, 'why all that any nation ever can do. We could do our best to defend our land; and, if we failed, we could die.'

This he said quite simply, as if dying *pro patria* were the most natural thing in the world.

It is not only by being always on the alert to fight in its defence that the Montenegrin shows his love of his country; but also by watching over it, taking thought for it, and interesting himself keenly and personally in all its concerns. When I was driving about in Montenegro, the coachman, who was only a peasant, would draw up from time to time, get down from his seat, and come and try to make me realise the diverse ways in which he thought my country might be of use to his. Sometimes it was a bit of land he wished us to transfer from Turkey to Montenegro—it was Montenegrin land which the Turks had stolen, he always gave me to understand. Sometimes it was

from Novibazar that he wished us to drive the Schwarbs—in the Near East the Austrians are known as the Schwarbs—but more often it was from Herzegovina. 'If only the Great English nation would help us to reconquer Herzegovina!' It would be the easiest thing in life he seemed to think. Almost always he began by telling me that the renowned Gladstone had declared that the Balkans belonged to the Balkaners; and, as a rule, he wound up by announcing that, come what would, Montenegro must have new provinces. He would never drive past a beautiful view without stopping to remind me that that was Montenegro; and his whole face would gleam with delight as he looked at it. Evidently his country was to him a personal possession, one which he revelled in as in something infinitely precious.

'Has the new English consul come?' another peasant asked me one day, to my infinite surprise. For he lived in a poverty-stricken little hut in an out-of-the-way district, and his clothes were nothing but rags. Yet he spoke with real anxiety in his tone, as if the coming or not coming of an English minister to Cetinje—all foreign representatives are known there as consuls—was a matter of vital importance to him personally. And when I was forced to admit that no consul was come, both he and his wife seemed genuinely distressed. 'Why has he not come?' they kept asking me, 'why does not your King send us a consul? Is there some trouble between your Government and ours? It will not do at all, you see, for us to be left without an English consul.'

I learnt later that even the peasants in Montenegro had been much impressed by the withdrawal of the English Minister from Belgrade after the murder of King Alexander and Queen Draga; and that they were, therefore, sorely troubled when, the English Minister in Cetinje having been transferred, there was some little delay before his successor presented himself.

Would it ever occur to a Nidderdale farmer, let alone a Sussex labourer, to trouble his head if we had not a foreign consul of any sort in London? Did one Briton in five hundred indeed, nay one in five thousand, care a whit about the Franco-German conflict, which might have plunged us into war any day last summer. In Montenegro I never came across a man, no matter how poor he might be, who did not take a lively personal interest in the foreign affairs of his country. What was more surprising still, I hardly met one who did not know something at any rate of the home affairs of other countries. Again and again I found not only functionaries and officials, but peasants and priests, who were quite wonderfully well-informed as to what was going on in St. Petersburg, London, Berlin, and Vienna, especially in Vienna. Some of them told me curious stories of the Schwarbs and of their

spies, and of all that they were plotting, years and years before Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed. Then 'Jel je istina da ce Kralj Edward posjetiti Cara?—Is it true that your King Edward is going to pay a visit to the Tsar?'—I was asked again and again by men who I should never have dreamed would have known that there was either a king or a tsar. 'We do hope it is true,' some of them would add, 'it would be a great thing for us if your King and the Tsar were friends.'

That peasants should worry themselves about the movements of foreign sovereigns seemed to me most extraordinary, even more extraordinary than that they should worry themselves about the non-coming of an English consul. But when I said so to one of their chief men, he promptly declared that to him it seemed by no means extraordinary, only quite natural and right.

'A visit from your King to the Tsar is a matter that concerns Montenegro closely,' he informed me; 'and it would be a bad look-out for her if ever her people did not worry themselves about everything that concerns her. For it would mean that they had ceased to interest themselves in her, had ceased to love her in fact. For one must interest oneself in what one loves.'

I thought of the Montenegrins when I read in the *Westminster Gazette* that little story of the two Tynesiders who met during the January 1910 General Election.

'Well, Bill, what do you think of the Budget?' asked the one.

'The Budget,' replied the other, 'wot's that?'

'Why, man, it's that thing that's going to wreck the Empire, if it gets passed,' his pal explained.

'Oh, a—a divvent care a hang about that,' retorted Bill, 'a—a arlways gan to the Pavilion.'

We are often told in this our day that we here in England do not know the meaning of the word patriotism. Not so very long ago, indeed, I heard a popular preacher declare in all earnestness that the great mass of latter-day Englishmen are so completely demoralised through their selfishness, sloth, and love of pleasure, that nothing short of a foreign invasion will ever rouse them to a sense of the duty they owe to their country. I was both startled and shocked at the time, for he actually seemed to think that it would be a good thing on the whole if we had a foreign invasion; as until we have, and our streets are flowing with blood, there is no hope for us as a nation.

Now the story of the two Tynesiders might tempt one to think that this preacher was right, whereas as a point of fact he was wrong. For even supposing he was right in his contention that the average Englishman knows nothing of patriotism, he was fundamentally wrong, surely, in arguing as he did that this

was because of the average Englishman's selfishness, sloth, and love of pleasure. For latter-day Englishmen are certainly not one whit more selfish, slothful, or pleasure-loving than Roumanians; not one whit more selfish, or slothful than Montenegrins; or more selfish than Bulgarians or Swiss; and these four nations are all renowned for their patriotism. A man may have many vices and yet be a fervent patriot, may have many virtues and not know the meaning of the word patriotism. For whether he is a fervent patriot or not depends—or so it seems to me—on whether his country is, or is not, in danger; unless, indeed, he has imagination enough to realise that, even though it be safe to-day, it may be in danger to-morrow. The nation that has to fight for its country, to defend its frontiers against its foes, or that knows what it is to have no country, or to fear that it may not have one, is the nation among whom patriotism flourishes. This is a point which no one who knows the Balkans will dispute.

That Tynesider who, when he heard of the Empire, thought instinctively of the music-hall, would at once become a fervent patriot were he to know that a foreign fleet was on its way to South Shields; and so would every man or boy in those huge heedless crowds that flock now on holidays to football matches, or revel in cricket. They would all keep watch then as diligently as the Montenegrins keep watch; they would all be as eager to learn how to fight as the Roumanians, the Bulgarians, or the Swiss; and they would all be broken-hearted when they found, as they would find, that it was too late to learn when the foreign fleet was already on its way. All classes alike would then have but one thought in their heads, What can we do to save England? but one desire in their hearts: let England be saved, be the cost what it may. We English folk should be just as patriotic as the Near Easterners, or the Swiss, were our own country in danger. For our love of England is not dead, only it is somewhat drowsy. If we stand aloof from her now, refusing to learn how to defend her, grudging the money spent on her, paying scant heed to her concerns, it is not so much because we are lacking in patriotism, as because we are lacking in imagination. We know that she is safe to-day, in no actual need of our services; it is hard for us, therefore, to realise that she may be in danger and in sore need of them to-morrow. Yet she may.

If the fact that she may be in danger to-morrow could be brought home to us, and it might surely without the help of a foreign invasion, every man and boy in the land would assuredly flock to the drill-field or shooting-range, even on Sundays, more eagerly by far than they flock now to football fields on Saturday. And the gain would be great all round, for themselves as well as for England. As things are, Sunday is none too happy a day,

at any rate for the average working man or boy, unless he be young enough to be a Boy Scout. It is the dullest day in the week for him, indeed, and the most demoralising; for he has nothing to do as a rule beyond loafing and drinking, or perhaps playing pitch-and-toss. The result is, when he goes back to work on Monday morning, instead of being more fit than when he left it on Saturday, he is less fit, less vigorous both in body and mind; and therefore less able to do well what he has to do, more prone to quarrel. Surely it would be better for him, physically, morally, and in all other ways, besides being infinitely pleasanter, to spend part of his Sunday learning how to do his duty and defend his country, than to spend the whole of it, as he does now, just loafing.

EDITH SELLERS.

THE NEED FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY

Having in a former article dealt with 'the need for a re-creation of our Constitution,' it may not be out of place to indicate the means whereby that desirable end may be accomplished, and to consider which of the two great parties is most likely to provide the builders necessary for so great a constructive work. For reasons which will become apparent, the most fitting instrument is to be found in the Unionist party, provided that party can sufficiently enlarge its horizon, can make the necessary sacrifices, and can attune itself to the greatness of the task.

Unionists being in opposition their primary duty is to oppose —to oppose legislation to the bitter end, and by every means, until the Government carry out the terms of the Parliament Act. Reconstruction of the Upper House is the first object announced, definition of its powers occupies a secondary position. The Government have, for reasons best known to themselves, put the cart before the horse. By scandalous misuse of the prerogatives of the Crown they have suspended the Constitution and have thrown the legislative machinery out of gear. One estate of the realm is, as the Prime Minister admits, as dead as Queen Anne. No legislation is constitutional until that estate of the realm is revived; no legislation should be facilitated until the machinery is again in order. Mealy-mouthed fastidiousness is out of place. Violence must be met by violence. The most brilliant conventional play with the dialectical foil is useless against an antagonist who wields a brutally unconventional club. In a crisis such as now exists all weapons are legitimate. All devices should be employed to harass a Government that ignores its pledges, and to compel them to fill in the preamble of the Parliament Act. Obstruction is the policy to be immediately pursued; but if the Unionist party devotes itself to rebuilding—if it hopes to save the nation, it must realise that reconstruction of the House of Lords is but one item in a great national policy, it must be capable of much self-sacrifice, it must reconsider its attitude towards some matters of which it has hitherto disapproved, and it must overhaul and reorganise the party machine. It must, in short,

subordinate everything to the great work of salvation, and must equip itself for the task. What is the situation in which the nation finds itself placed? Government by party has collapsed. The balance of the Constitution has been destroyed. Trade Unionism has been captured by Socialism; and in obedience to its behests an unchecked House of Commons aims, as a preliminary operation, at undermining the foundations upon which society rests. That is the situation.

That government by party is the best possible method in the best possible Parliamentary system has been so long and so frequently asserted that it has come to be considered axiomatically correct. Whether that be so or not the theory is so engrained in our nature, has become so inseparable from our conception of Parliamentary rule, that for practical purposes it must be accepted as true. Government by party was for some time carried on, and on the whole successfully, by means of corruption. In later and cleaner times the system worked well so long as two parties divided the community, and the community accepted the politics and principles of a few leading families on either side. The representation of localities without reference to population in the Commons House of Parliament, with all the anomalies attached to such a system, was of little consequence at a time when a dozen great houses constituted, for all practical purposes, the two parties that alternately ruled. With the great Reform Act of 1832, the decay of government by party set in, and that method has, under the conditions existing at present, utterly broken down. Parties have disintegrated into groups animated by divergent principles, pledged to distinct policies, but capable of forming alliances for temporary purposes. So long as the House of Commons is composed of representatives of localities without any regard for the population comprised in them, the Parliamentary strength of any one group or of a temporary combination of groups may obviously be out of all proportion to the real strength of the group or combination of groups in the country. It may well be that a perfectly insignificant body of opinion among the electorate can dominate the whole situation in Parliament. An administration representing a minority of the electorate may find itself with a majority in the branch of the Legislature elected by the electorate. A group of say forty members representing perhaps less than one hundred and forty thousand voters may neutralise forty members representing four or five times that number.[1] The tendency is for the members of the smaller constituent parts of the United Kingdom to act together. Ireland, Scotland, Wales send more or less homogeneous groups to Parliament, and, with the exception of

[1] One half of the House of Commons represents 5,414,357 electors, while the other 335 members represent 2,489,418 electors.

Wales, the power of the group in Parliament is a gross exaggeration of its electoral sanction.

According to population England should return 512 members instead of 465, Scotland 68 instead of 72, Ireland 59 instead of 103, and if rateable value be taken as a basis instead of population the disproportion would be far greater. The spread of Socialism in the direction of State control evidences itself in the tendency towards departmental independence of Parliament, and the creation of useless hordes of officials owing allegiance only to the State.[3] Under these conditions—with six or more 'parties' in lieu of two, with a House of Commons non-representative of numbers, with an obvious movement towards bureaucracy subject to oligarchical control, government by party can no longer be deemed even remotely analogous to government by the people. It has hopelessly broken down, and it can never again work even fairly well until the numerical strength of parties in the House of Commons bears at any rate an approximately correct proportion to their numerical strength throughout the electorate. Redistribution and fairer representation are essential for the continuance of the party system, and for reconstruction of the Constitution; but, for the following reasons, reform is at present impossible. For the sake of convenience I confine myself to Ireland.

Ireland should send fifty-nine members to Westminster, but by the Act of Union she is guaranteed 103. That representation was part of the price paid by Great Britain to the Irish Parliament as an inducement to it to surrender its separate existence. To repudiate the bargain would be an act of treachery too incredible to contemplate. In parting with control over her own affairs Ireland demanded, and was given, a certain defined amount of control over the general affairs in which her individual interests became merged. To defraud her of that advantage would shock the susceptibilities of the most unmoral politician. Her representation cannot be reduced save with her consent; and her consent to forgo the power she now exercises at Westminster cannot, and will not, be given except for fair value received in the shape of the restoration of control over affairs which are purely her own. The House of Commons should be a miniature of the Commons, a mirror truly reflecting public opinion. The reconstitution of that body with a view to a fair representation of parties, be they few or many, and to a just representation of the views of the electors, is the first duty of Constitutionalists; and to fulfil that duty the creation of a subordinate body in Ireland is an absolute necessity.

The restoration of the Commons House to a condition of

[3] Under the Finance clauses of the Finance Act of 1909, 1548 officials have been employed, at salaries amounting to at least £250,000, to collect about £1200.

efficiency will not alone suffice. The most perfect machine must break down if fed with more raw material than it can possibly make up. No House of Commons, however constituted, can deal with the mass of business that now comes before it. It must either delegate full authority to Committees and be content to exercise as a whole merely perfunctory control, as, for instance, has happened in the case of the American House of Representatives, or it must surrender itself to the domination of a Cabinet, as has happened to us. The consequences of either alternative will, under our system, be the same. The House will be degraded. It will cease to be truly representative. The democracy will not really rule. In devolution or delegation of authority to subordinate statutory Parliaments lies the only sound, sane, and sufficient remedy for congestion.

The same line of argument applies, though with less force, to reform of the House of Lords. Reform of the House of Lords demands the abolition or modification of the hereditary principle as affecting that body. So long as an Act of Union stipulating for the maintenance of the Irish hereditary Peerage, and guaranteeing a certain representation of that Peerage in the House of Lords remains intact, adequate reform of the House of Lords is impossible. Reformers of the Upper House must for that reason alone reconsider their attitude towards Home Rule.

But other and more cogent reasons exist for reconstruction of the Upper House—reasons which apply equally to the attitude of Constitutionalists towards Home Rule and of Home Rulers towards Constitutional reform. The House of Lords is, or rather was, an ideal Second Chamber, but an anachronism. The unlimited rule of a patriot king may well be an ideal form of government, but the conception is so inconsistent with our principles as to be unthinkable; and, for the same reason, an Upper House constituted as is the House of Lords has become unsuitable for the due performance of the functions entrusted to it. The House of Lords must be judged not by its merits as a legislative body, but by the moral authority it exercises over the minds of the people. The numerous creations that have been made of late years, for which Radical Ministers are mainly responsible, the misuse of the House as a convenient political shelf, and of a peerage as a recognition of party services of an occult character, have all tended to undermine the authority of the House of Lords; but the fatal blow was given by the House itself. Its functions as a Second Chamber were to reject or amend all Bills it deemed to be dangerous or unwise unless and until the people had, after consideration, expressed their approval of them. Its business was to exercise its own judgment on the merits, but to bow to the will of the electorate. That conception of duty is a sound one,

and, albeit the House of Lords as at present constituted is an anachronism, it might have lasted long had it acted consistently on that conception. It lost itself in allowing considerations of strategy or tactics to influence it. So long as men asked themselves two questions only, 'Is the measure to the advantage or detriment of the people?' 'Have the people made up their minds about it?' their action even though resented commanded respect. It was certainly patriotic though possibly mistaken. But the moment another question obtruded itself, 'In combating this particular Bill have we selected the best strategical position for a fight?' the House forfeited that respect. Its action had the semblance at any rate of selfishness, of opportunism, of regard for its own existence. Moral authority was lost, and can never be regained by the House as at present constituted. A strong Second Chamber in the Central Parliament is essential to the well-being of any local Parliament deriving power from it, for local bodies affected by the gusts of passion and sudden changes of an unregulated House of Commons would be subject to conditions under which they could not long exist. An efficient Second Chamber is necessary for the well-being of local bodies, and the creation of local bodies is necessary for the establishment of an efficient Second Chamber. Neither reform of the House of Commons nor reconstruction of the House of Lords is possible under the Act of Union as it stands. Putting aside all questions of sentiment, justice, right and wrong, and ignoring the patent necessity for applying to Ireland the moral tonic of responsibility in order to create healthy material development, I submit that for the practical reasons above mentioned any party addressing itself to the reconstruction and preservation of the Constitution must address itself to the question of devolution also. The problems are *inseparable. If Unionists are determined to create and maintain* a stable Constitution, it is necessary for them to modify their views on Home Rule; and Home Rulers, if they are earnest in their aspirations, should realise that they cannot be indifferent to Constitutional reform.

To discuss reform of the House of Lords would be out of place here, but this much may be said. The situation does not immediately demand a cut and dried, hard and fast, ready-made written Constitution. No doubt a dozen talented Constitutional lawyers could produce a dozen Constitutions without overtaxing their brains, but the adoption of any one of them, however perfect, would be inconsistent with the character of a nation that has ever moved slowly, tentatively, step by step. Nevertheless, reform should be vigorous. The pruning knife must be keen enough, and the hand that uses it strong enough to cut away all dead wood, and the work of construction must be conducted on original lines.

No example of federation or devolution can be found in ancient or modern history of very much guiding value to us. Something may be learned from the Constitutions of our Oversea Dominions, and from the greatest federation of all times—the United States. It is to the history and development of the Constitution of the great Republic that men's minds will naturally turn in contemplating reform of the Constitution of the United Kingdom. But the problems which the framers of the Constitution of the United States had to face were very different from those confronting us. With them the main question was, in fact, the converse of the main question presented to us. Centralisation was their object. Decentralisation is ours. They sought to create a central authority strong enough to secure homogeneity in all great national affairs without unduly encroaching upon the local authority of existing independent States. We desire to delegate to localities authority sufficient to enable them to manage their own affairs without unduly encroaching upon the power of an existing central authority. The federating States were not so dissimilar in population and wealth as to preclude the creation of an Upper House based on equality of representation of territorial units—an impossibility for us. With a clean slate before them the founders of the American Constitution segregated and apportioned legislative, executive and judicial functions as they thought fit. Our slate cannot be sponged clean of the indelible markings of a thousand years. The American Constitution, therefore, offers us but little direct light and guidance, but a warning and an example may be gathered from it, and courage, which perhaps we lack, may be derived from the contemplation of an herculean task bravely undertaken and successfully accomplished. The ill effect upon a directly representative assembly of the delegation of power to committees or other bodies within itself is demonstrated in the House of Representatives, and the good effect of moral authority is proved in the case of the Senate. It is in its moral authority rather than in its constitutionally defined powers that the strength of the Senate consists, and it may not be an exaggeration to say that, in considering the cognate questions of reform of the House of Lords and definition of its powers, the evils of restriction are in inverse proportion to the weight of authority exercised by that body. Limited suspensory power in the hands of a Chamber enjoying universal respect would be more effective in securing stability than unlimited power yielded by a body that did not command that respect.

Reconstruction of the Constitution is impossible without devolution. It is only by proceeding on federal lines that the errors in the Gladstonian schemes of devolution can be avoided. Federal Home Rule will preserve the dignity of the Crown, will

settle the Second Chamber question, will reduce the representation of Ireland to its proper limits, and will remove the Irish grievance of English control, and the English grievance of Irish control. It will clear the way towards Imperial unity, and will bring about a better understanding between all portions of the English-speaking world. The *non possumus* attitude which Unionists seem disposed to adopt, and the strenuous campaign against Home Rule undertaken by Sir Edward Carson and his subordinate war lords are, therefore, deeply to be regretted. It is, of course, perfectly right for those who genuinely believe that devolution involves a retrograde step in National and Imperial development to state the grounds of their belief. The general line of argument would, I take it, be that the tendency of all communities is towards solidarity, and that federation in Canada, Australia and South Africa is but a step towards the amalgamation of the parts in the whole; that the unity of the British islands is essential in order to form a nucleus with attractive force sufficient to draw the Dominions towards union with it; that solidarity is an accomplished fact in the British islands; and that therefore devolution is contrary to natural law, is a step backward in the development of the nation, and on the march towards consolidation of the Empire. Of what lies hidden in the womb of time it is useless to surmise. We have got to deal with the facts before us, and with them in view the fallacy of the argument is plain. The three Kingdoms are not really united, and cannot be until union rests on something more solid than a legislative enactment sanctioned by force. There are bounds to the effective capacity of all forms of government. The rule of an individual is, if it be beneficent, limited to the cognisance the individual can have of the needs of the people he rules over. Both direct and indirect rule by the people are subject to the same kind of limitation. No one Parliament or other body can deal satisfactorily with Imperial, National, and International affairs, and also with the intimate requirements of vast multitudes of people. A real union of the British islands, based on common interest, and cemented by mutual affection expressing itself in an Imperial Parliament free to occupy itself with Imperial matters—that is the one and only core round which the Imperial idea can crystallise into definite shape.

The attitude adopted by Unionist leaders towards the principle of federation involves, in all probability, a tactical mistake. It is too obviously a move in a mere party game. It lacks the stamp of genuine conviction, and is not likely to succeed. If it does succeed, the future of the party, and perhaps of the State, will be sacrificed for a temporary triumph. It cannot be denied that the Conservative party has—and not for the first time in its history—

shown a disposition to negotiate the Home Rule fence. That fence must be taken. The party may scramble over or be dragged through it, but somehow or other it must land on the other side if it is to be of any future service to the State. Unionists must either modify their conception of Unionism or must abandon the fight for a Constitution, for Constitutional re-creation without devolution on federal lines will be found to be impracticable.

Against opposition to Home Rule without consent of the people there is nothing to be said, and those who are honestly convinced that Home Rule would prove ruinous to Ireland are, of course, entitled to do all they can to make good their case; but let it be by fair argument. Let us have done with all the nonsense about separation, Home Rule the equivalent of Rome Rule, the persecution of a minority, and all the contentions derived from imagination, and serving only to obscure sound judgment and inflame the passions of men. Sir Edward Carson preaches open rebellion against all authority. He appeals to arms against the will of the people. The object of so ferocious a war cry is obviously to stampede the British electorate, and it is well calculated to do so. The announced determination of a large number of hard-headed citizens led by a man of Sir Edward Carson's standing to resist an Act of Parliament by force of arms may possibly persuade unthinking people that fiction is fact. They may argue that unless it is true that the condition of the Protestant minority would under any scheme of Home Rule be intolerable the Protestant minority could not possibly have come to so desperate a resolve. But the device will fail. The majority of people do think—a little; and when they find that the attitude of Ulster resolves itself into the simple formula 'We won't because we won't,' they will come to the conclusion that a small minority cannot be allowed to stand in the way of Constitutional reform or to trip up the nation in its march toward Imperial unity. The rights, and so far as it is possible, the feelings of minorities should be respected; but rights and feelings must be run through the sieve of criticism. Equality must be purged of ascendency, and sentiment must be stripped of prejudice. Minorities must state and make good their case. Why cannot moderate men in Ireland, Unionists and Home Rulers, meet, and in a national endeavour and an unprejudiced spirit try to devise general lines of agreement whereby the majority could be satisfied without danger to the minority and without detriment to the principle of union? At the worst, they could but fail, and if they did the opposition to Home Rule would at any rate be placed upon substantial ground.

Reconstruction of the Constitution is of paramount importance, but a party confining itself to that problem and ignoring social

and economic questions is not likely to carry and hold the country. The patent fact that a shilling will not buy as much as it did must be considered. The organisations, which under the name of State socialism and syndicalism advocate robbery under statute, or robbery under arms, have combined to capture Trade Unionism. How far the late industrial disturbances are due to that cause it is not within the scope of this article to discuss, but it is certain that the seed of Socialism would not have taken root and spread as it has had it not been cast upon soil congenial to it. Discontent pre-existed. The question of wages is the tap-root of social discontent. I am an individualist, but I accept collective bargaining as compatible with individualism. I am sure that no better way of distributing wealth has been found, and I believe no better way can be found, than through the payment of a fair wage; and I hold fair and open discussion, honest bargaining to be both legitimate and right. Social disorder arises from a conflict of opinion between capital, composed of money and natural or acquired organising business capacity, and capital, consisting of labour and natural or acquired technical skill, as to what constitutes a fair wage—a just apportionment of profit. So long as our fiscal system differs so completely from those in force in competing countries no satisfactory settlement is likely to be arrived at. We must assimilate ourselves to them, or they must assimilate themselves to us. The latter is beyond our power, the former is not. Labour in England does by combination keep the price of labour above international competitive value. The standard is higher with us than it is elsewhere. Labour is blunderingly right. The blunder consists in a strange inability to see that labour and the products of labour are economically the same thing. Labour does not perceive that capital, whether owned and administered individually, co-operatively, or collectively, must have fair play or it will leave the country. It is blind to the fact that a lasting agreement as to the relative proportion of profit due to capital and to labour cannot be arrived at until capital can be invested at home on a stable basis; and that stability cannot be secured so long as capital invested at home is subject to the precarious and disturbing influence of capital invested abroad under more favourable conditions. Capital and labour are not naturally antagonistic, they are allies. The introduction of the products of cheaper labour is more detrimental to the community than the introduction of cheaper labour itself, because in the latter case wages are spent at home, in the former they are not. Capital seeks profitable investment, and labour seeks profitable employment. Capital is fluid, and can be easily moved; labour is not so fluid, and cannot be so easily moved. An expanding market is necessary for expanding employment; the most elastic market is

to be found within the Empire. Capital, however, owned and administered, is necessary for employment. In order to adjust profits equitably between capital and labour, the manufacture or trade in which capital and labour is employed must be secured against external elements of disturbance. When the people grasp the truth of these facts, and not till then, employment will expand, and a reasonable and lasting settlement of the comparatively easy question—a just division as between employer and employed—may be confidently looked for.

Which of the two great parties will take up the gigantic task of Constitutional reconstruction, and subordinate all else to it? The Radical party is indicated by its attitude towards Home Rule; but in no other respect will it 'fill the bill'; and, indeed, it remains to be seen whether its conception of Home Rule and of the conditions, social and economic, essential to its success, is sound. The grant of self-governing power to any community in which a great and beneficent social revolution had been arrested half-way would be a gift of very doubtful value, and yet, in order to save an insignificant yearly payment, the present administration put an end to land purchase. Judging by their interest in the material welfare of Ireland and their land-purchase policy, by their views on fiscal reform, by their devotion to a balanced Double Chamber system, and by their Imperial instincts, the Unionist party would seem to be the most fitting agent to be employed if it can make the necessary sacrifices, and can fit itself for the task.

If Unionists can rise to the height of the occasion they must adopt a tolerant attitude towards Home Rule. If the party accepts the responsibility offered to it, it would be wise, I think, to reconsider its distinctive name, and it must reorganise its machinery.

There is much in a name, and if Unionists devote themselves to the task of salvation, they should adopt a title descriptive of the great mission entrusted to them. 'Unionism' is, as a title, misleading. It may be adopted by the stoutest champion of Home Rule, who, nevertheless, accepts the supremacy of an Imperial Parliament, and stipulates for the representation of Ireland therein, or by the most case-hardened opponent of delegation of authority of any kind. But it has come to represent mere negation—an inflexible attitude towards any policy of devolution, and any scheme of National or Imperial federation. It is confined to the narrow field of politics, and in that area connotes conservatism only. It precludes construction, and ignores economic and social reform. If Unionists have the manhood to enter into the struggle they would do well to raise a banner bearing some device descriptive of the nature and the grandeur of their task.

The whole party machinery needs reorganising on democratic

lines. A living chain must be created between leaders and organisers in the capital and in the remotest country districts—a chain so sensitive as to convey from end to end, from top to bottom, and from bottom to top, the thrills and currents of sentiment and of opinion flowing between the chiefs at Westminster and the rank and file. Conventions must be representative conventions, and country organisers must be brought in touch with the headquarters' staff. For six years the Conservative party has been practically without any definite constructive policy, and recently it has become revealed as a party without loyalty to its leaders. During the whole course of its history there has probably never been a time when the organisation of the party was so completely out of sympathy with those upon whose votes the party depends: and it would even seem that under the present management party spirit and individual talent are stifled. It is inconceivable that all these years of opposition to a Government intent upon a gigantic social and Constitutional revolution would not have produced more energy and more talent for political warfare in the party were it not for some defect in the party machine.

But the most perfect mechanism is useless without recognised control. Loyalty to leaders is essential to success. The policy of a leaderless party becomes a mere succession of petty tactics. The nation is sound and solid in its qualities, and it regards with suspicion mere tactical political warfare, and views with aversion disloyalty and opportunism. If the present leaders enjoy the confidence of the mass of Unionist voters, their leadership should be loyally acknowledged. If they do not then, however perilous the operation may be in so critical a situation, other leaders should be chosen, and chosen quickly, for the present *impasse* must at all costs be brought to an end. To make its machinery effective is, in a sense, the first duty of the Unionist party if the Constitutional problem is to be solved by it, for without effective machinery no policy can be carried out. On the other hand, without a definite energising policy the best machinery is useless. To secure fairer terms for labour by insisting upon fairer terms for capital; to bring about such social reforms as do not conflict with the natural rights of free men; to recast the Constitution and reconstruct the Parliamentary machine; to aim at Imperial unity, and the development of the resources of the Empire—that is a policy which appeals to the Conservative, Constitutional, Imperial instincts of the people, which cries for the sympathy of all men who love liberty and progressive national existence, and that demands the active assistance of all responsible men who dread the consequences of a Single Chamber tyranny. The people are, it is said, apathetic. If true, it is not strange. Inaction begets apathy; 'Sit still, and wait the turn of events' is not an inspiring cry.

If men are to fight with enthusiasm they must have something that stirs the blood to fight for.

The fate of the nation lies in the hands of the moderate man, and there are moderate men in all parties. It may be that for the moulding of the future a new party will arise, consisting of men willing to sacrifice many cherished opinions in a supreme effort to save the State. Why should one failure discourage them? Why cannot moderate men of the great parties meet, and try to see whether, in view of the extreme gravity of the situation, concession and compromise on matters which, however important in themselves, are subsidiary to the vital issue are not demanded of them in order to save the State? The question focussed to a point is this. Are we to be governed under a Single Chamber or a Double Chamber system? It lies in the lap of moderate men to decide—of men who, differing widely on matters hitherto deemed incapable of adjustment, are united in fierce insistence on a balanced bi-cameral Constitution. By making great concessions, by great self-sacrifice, and by that alone, they can prevail. If Single Chamber government means in any circumstances 'death and damnation,' surely the unchecked rule of a House of Commons constituted as is ours at present means double death, and worse than damnation. To save the nation from such a fate is a noble mission. The sacrifice of opinions on smaller matters is both justified and demanded under the pressure of an issue so vital—the *force majeure* of a necessity so overwhelmingly great.

DUNRAVEN.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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MR. BALFOUR AS LEADER

To Mr. Balfour's friends the news of his resignation was no surprise. The strain of public life is enormous, and has told with visible effect upon many politicians counted robust, much younger than our late chief, and whose service in prominent positions represents in months what his has been in years.

Pitt and Canning were prematurely worn out by labour and care; in more recent times no one who observed him could doubt that the life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was shortened by toil far less prolonged. Lord Rosebery suffered painfully under the enormous responsibilities which for a brief period devolved upon him. Peel, Palmerston, Russell and Gladstone were giants in physique, but fortunately for them there were spaces of leisure in their long and strenuous careers. Great intellectual powers combining grasp of general principles with a truly amazing quickness of apprehension, and nerves of iron, have enabled Mr. Balfour, a man of no great bodily strength, to bear the enormous burden of leading his party in the House of Commons for nearly a quarter of a century. But the task, though never made by him the subject of reproach or complaint, has not been accomplished

without physical effort which at times seemed almost intolerable, and was borne only by the sustaining forces of courage, unselfishness, a sense of duty, and a chivalrous loyalty to his comrades.

The country and the House of Commons will happily still have the help of his counsel and his experience in a position that does not carry with it the daily and hourly personal worries and responsibilities of leadership. From that burden, carried with such risks, release was abundantly justified, and it is entirely characteristic of Mr. Balfour's unselfishness that the moment selected for taking it was one when his successor and the party may reasonably expect brighter days than those which of late have been their lot.

Retirement from the foremost position in party politics at the age of sixty-three needs no excuse. Mr. Gladstone from 1877 to 1893, by his superb physical energy, vindicated the powers of old age; yet many thought, and still think, that his own strong instinct and desire for a much earlier retirement was right. Our political conflicts, though at present no substitute for them seems available, create conditions of life which no man, even apart from considerations of health, ought to be obliged to face for an indefinite period. For the individual there is a certain unfitness in using the late years of life in the unceasing and organised quarrels of party. For the nation there need be no loss in the long run by the withdrawal of great men after long service from the turmoil of political strife into a comparative leisure, and a statesman of ripe wisdom and experience will perhaps give even more to his country, when he can pronounce upon great political issues unhindered by the necessity for immediate decision, his mind undisturbed by the unceasing clamour of controversy.

In an address delivered to the members of the Press Gallery, at a banquet given by them in his honour, Mr. Balfour once said: 'Like other politicians I have those who criticise my views, those who applaud them, those who understand them, and those who explain them. I have no quarrel with any of those various classes of commentators except perhaps the last. I am sure I am always more or less happy when I am being praised, and not very uncomfortable when I am being abused; but I have moments of uneasiness when I am being explained.'

I desire to avoid the temperate censure here implied upon a certain class of commentators, but on the other hand, I wish to dwell for a time on some of the factors which have created for Mr. Balfour ineradicable confidence and regard in those who have so long served under his chieftaincy.

At the bottom of their hearts most Englishmen place courage in the very forefront of a statesman's virtues. Mr. Balfour's administration in Ireland proved to the whole world how pre-

eminently that virtue was his. Brave men before him had faced the daily peril of assassination, which told even upon the nerve of Cromwell, with fortitude; but Mr. Balfour, partly perhaps from the detachment due to a disciplined mind and a strong will, faced that peril not only with fortitude, but with a serene indifference. I remember driving with him, I think in 1888—a dangerous moment in Dublin—in his brougham, when our coachman, confronted with an unexpected obstacle, was compelled suddenly to relax speed. Almost immediately a tremendous blow was delivered on the back panel of the brougham, half stunning me and scattering broken timber and glass throughout the carriage. I was thoroughly startled and a good deal discomposed, believing that a shot had been fired, but Mr. Balfour was entirely unmoved and greatly amused at my discomfiture and at the discovery that the accident was due, not to the bullet of an assassin, but to the zeal of his detectives who, following us too closely, had driven the pole of their car through the back of our brougham.

Before Mr. Balfour had been a year in office as Irish Secretary the delusion sedulously fomented by his political opponents, that he was a *dilettante*, an indolent man of fashion, etc., etc., was completely dispelled. The presence of danger, the necessity for decisive action, the constant opportunity, dear to a chivalrous nature, of supporting and sustaining followers and subordinates in a desperate struggle, the joy of the conflict in the House against Nationalist opponents, as clever as they were fierce, summoned and strengthened every faculty, and seemed, like a tonic, actually to fortify his physical constitution. Many years after, a colleague of Mr. Balfour's was battling in the early days of his official life on behalf of a policy as fiercely assailed as was his own when he confronted and suppressed disorder in Ireland. 'What luck for X!' was his comment. 'It is the opportunity of a lifetime.'

If the Irish administration proved to the world his courage, decision, and power as a leader to arouse the enthusiastic devotion of his followers, Mr. Balfour's legislation in Ireland no less established his permanent fame as the far-seeing and wise architect of constructive reform. He did much himself, but he also inspired and supervised the series of great measures passed by Mr. Gerald Balfour, culminating in the Purchase Act of 1904, the work of Mr. Wyndham. The combined effect of this administrative and legislative activity has given great and single-minded Irishmen like Sir H. Plunkett opportunities, splendidly used, to organise and stimulate Irish industry and character, and after twenty years' experience has left Ireland so pacified, that the most inflammatory agitator is powerless to arouse any general discontent. And yet these reforms were initiated without rhetoric

or advertisement, without attacks on individuals or classes, and without outbursts of sentimental optimism which so often lure the ignorant into hopes quickly dissipated by experience. Mr. Balfour's anticipations in Ireland were moderate; his achievements are solid and permanent.

Mr. Balfour's career in Ireland as Irish Adviser and Legislator permanently impressed his fellow-countrymen and laid a strong foundation for the confidence and respect which he has ever since enjoyed. Meantime practice and experience were equipping him with the weapons of a parliamentary debater which he has since wielded in a manner unsurpassed in the history of the House of Commons. The term debater is advisedly used, for the stimulus of the vigour of an opponent's speech, except in very rare instances, is absolutely necessary to call forth Mr. Balfour's full powers. There was a period in the House of Commons when this stimulus was lacking, and his speaking abated in vivacity and force. But when his opponents regained excellence in debate Mr. Balfour at once showed a corresponding ascent. Platform speeches, or introductory speeches in the House expounding large subjects, and designed to brace men's minds to a new policy, really demand, when possible, careful preparation, not only of the thought, but of the form. This preparation Mr. Balfour rarely gives. To think aloud before 5000 people for an hour or an hour and a half is an amazing feat, and it is one that he has often successfully performed. But it must be admitted that such speeches, though going to the very heart of the subject and always awakening deep interest, have not, with large audiences, the unhindered force of chosen words. Nor, again, does Mr. Balfour get the stimulus which some unstudied speakers derive from their hearers. He has not what may be termed a faculty of oratorical reciprocity, the attractive though dangerous gift of giving out in vapour and taking back in flood from his audience, which belongs to unprepared speakers of passionate and emotional nature. For him the passions are too common, and the emotions too intimate, for public use. Compensation for the defects referred to, if defects they be, is found in Mr. Balfour's astonishing readiness of resource and reply. The more a speaker relies on preparation the less is he disposed to abandon the matter which has become irrelevant by the turn of the discussion, and to deal with the argument which the debate itself has produced. Never in his whole career has Mr. Balfour failed to move with every phase of the controversy. Those who do so fail become the objects of his satire. I seem to remember his reply to a brilliant phrase-maker, whose intelligence had obviously become entangled in a manuscript: 'The right honour-

able gentleman has made an admirable oration, but he has unfortunately not addressed himself or replied to the arguments of the speaker who preceded him. He has mounted a destructive siege-gun, and trained it upon a road up which the invading army has *not* advanced. The fusillade has been hot, but quite innocuous. May I respectfully suggest that the right honourable gentleman should learn to make his artillery a little more mobile.'

This unique power of felicitously dealing with difficulties at the moment when they arise, has perhaps a little unduly disposed him to postpone framing concerted schemes of attack and defence, which men of slower minds like to consider well beforehand. The late Duke of Devonshire must have had Mr. Balfour prominently in mind, when he pathetically observed that throughout all his political life he had to deal with men who thought three times as quickly as he did. An admiral should remember that the safety of his fleet depends not only on the fast cruisers and destroyers, but on the massive and slower-moving battleships.

Much has been said, but not too much, of the peaceful victory won by Mr. Balfour in the House over his opponents in 1906, who for some weeks alternately jeered and bawled when Opposition leaders were speaking. He always insisted that they were no worse in manners than many others newly elected of whom he had had experience. There were, undoubtedly, in that Parliament many clever but somewhat uninstructed men, who, as soon as they felt that their great opponent could teach them interesting things, began, though at first reluctantly, to lend him their ears. Before long the reluctance gave place to willingness, and ultimately they fell almost to a man under the wand of the magician. The faculty which gained him this ascendancy has been described in somewhat hackneyed phrase as the power of lifting debate to a higher plane of discussion. Commenting on this phrase, a writer in *The Times* (10th of November 1911), in a passage of subtle but illuminating analysis, observed :

There is a tendency sometimes to miss the intimate connection between Mr. Balfour's faculty for doing this and the unique impression that he makes alike upon friends and foes and the indifferent spectators of the world at large. It is just in this peculiarity that resides his power to defeat antagonism without leaving bitterness or arousing enmity. It is the higher plane that keeps personal feelings in abeyance in the antagonist as they are in abeyance in Mr. Balfour himself. It is the habit of illuminating his subject by viewing it in relation to great principles and to world movements that gives to his arguments an air of inevitability and makes an unconscious ally of the antagonist's own better nature and better knowledge even when he chooses to fight his own battle on the lower plane. It is an incalculable loss to a deliberative assembly not to include men capable of making this appeal frequently and naturally. Such men are never too common, and we do *not* know that the House of Commons now contains

anyone having that peculiar gift to a degree even remotely approaching Mr. Balfour's habitual recourse to the higher and more universal envisagement of his subject.

This power must indeed cause a feeling akin to despair in less gifted men; but it may be said that these, even if they cannot attain to such heights, can, at any rate, emulate the urbanity and courtesy which—so it is thought—are within any man's reach. In a sense this is true; but even in the sphere of Parliamentary manners, great intellectual gifts give a man an unfair advantage. To feel instinctively that an opponent's arguments are wrong, and to be unable immediately to perceive a true answer to them, is a state of mind from which it is hard to expel anger, and—as something has to be said—the expression of it in rude and violent words. Such words are often the outcome of inability to meet argument, rather than of ill-feeling. Those who have had the happiness of hearing the late Lord Bowen poise the question which disintegrated an ingenious argument, will understand why it is easy for a disputant to make controversy polite and graceful when he has no difficulty in detecting a fallacy, and, in always felicitous terms, exposing it. What Lord Bowen was on the Bench Mr. Balfour was and will be again in the House of Commons. The one had both the logical acumen and the delicate epigrammatic stroke of the other, and in the lists of the intellect both carried the same weapons. The destruction of a fallacy became a fine art with these knights of debate, and the defeat of the fallen champion brought a moment of enjoyment even to his adherents.

Great caution and wariness are not often associated with unequalled quickness of apprehension, but both are admitted to be part of Mr. Balfour's equipment. I have seen him on occasions when a subject which had not been discussed, and involved difficulty, go all round it in debate, touching it very lightly, now here, and now there, anxious when his own mind was not fully made up to feel the pulse of his audience and, by thinking aloud, get time to arrive at a decision. Once when a very important matter, which had previously been acrimoniously debated, came up again for discussion, he was disposed to use an argument which two able men had already employed. A friend pointed out that this argument had been received on both those occasions with marked disapproval by the House. 'Will you trust me to use it?' was his reply, to which, of course, assent was made. The speech was given in his very best style, produced a great effect, and, when his hearers were in a good mood to receive it, he hazarded once again the dangerous contention. It was listened to in icy silence even by his supporters. In an instant the topic was abandoned, and the speaker, before his audience had appreciated the

situation, was vigorously expounding another and safer defence. Again, where questions of fact and detail are concerned, as to which he always professes the infirmity of his memory, close observers recognise how wary he is in committing himself, even though he may have obtained information from the most accurate source. Where opportunities for verification have not been open to him his statement of fact is always prefaced by such phrases as: 'I am given to understand,' 'I am subject to correction, but I am informed,' etc. In the statement of principles his method is different. There his steps are quite firm, and his mind works with complete confidence, for his principles have been built up solidly, and bear the hall-mark of long-pondered thoughts. This quality must not be regarded as proof that Mr. Balfour is not interested in facts. On the contrary, in his intercourse with others no one has a greater aptitude for new facts or a swifter faculty—to the great pleasure of the contributor—of placing them at once in their proper place in the scheme of the universe. These characteristics explain why, once he has thought out and proclaimed the principles of a policy, his followers may be quite certain that he will not depart from them. At the beginning of the fiscal controversy, though Mr. Balfour was a trained economist before some of those who lectured him were born, he was rebuked and ridiculed for averring that his convictions were not settled upon many of the points at issue. This and the subsequent movement of his opinion in the direction of Tariff Reform will perhaps be urged as subversive of the opinion above expressed as to the unchanging nature of his principles. But it should be remembered that the doctrines of Free Trade and Protection are not absolute truths, but are relative to the changing conditions of a country's position and development. The facts which underlie the economic condition and relation to others of a country like Great Britain are extraordinarily intricate and voluminous, and nothing would have been more deplorable for the leader of a temporarily-divided party than the crude slapdash which ignores the necessity for the study of more facts and the education of the nation in them, unless it were the pedantic dogmatism which holds some acute minds in thrall and erects into a matter of principle what is really one of practical expediency. I have not the slightest doubt that the wary policy of postponement in 1903 and 1905 did in fact enable the vast majority of the Unionist Party, which was at first greatly severed upon the question, to consider and assimilate the facts and reasons which led them ultimately to adopt the new opinions. But the time was gained and party union preserved, at a heavy cost, and only by the exercise of a courage and self-effacement to which the history of party leaders furnishes no parallel.

Mr. Balfour exhibited during this controversy certain very characteristic qualities, which have been remarkably well expressed:

'Neither the optimism of Mr. Chamberlain nor the optimism of the extreme Free Traders were possible to him. Neither the future nor the present were ever in his eyes golden, yet the peculiar limitation of his pessimism made him work with a certain enthusiasm for the practicable—for making the best of things. What other keen man of action among our public men can dispense with the idealising tendency to see things simply as they are? What pessimist, on the other hand, would work endeavouring to make the best of a rather bad job, as hard as an optimist who hoped to realise golden dreams?'[1]

It has been imagined quite erroneously that the brilliant gifts upon which I have dwelt were devoted to matters of high policy only, and that Mr. Balfour held himself aloof from the dead grind and the dusty details of a politician's life. He could not avoid and did not flinch from facing troublesome and laborious duties; where his intellectual power chiefly told was in the freshness and ease with which, despite those labours, he dealt with the larger and newer problems which the ever-shifting panorama of politics brought to his notice.

By universal admission, no leader has been more assiduous in attendance at the House of Commons than Mr. Balfour, and I think I may add that no one has spoken more constantly in debates embracing every kind of subject. Again, platform speeches are a very heavy labour to all who have any sense of responsibility for what they say; but this labour is greatly increased in the case of the leader of a party, who, like Mr. Balfour, is always reported in the first person, and is expected to cover a wide field. In addition to the constant strain of speaking in the House of Commons, he delivered, in 1909, before his illness in December, twenty-five platform speeches; in 1910, which included two General Elections, thirty-seven; in 1911, till the time of his resignation, twenty-five. An ordinary day for the Leader of the Opposition would begin with the receipt of an average of seventy or eighty letters, largely added to by subsequent posts throughout the day. Answers to these were dictated between 10.15 and 11.15 A.M. Callers were received from 11.45 till luncheon, and generally included colleagues with important matters for consultation, the Chief Whip of the House of Commons, the Principal Agent from the Central Office, and representatives of local interests. From time to time distinguished persons came on university, foreign and Colonial business. Luncheon was often employed as

[1] *Ten Personal Studies.* Wilfrid Ward.

an opportunity for seeing private members of the House, and scientific, literary and other learned guests. From 3.15 till 11 o'clock at night, with the interval of dinner, the debates in the House claimed his attendance, subject to interruptions by committees of his colleagues in his private room, interviews with members, deputations, etc. As First Lord of the Treasury and as Prime Minister in the House of Commons Mr. Balfour assumed responsibilities never attempted by his immediate predecessors. Neither Disraeli, Northcote, or W. H. Smith ever undertook the detailed preparation, and ultimate conduct in the House, of Bills of importance. For instance, though Mr. Balfour had no official staff[2] the London Government Bill, 1899, was practically his sole work. The same may be said of the Education Bill of 1902, except that in this case he, of course, had the assistance of a Department. The Licensing Act was discussed by a Committee of the Cabinet, of which he was the chairman for a long period, and owed much of its form, even in matters of drafting, to his initiative.

It was the invariable practice of Ministers before 1895 to let Supply drag over to the end of the Session. The result was, that with this instrument in their hands, the Opposition had a formidable advantage of the Government in the final stages of their Parliamentary Bills. Supply had to be got, and the time required furnished the most effective weapon in arresting the progress of legislation in the dog-days of the Session. Things reached such a pass that Supply under the old system was often practically not discussed, and its rapid passage in July and August was little short of a public scandal. On one occasion, under the leadership of Sir W. Harcourt, all the Army votes were passed in a single sitting. For this abuse Mr. Balfour instituted a system by which twenty-three days, with power to have four more (Thursday is the regular Supply day), are appropriated to the business of Supply, and the custom which he initiated of leaving to the official Opposition the right of getting priority for those votes on which critical discussion is most needed, has become well established. Only those who know the complexity of procedure, and the intense conservatism of the House of Commons and its officials regarding it, will appreciate the labour and mastery of detail which this and other reforms of procedure involved. Perhaps Mr. Balfour's greatest administrative achievement was the formation of the Council of Defence. That Council consists of the Prime Minister as Chairman, and the political heads of the War Office, Admiralty, India Office, with the Chief of the General Staff, the First Sea Lord, and Directors of Naval and Military

[2] This requires a reservation. He was assisted by Mr. Thring, the Government draftsman, and Mr. Sanders, his friend and private secretary: almost a department in themselves.

Intelligence. Mr. Balfour's view has always been that the Prime Minister should be at liberty at any time to summon the representatives of a Department concerned with problems under discussion, and any individual from this country, or from the Dominions, whose counsel might be valuable. He instituted the appointment of a permanent staff attached to the Committee, charged with the responsibility of keeping accurate records of the proceedings, in order to maintain continuity of policy from Government to Government. The general scheme has been considerably extended upon the lines of the original plan, and I think I may say that it has no warmer admirers than Lord Haldane and some of his colleagues. For a short time Mr. Balfour took the place of Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office, and ever since has maintained a great interest in foreign affairs, to which, when Prime Minister, he gave assiduous attention. It will thus be seen that few ministers have had so varied an experience; for in addition to this temporary tenure of the Foreign Office, Mr. Balfour has been President of the Local Government Board for Scotland, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and First Lord of the Treasury. The Education Act of 1902 lent him a deep insight into the whole policy and machinery of that great Department, and the Council of Defence gave him a close familiarity with modern naval and military problems.

As Prime Minister, he freely lent this wide experience to the service of his colleagues. Every departmental chief has from time to time to defend subordinates who have acted injudiciously or carelessly, and support decisions of the Cabinet without being always able, owing to reasons of State, to adduce the arguments which really justify them. Again, in carrying great measures through Parliament, compromises have to be made which are almost impossible to maintain logically in public. There are leaders who, though not purposely absent on the occasion when a colleague is wrestling with situations such as these, are not zealous to be present. Our late chief was attracted, as it were by a magnet, by an awkward Parliamentary occasion, or by the news of a comrade in difficulties. Like Henry Dundas, Mr. Balfour 'went out in all weathers.'

Throughout all these laborious years Mr. Balfour has never lost that graciousness of character and manner which has invested his personality with an indescribable charm. A little more than a century ago Fox died at Chiswick. In a sense his life had been a failure. His fortune had been dissipated in gambling, his health impaired by excess; only at very rare and brief periods had he been able to influence and guide his countrymen or inspire them with trust in his political faiths. Yet his temper was unembittered, and alike over friend and opponent, he maintained the

ascendancy of his winning and delightful nature. Not even the stalwart Tory, Johnson, could resist the 'vile Whig.' 'I am,' he exclaims, 'for King against Fox, but for Fox against Pitt.' Only one of the great statesmen of the last hundred years has possessed in like degree this magical quality, in his case unhampered by the disfigurements of an undisciplined temperament or a disordered judgment. I should disobey the injunction laid upon myself at the beginning of this Paper were I to attempt to analyse that which is, after all, beyond analysis. Mr. Balfour's charm certainly does not consist in anything approaching to indiscriminate geniality, or in any conscious efforts to attract others to him. The circle of friends whom he admits to his confidence is not large, though his 'intellectual hospitality' is unstinted and is extended to all genuine inquirers. His colleagues and comrades obtain from him not merely the most chivalrous support in public but, a far rarer thing, the intimate loyalty of his thought. For them his acute mind holds a general retainer for the defence.

In the heaviest stress of work Mr. Balfour finds in music, even of the severer schools, rest to mind and body. He is an independent judge and patron of art. In times when personal frictions and worries are quite unavoidable, he is wont to keep them in their true perspective with the universe by writing metaphysical treatises, from the study of which he absolves some, at any rate, of his friends. He is at all times enamoured of mechanical inventions and skill. This led him to a somewhat painful struggle with the early bicycle, and its successive developments, the free-wheel and the motor-cycle, and has given him a sympathetic association with his chauffeur in diagnosis of the mysteries of motor breakdowns. His friends are a little surprised that an aeroplane is not yet in his garage at Whittingehame, but much may be hoped from his leisure. In earlier days he was an excellent shot with the rifle, and very active 'on the hill.' No better comrade in games lives; his style at tennis is perfection, and he is a good golfer in the full meaning of that often rashly used term. Like other human beings, he has been known to make bad strokes, but a really critical situation on the links, as in other greater games, never fails to call forth the height of his powers. He is deeply interested in the human comedy, loves the company of young people, easily wins, and greatly respects, their confidence. He is amused and pleased by a certain kind of dainty gossip, and by the lesser competitions of life. Of the deeper resources of his friendship and sympathy this is no place to speak.

Lord John Townshend directed in his will that his tombstone should be inscribed with the following words: 'The friend and companion of Mr. Fox; a distinction which was the pride of his

life, and the only one he was desirous might be recorded after his death.'

So monumental a tribute would be a constant source of uneasiness and annoyance to Mr. Balfour, and even an expression of the devoted attachment and loyalty of his followers might embarrass his fastidious reserve. Such feelings, however, though they must remain dumb, will not fail to endure.

ALFRED LYTTELTON.

PUBLIC OPINION AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST.

The strikes of 1911 have inaugurated a new era in the history of industrial disputes in this country. Until lately the news of industrial violence on the Continent has affected the British public much as the howling of the storm outside affects a man comfortably seated by his own fireside. Any fear that the dangerous forms assumed by labour revolts abroad might be imitated at home has been tranquillised by the belief that our Trade Union system and the traditional common-sense of the nation would be a sufficient protection against industrial revolution.

The outbreak last summer has dispelled this confidence, and has shown that here, as elsewhere, the never-ending conflict between Capital and Labour has entered upon a new and alarming phase which menaces the prosperity of trade and the social institutions of the country. The results of the old method of collective bargaining, by which masters and men have for so many years adjusted their differences, no longer satisfy the aspirations of wage-earners. The spread of education and of democratic feeling, the increase in the world's wealth, the vicissitudes of the wage-earners' position due to the fluctuations of trade and to changes in the real value of wages, and the incitements of labour agitators—all these and other causes, some due to human imperfections and some to natural conditions beyond the control of man, have combined to arouse the feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction which now appear to pervade the wage-earning classes, and which have produced a condition of dangerously unstable equilibrium in the labour world. Under the influence of these feelings wage-earners listen readily to wild schemes for giving effective expression to their demands, and a golden opportunity has been provided for those who believe that a necessary preliminary to the regeneration of society is the destruction of that which now exists.

Anarchists, Socialists of all denominations, and Syndicalists vie with each other in their eagerness to seize the occasion for exploiting the physical forces of labour to further their own ends. The workmen themselves are innocent of any real knowledge of the various nostrums for the reorganisation of Society they are

urged to support; they have been imbued with a conviction that their labour has been and is being exploited by their employers, but they have no clear idea how this assumed wrong is to be remedied. The well-known psychological effect of a crowd in destroying for the time the individuality of its members—making them readily responsive to the emotional appeals of the orator who addresses them and eager to adopt with enthusiasm the action he recommends—is a formidable ally for the enemies of order, whose theme is the wrongs of labour and whose text is the advantage of the general strike. As a means of terrorisation and coercion, the efficacy of this form of 'direct action' is easily intelligible to uneducated men, who can also readily understand that the solidarity of labour is a necessary condition for its effective use: it was the general adoption of this doctrine—new to this country—which distinguished the late strikes from all their predecessors. Dr. Gustave le Bon asserts that the peaceful or revolutionary character of working men's associations is determined by nationality, and so recently as 1910 he writes that in Anglo-Saxon countries 'Trade Unions are occupied with economical objects only and ignore the war of classes, whilst amongst the Latin peoples, on the contrary, Syndicalism has become an instrument of anarchy, its only object being the destruction of society.'[1] This statement, which appeared to be true when written, is true no longer, and the sooner the nation understands that it is face to face with this new and formidable danger, the better is its chance of escaping the disastrous consequences entailed by attempts to create a general strike.

It needs no great effort of imagination to realise what these would be; the Home Secretary, speaking on the 23rd of August last in defence of his action, drew an impressive picture in which the horrors of a general strike were certainly not overstated.[2] It is highly improbable that industrial revolt in this country would develop to the extent he described; but the injury, loss, and suffering inflicted upon the community by a general strike, even when so incomplete as that of last summer, show how necessary it is to guard against a recurrence of the attempt. It may be said that it is an insult to British wage-earners to suppose that they would adopt the ferocious doctrine of Syndicalism, and that there is no real danger of their doing so: the reply is, that while it will be readily admitted that if they foresaw the consequences of their action our working men would have nothing to do with it, yet such prevision cannot be expected from them, and, as a matter of fact, they have shown that they are quite ready to adopt

[1] *Psychologie politique et la Défense sociale*, p. 203.

[2] Quoted by Mr. W. S. Lilly. See 'The Philosophy of Strikes,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, October 1911.

the weapon of Syndicalism by doing their best to make a local into a general strike. The workman acts according to his lights, and, as has been pointed out, he can see clearly enough that in the 'solidarity' of labour lies its strength: he is therefore prepared to cease work when ordered to do so by his leaders, without asking the reason or reflecting upon the consequences of his action. He thus becomes a blind agent in the production of industrial convulsions, the outcome of which is hidden from him.

It is obvious that the adoption of the principle of 'solidarity' in labour disputes has prepared the way for the general strike, and implies that the method, if not the ends, of Syndicalism will in future influence the character of our industrial disputes. The result is that in future the revolts of organised labour will be on a far larger scale than heretofore, and will be directed not against individual employers or special industries, but against the nation. The policy of the new movement is to deprive the community as a whole of the means of subsistence and the amenities of life, in order to exploit its necessities in breaking down the defences of capital.

The recent endeavour to promote a general strike was a comparative failure: the organisation of the Unions was very imperfect and the declaration was premature; but the attempt made it clear that when next an industrial dispute occurs a determined effort will be made to extend it into a general strike, and it also proved that a considerable number of wage-earners are prepared to support this policy. The organisation of labour is continually improving, no means of increasing the membership of the Trade Unions are neglected, and we may be sure that the next attempt to bring about a general strike will be better timed and more carefully planned than the last, and that its effects will be proportionately more disastrous.

Besides the actual mischief caused by the late strikes, they left an evil legacy behind them: class antagonism has been accentuated, the relations between capital and labour have been embittered, the predatory instincts of the hooligan class have been encouraged, and a feeling of fierce resentment, which will bear bitter fruit, has been aroused by the unavoidable employment of the military. Even if there should be no recurrence of an attempt to promote a general strike, years must pass before these angry feelings can subside; but unhappily there is reason to fear that a new attempt is imminent. It must be remembered that nothing is so adverse to the policy of militant Trade Unionists as industrial quiescence, and that no inducement is so efficacious in obtaining recruits as the declaration of a strike.[3] Encouraged

[3] A notable result of the late outbreak was the large addition it brought to the number of Trade Unionists.

by recent successes, it is not likely that the active leaders of labour will allow the existing peace to continue for long. The public memory is short, its attention is easily diverted, and there is always a danger that the warning given by the late strikes may be neglected. If this should happen, and efficient measures are not taken to provide against future attempts to create a general strike, the peril of the country will be great. Indeed, what with the menace of Syndicalism, the active propaganda of Socialism, and the political situation, the highest interests of the nation are probably in greater danger now than at any time since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the fact that the danger is internal rather than external makes it more insidious, and therefore the more to be feared. The enemies to the peace and prosperity of the country are of its own household; many of them are members of the Imperial Parliament and of our municipal bodies, and so occupy a position of vantage for carrying on their work of undermining and destroying the institutions of the country. A house divided against itself is always in danger of falling, but if civilisation and education are more than empty names there must be in this country a great body of persons who can appreciate the folly and danger of attempts to regenerate Society by throwing it into the cauldron of revolution, and who are quite numerous and powerful enough to checkmate these attempts if their forces were concentrated. The most formidable obstacle to co-operation for defence is the fact already referred to—that Society is permeated by persons hostile to the present order of things, who, although comparatively few in number, are from their position able to do much to hamper and nullify movements, public or private, which seem likely to thwart their schemes. If threatened by foreign aggression there would be no hesitation—the whole nation with one accord would resist to the uttermost; but when the question is one of combined action to resist the equally dangerous menace of social disorganisation there are many influences, social and political, which tend to split up and weaken the forces of resistance. It is probable that the effects of a general strike would be the most efficacious remedy for this disastrous want of cohesion, but it is doubtful whether the experience of last summer was sufficiently drastic to effect a cure. Signs, however, are not wanting that the shock administered to the unsuspecting public by the recent strikes has done something to arouse the community to a sense of its peril. But nations, like individuals, seem to consider that to deal with the symptoms of a disease is sufficient, and are apt to neglect the causes of the malady which produces them. Some effort is being made to provide protection against the disastrous effects of a general strike, but, however fully this object may be achieved, it will be

a mere palliative, and the hope of permanent industrial peace must rest upon the amelioration and ultimate removal of the causes which now militate against it. Whether this is possible time alone can show; but, as a preliminary step towards the establishment of harmonious co-operation between the two indispensable factors of human advance—Capital and Labour—it will be well that the country should consider the nature of the obstacles that now stand in the way.

When two parties are at variance the restoration of peace depends quite as much upon the spirit in which they approach the questions at issue as upon the questions themselves. Whatever may have been the case in the past, employers have for some time shown an increasing disposition to meet the claims of labour in a generous spirit, so far as economical necessities permit. Unhappily, there has been no corresponding development of a conciliatory feeling on the side of wage-earners; on the contrary, concessions by employers are met by increased and impossible demands, and class hatred, from which this country has hitherto been so free, appears to have an increasing influence upon the conduct of industrial disputes. It is indeed only too clear that the general attitude of the labour world towards its relations with capital has materially altered of late years; it has, in fact, become intransigent, and it is this that is now the great obstacle to industrial peace.

On the whole, the position of the manual labourer has greatly improved during the last half-century, both in respect of wages, conditions of labour, and the amenities of life, and although during the last few years wages have, from various causes, ceased to rise, it cannot be reasonably maintained that there has been a change for the worse in the position of the wage-earner which affords any justification for the increase of discontent or for the recent outbreak of violence. The obstacle to reconciliation is therefore chiefly psychological. Various causes have contributed to produce this mental attitude, and amongst them the influence to which the wage-earner is exposed during his early life is one of the most important. Our elementary school system, under which parents are relieved of all responsibility, moral and financial, for the education of the children they bring into the world, seems to have been devised with an entire disregard of the ethical as well as of the practical objects of education. Whilst enormous sums of money and immense labour are expended upon cramming a child's mind and burdening its memory with comparatively useless knowledge, but little attention has been paid to the things that really matter—the formation of moral character, and the development of the perceptive, reflective, and reasoning qualities. A sense of the fatal defects of this system seems of late to have

penetrated the public mind, and energetic attempts to improve it have now been in progress for some years; but the dead weight of forty years of error is not easily thrown off—the present teachers cannot be expected in their maturity to free themselves at once from the influence of the system under which they have been trained—and more than one generation must pass away before educational reform can affect the character of our people or have any material influence upon the conduct of industrial disputes.

After nine years of school, the children are thrown upon the world to make their way as best they can, having learnt little or nothing that is of practical use to them, and with their moral nature altogether undeveloped and undisciplined. On leaving school a boy can usually obtain immediate employment which, although well paid, leads to nothing, which flatters his sense of independence and importance, and satisfies his natural desire for pocket-money; and his parents, keen to increase the family income, generally urge him to take it. This employment may last for three or four years, and at the end of that time he is again plunged into the struggle of life, for which he is still quite unequipped. If by a fortunate accident he has picked up a knowledge of some trade he becomes an artisan; if not, he is compelled to be a labourer. He has now become a man, with the rights and duties of a citizen: one of the individuals upon whose character and conduct the prosperity and safety of the nation depends. The State, ignoring his parents, has assumed the charge of his early training, but at fourteen leaves him entirely to his own devices, having done little or nothing to fit him to take a useful part in the life and work of the community. As he grows up he learns that when he marries the State will educate his children and will feed them if he does not do so himself, will provide for his old age, will help him to find work and insure him against accident while doing it, will regulate hours and conditions of work in his favour, and will interfere in his interest with the wages he is paid. He naturally imbibes the idea that when he wants anything he need not exert himself to obtain it, that he has only to ask and an omnipotent power will supply it, and that when he finds the natural duties of life irksome the same mysterious entity will relieve him from the responsibility of performing them. This is what the community has done for him by way of education, and when he takes his place in the world of labour the natural effect of this early teaching is expanded and accentuated. If he becomes a trade unionist he is told by his leaders that the old conciliatory method of securing advantages by collective bargaining is out of date and useless, and that the solidarity of labour and the general strike are the only means by which he can hope to obtain his rights, and he is warned against honest and strenuous work by the pernicious

doctrine of 'ca-canny,' which for years has been sapping the self-respect and energy of our organised workmen; at the same time he is assured by the Socialists that all wealth is due to his labour, that the capitalist system is an iniquitous device for robbing him of his share, and that in its destruction lies his only hope of getting fair play; and now the Syndicalists are beginning to urge him to adopt their doctrine of violence and plunder.

Thus the influences to which the wage-earner is exposed as he grows from childhood to maturity combine to weaken his sense of personal duty, encourage him to rely upon others to supply his wants and discharge his responsibilities, and teach him that in order to obtain the improvement in his position he naturally and properly desires he must resort to agitation and violence. It is difficult to see how by taking thought the community could have devised a *milieu* for its young citizens less calculated to develop the higher side of their nature, or one better adapted to encourage feelings of discontent and unrest and to prepare the way for industrial and social revolution.

Who or what is responsible for this? A nation has the Government it deserves, and its social organisation is its own creation. The authority which ultimately directs its action and moulds its institutions is public opinion; and the Public who, possessing this supreme power, has by its supine indifference tolerated the continuance of so inefficient a system of education and permitted the growth of these malignant influences, so hostile to its own well-being and to the welfare of its poorer citizens, must hold itself responsible for the inevitable results which are now becoming so manifest. The legislation dignified by the question-begging name of 'Social Reform,' joyfully adopted by both the great political parties as an admirable method for combining philanthropy with vote-catching, which so effectually teaches the easily learnt lesson of doing nothing for yourself when you can get others to do it for you, would have been impossible had it not been sanctioned and encouraged by public opinion. This approval of legislation so contrary to the character of the British people is probably largely due to the wave of sentiment which in recent years seems to have submerged the traditional common-sense of the nation; but its adoption has been much assisted by the rapidly growing influence of a social theory for which we have not even a name, but which is only too well known to our French neighbours as '*Étatisme*.' To its votaries it is a religion in which the State takes the place of conscience as the guide of men's lives and actions, and of the Deity as the dispenser of all things good for humanity. State Socialism or Collectivism is its final expression, and constant encroachments upon liberty, and the huge additions now continually made to the burden of

taxation[4] and to the army of officials, mark the rapidity of its progress towards that goal.

Another formidable obstacle to reconciliation has been raised by the capture of the Trade Unions by the Labour-Socialist party, and to the result of this victory the existing industrial unrest is largely owing. This capture was really effected by skilful manipulation of the Trade Unions' electoral machinery, and was not due to the acceptance of the doctrine of Socialism by the men; but the brilliant hopes held out by Socialists in their endeavour to proselytise the rank and file of the Unions naturally excited a feeling of discontent with existing conditions, which was emphasised when the men discovered that there was no chance of the realisation of these dreams. The outlet for discontent which was formerly provided by collective bargaining was seriously interfered with by the dismissal of the old Trade Union officials, by whom this system had been so skilfully and successfully handled, and by the fact that the amicable arrangement of disputes had no place in the policy of the new leaders of the Unions, to whom the antagonism of Capital and Labour is an asset of the greatest value. Their object in securing the control of the Unions was not to further industrial conciliation, but to make use of the political strength thus acquired in carrying out their policy of introducing Collectivism by the aid of 'Social Reform' legislation. Their political power depends upon the numerical strength of organised labour, and since each trade dispute that is settled tends to deplete the ranks of the Unions, and since collective bargaining is the most effective method of securing such a settlement, the new leaders naturally regard it with an unfavourable eye, and have effectually discouraged its use. The political power of the Labour-Socialist party would obviously be very greatly increased if they were in a position to command or restrain the outbreak of a general strike, and great efforts have been made to secure this vantage. For this it was necessary that the principle of the solidarity of labour should be emphasised by the Unions, and that they should acknowledge no authority other than that of the Labour-Socialist party. The events of last summer showed that although considerable progress had been made towards the attainment of the first of these conditions, the second was far from being secured, and it soon became evident that the obedience of the rank and file of the Unions to their orders could no longer be counted upon. Sporadic strikes developed into a widespread disturbance culminating in the railway strike without regard to the authority of the Labour-Socialist leaders, and their efforts to

[4] Even so stout a Liberal as Lord Welby confesses that he is 'extremely alarmed' at the present rate of public expenditure, which he says is 'enormous.' *Free Trade lectures, Central Finsbury Liberal and Radical Association. The Times*, October 20, 1911.

assume the command of the movement were unavailing. Loss of control of the Unions would practically reduce the party to political impotence; the situation was therefore full of embarrassment and danger for the leaders, and they soon became aware that the solidarity of labour which they had been so carefully organising might be turned to other ends than that of creating a powerful and docile instrument for use in their political manœuvres. It was evident that the men were more attracted by 'direct action' than by the indirect and tedious policy of their political leaders, and lent a willing ear to its advocates. Worse still, the idea of the general strike is inseparable from the idea of Syndicalism, and, as the Labour-Socialist leaders well knew, nothing could be more fatal to their cause than the spread of this doctrine amongst the rank and file of the Unions. Whether the defection of the Unions is permanent or not, their refusal to acknowledge the authority of the Parliamentary leaders last summer was a severe blow to State Socialism, and this and other signs make it probable that this doctrine, which has been so prominent of late, is now losing ground. The advent of Syndicalist ideas and the general strike have gone far to destroy the glamour of Socialist visions in the eyes of wage-earners as well as in those of the general public, and the wave of sentiment which both in and out of Parliament has been so efficient an ally of Socialism is apparently beginning to lose its force.

The perturbation of the Labour-Socialist party at the turn events have taken appears very clearly in the pages of its organ, the *Socialist Review*. In Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's recent articles in this publication, Syndicalism—of which he does not appear to know very much—is abused, 'peaceful' picketing is of course defended, and the disadvantages and drawbacks of the general strike as a method of industrial warfare are dwelt upon: a general strike he thinks is justified if declared 'perhaps once in twenty years.' May we hope that he will establish a claim on our gratitude by endeavouring to secure freedom from industrial revolt on a great scale for that period?

His views upon the general strike appear to be similar to those held by so many persons upon protective duties—that they would be extremely valuable, not for actual use as a weapon, but as a threat to frighten the enemy into concession. But to contemplate the employment of so hideous a weapon even as a bugbear seems scarcely in harmony with the spirit which, according to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, defined the object of the formation of the Labour party to be to 'enable the moral character of the soul of the people of this country to flourish and become strong and beautiful.'[5]

[5] Speech at Oldham. *The Times*, November 13, 1911.

Mr. MacDonald professes his confidence that just as phagocytes protect our bodies from the incursion of hostile microbes, so the guardians of the body politic will make short work of the microbes of Syndicalism. The same analogy is used for a similar purpose in 'Syndicalism and Labour';[6] but while in the book referred to the phagocytes are supposed to be equally hostile to all pernicious intruders, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald assumes that they would deal faithfully with the microbes of Syndicalism but would welcome those of Collectivism—an assumption which falsifies the analogy and for which it is difficult to see any ground. No doubt recent events have seriously weakened the position of the Labour-Socialist party, and their irritation is intelligible; but they should recognise that this result is due to their own action, and might have been foreseen as the natural consequence of the policy they have pursued.

The nation is confronted with a difficult problem, and failure to solve it will entail a terrible penalty. The great and general increase of material prosperity has created conditions favourable to the growth of civilisation and the development of moral feeling, and has brought comforts within the reach of the artisan class which not long since were either unknown or only procurable by the wealthy. This beneficent change is entirely due to scientific discoveries and a skilful employment of capital and labour by exceptionally able individuals, urged to exertion by personal ambition and by the hope of gaining wealth for themselves and their children. No doubt there are men, whose presence amongst us is of happy augury for the future of humanity, who require no incentive to exertion except the desire to benefit their fellow-creatures; but at present they are the exceptions, and their existence does not affect the question. The dream of democracy is the equality of all men; it dislikes and discourages the pre-eminence of individuals, and the tendency of democratic legislation is always towards the realisation of this ideal, which in the nature of things is unrealisable; the vain attempt to secure it leads, as M. E. Faguet so ably shows in his book, *Culte de l'Incompétence*,[7] to the suppression of talent, with a consequent retardation of human progress to an extent measured by the degree to which interference with and discouragement of individual enterprise and initiative is carried. Although advance would be checked, a nation cannot stand still, and movement would continue; but it would be towards universal poverty and a reversion to barbarism. How, then, can the spirit of democratic equality be reconciled with the conditions necessary for social

[6] By Sir Arthur Clay. John Murray, 1911.

[7] *The Cult of Incompetence.* Translated from the French of Emile Faguet by Miss Beatrice Barstow. John Murray, 1911.

advance? This is one of the great problems which lie behind the industrial troubles from which we suffer, and each year that passes makes the necessity for its solution more pressing.

Want of space makes it impossible to refer more fully to the various legislative forms assumed by State interference with the liberties of the individual, but it is evident that a social policy of this nature will not help us to solve the problem referred to. So far from encouraging the independence, self-reliance, and initiative of the people upon which the advance of the community depends, the tendency of this policy is to weaken these qualities and thus to encourage the feverish discontent which is so ominous a feature of the time. It is not intended to imply that there are not good grounds for the dissatisfaction of wage-earners with their present position—the contrary is only too manifest, nor is it intended to deprecate the existence of discontent, without which all improvement would cease; but it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the methods which wage-earners in this country now seem ready to adopt in order to secure compliance with their demands are obviously incompatible with the continued prosperity of the nation of which they are a part, and tend to injure, if not to destroy, the source from which alone any real and lasting improvement in their condition can arise.

Mr. W. S. Lilly, in his very interesting and suggestive article on 'The Philosophy of Strikes' in the October number of this Review, says that he believes the root of the evil 'is in the obliteration of belief in the moral law.' Whilst fully agreeing that want of morality, in the dealings of men with each other, is the real cause of the existing industrial trouble—as indeed it is of most of the evils from which humanity suffers—I venture to think the implication that the nation has fallen from a higher to a lower standard of morality is unwarranted and unduly pessimistic. Our recent social history appears rather to show an increased respect for moral considerations, but, as might be expected and as certainly ought to be the case, the improvement is most evident in the better educated classes; indeed, the demoralising legislation to which reference has been made is largely attributable to the marked increase of altruistic feeling which has made it popular with the classes without whose consent it could not have been passed and who are taxed to supply the needed funds. But the advance of morality is infinitely slow, and amongst the wage-earning classes in this country its progress has certainly received no assistance from the collective action of the community. Consideration on one side begets consideration on the other, and it may be hoped that the increasing perception of their moral responsibilities by the employing classes, and their increasing readiness to sympathise with and support legitimate

demands for improved conditions of labour, may evoke a responsive feeling on the part of the wage-earners. But many years must pass before moral considerations on both sides will be the determining influence in the settlement of industrial disputes.

One of the most discouraging features of the present situation is the general failure to understand that economical factors dominate the situation. Not only workmen and their leaders, but politicians, Socialists of all descriptions, economists with Socialistic proclivities, and the benevolent public, all appear to take it for granted that the only obstacle to a rearrangement of profits satisfactory to the wage-earning class is the greed of employers and the imperfections of our social organisation, and draw the inference that it is within the power of Parliament to remedy the trouble and to satisfy the demands of labour without destroying the trade or arresting the advance of the nation : the unseen but insurmountable obstacles to such a solution of the difficulty, interposed by the ineradicable instincts of human nature and the inexorable laws of economy, are altogether ignored.

Amongst subsidiary causes which now make for industrial trouble is the reduction of the proportion of older men employed, which is one result of recent industrial legislation. The effect is that it is the younger men who now decide the issues of peace and war in trade disputes ; and youth is always in favour of strong measures. These young men are not acquainted with social history, and do not know how vastly superior their own position is both with regard to wages and conditions of labour to that of their forefathers : knowledge of this fact, although it would not and ought not to interfere with their desire for further improvement, might at any rate make them somewhat less impatient, and less ready to believe that violent action is likely to improve their position. But the community does not attempt to instruct them about the improved conditions of wage-earners, or to teach them the simplest economical truths about the necessary inter-dependence of capital and labour; they hear only one side of the question, and have no means of detecting the fallacy of the statements by which they are misled.

It might have been expected that at this stage in the history of humanity the constantly repeated experience of the futility of attempts to regulate and direct the lives of men in accordance with Utopian theories would have been laid to heart; unhappily, the experience so painfully acquired by one generation is generally ignored by its successor, and ages must pass away before men can hope to escape from the weary round of futile experiment trodden by previous generations. The existing social organisation is the result of the continuous operation of natural causes, and under its sway civilisation has made a great advance, how-

ever slow and intermittent this progress may have been. Its many imperfections reflect the frailties of the human units of which it is composed, and will gradually disappear with the advance of morality; but progress will certainly not be hastened by the substitution of a social system founded upon the theories of doctrinaires for one based upon natural law. Men are slow to realise the power of forces they cannot see, and, it may be feared, the public will continue to imagine that the invisible laws by which human life is conditioned can be successfully defied, and that progress may be hastened by political devices which ignore their existence.

I have attempted to show that the present industrial unrest is due to a sinister change in the mental attitude of the wage-earner, and that for the existence and continued operation of the causes for this change public opinion is responsible. It is the Public that has tolerated the continued existence of so inefficient a system of primary education, and has tacitly approved or actively encouraged legislation that weakens the moral fibre of the nation. It is the Public that has permitted the assumption of dictatorial powers by one class in the country, and has seen with placid indifference the widening breach between Capital and Labour—an indifference which turned to sudden fear and anger when during last summer the conditions it had permitted to grow unchecked culminated in an outburst which seriously interfered with its convenience. The anger then so loudly expressed by the Public would have been more justly directed against its own neglect rather than against those who took part in the revolt. I repeat, it is the Public that is ultimately responsible for the present condition of things, and it is the Public that must apply the remedy.

The opinion that directs the conduct of a nation is the expression of its soul as well as of its will, and the character of this opinion is an indication of the degree of civilisation—in the moral sense of the word—which the community has reached. If the upward progress continues the causes of industrial unrest will in time cease to be tolerated by public opinion, and, together with other social evils which have their root in moral shortcomings, will disappear. In the nature of things this progress must be slow; but there is one phase of public opinion which of late years has materially encouraged the development of industrial unrest in which it is not Utopian to hope for a change in the near future: this is the lax sentimentality that now pervades all classes, to the serious detriment of the wholesome spirit of sturdy independence that used to characterise our people and which forms so solid a basis for morality. For many years our ancient Constitution, our comparative freedom from bureaucracy, the independence and self-reliance of our people, and the temperate character of our labour

disputes have been the envy of foreign nations—the books of French writers on social subjects abound in expressions of admiration for the British character and British institutions. To read these eulogies now is humiliating : the country has of late seemed determined to divest itself of the characteristics which called forth these encomiums. Our Constitution has been thrown into the melting-pot, bureaucracy is advancing with giant strides, our people regard continual legislative encroachments upon their independence with apparent indifference, and our wage-earners have shown themselves ready to adopt the ferocious expedient of the general strike to gain their ends. But notwithstanding these discouraging symptoms there is hope : national character changes with extreme slowness, and the sentimentality which of late has influenced public action has appeared so suddenly and is so alien to the historic character of the British people, that in all probability it is no more than a temporary fluctuation of opinion, due to a general relaxation of the moral fibre of the nation—the result of a long period of peace and great commercial prosperity. If this is so, reversion to the typical character is certain to occur before long.

But the misfortune is that, whilst the danger is pressing, the remedies that promise to be effectual can only come into operation very slowly, and much time must pass before they can materially affect the relations between Capital and Labour. The reaction in public opinion which may be hoped for, although signs of its approach are not wanting, is as yet only a hope for the future. Co-partnership again, which seems to offer an ultimately satisfactory solution of the industrial problem, is as yet in its infancy, and is in some danger of being strangled in its cradle by the hostility of Trade Unionism. In the meantime, unless measures are promptly taken to protect the country against the result of attempts to create a general strike, there is constant and grievous peril. It is only too evident that the agreement patched up with the Railway Unions last summer is no more than a truce, a mere suspension of hostilities, which may come to an end at any moment. The great railway companies are now arranging for a considerable increase of wages to certain classes of their *employés*, thus giving practical proof of their desire for conciliation ; but however well justified this step may be, it seems possible that in place of assisting the re-establishment of peace it may have the effect of precipitating a renewal of war. In a controversy of this nature nothing is so dangerous as ill-timed concessions, and this increase of wages, following so closely upon the railway strike of last summer, may appear to the men not as a token of a real desire for conciliation, but as evidence of the efficacy of the general strike and of the fear it has produced in the minds of the directors ;

and so may induce labour leaders to think that a repetition of the strike will secure official recognition of the Railway Unions and acceptance of the men's programme of wages and conditions of work. The probability that this may be the view taken is supported by the fact that the leaders of the Unions promptly met the announcement of the increase of wages by making fresh demands which they know well cannot be granted; but to formulate and present demands which are certain to be refused is tantamount to a declaration of war. At present counsel seems to be somewhat divided amongst the leaders, and at the moment of writing the issue is still in doubt. In addition to this menace the country is now threatened with a national coal strike. Here again there seems to be a chance that an amicable settlement may be reached. But it is intolerable that a civilised community should be exposed to a constant menace of civil war at the pleasure of a comparatively small number of men who do not even make a pretence of regard for any interests except those of organised labour. Their assumption that they are entitled to bring the life of a great nation to a sudden standstill, to inflict loss and suffering upon countless innocent people, and to coerce and intimidate all who interfere with their action, would be incredible were it not that this monstrous claim is deliberately adopted and acted on. That anyone in these days should be capable of advancing such a claim is startling evidence of the power of personal interest and class antagonism to blind men to the most elementary principles of morality and the requirements of civilised social life; but not only do the leaders of the New Unionism assert their right to dictate the terms on which the rest of the community shall be permitted to live and carry on their business, but they are consumed with fierce indignation when the Government, in the performance of its elementary duty of protecting the lives and the property of its citizens, interferes with the exercise of the tyrannical authority they arrogate to themselves.

The suggestion that protection against a railway strike might be secured by the nationalisation of the railways is not a hopeful one. Apart from the public loss and inconvenience that would be caused by the incompetence of the State as compared with private management of a great industry, the political pressure exercised by the men as *employés* of the State would be far greater than that they can now bring to bear, and the difficulty of prompt and decisive action when a railway strike is threatened would be greatly increased if the strikers were Government servants: the successful expedient of mobilising the reserves, by which M. Briand so promptly put an end to the French railway strike of 1910 is not available in this country, and the experience of the French Government in the two postal strikes of 1909 shows that

the fact that they are *employés* of the State has no restraining influence upon the tendency of men to resort to a strike to enforce their demands. The condition into which the Western Railway of France has fallen since its purchase by the Government, and the fact that nowhere was 'sabotage' more prevalent or the worst features of a strike more pronounced than in this railway, ought to be a warning to those who advocate the nationalisation of our railways.[6]

The effect of the new Industrial Council remains to be seen; there seems to be much truth in Mr. Snowden's criticism that its constitution is wholly partisan, and that the public who suffer so severely from strikes upon a great scale are unrepresented—he might have added that men who are not members of any organised body, and who form the vast majority of wage-earners, are also without any representative. Mr. Snowden points out with much force that Sir George Askwith's success in settling disputes has been due to the fact that he is an outsider with no prejudices and no partialities—qualifications which certainly are not possessed by the members of the new Industrial Council. The impossibility of enforcing compulsory arbitration in this country appears to be recognised by the Government; even in the Australasian Colonies, where the number of men to be dealt with is comparatively insignificant, it appears to be proving a failure as a means of securing industrial peace.

The experience of Stockholm during the great Swedish strike in 1909 showed how much a well-organised service of volunteers can do to mitigate the worst consequences of a general strike. No doubt the huge population of London, and of the great provincial towns, would make the efficient organisation of volunteers in this country far more difficult, although by no means impossible: as has been said, efforts are being made in this direction, but it will probably need a far nearer approach to a really general strike than that of last summer before the British public is sufficiently aroused to take the trouble necessary for efficient organisation. In fact, at the present time the only real protection against the terrible consequences of industrial revolt upon a great scale is prompt and resolute action by the Government of the day. Weakness and irresolution of the Cabinet is the opportunity of the enemy, and probably if labour leaders were convinced that the authorities would resolutely intervene at once on the declaration of a strike to enforce the preservation of order and provide really efficient protection for all who desire to work, the knowledge would effectually prevent any attempt to create a general strike. But is it likely that either the Unions or the public can feel any certainty that this elementary duty of the Government

[6] See *The Economist*, November 11, 1911.

will be promptly performed? The hesitation shown by the authorities last summer and Mr. Asquith's reception of the suggestion that grossly misused powers conferred upon Trade Unions by the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 ought to be curtailed, does not inspire much confidence that national welfare will outweigh the influence of political exigencies when next the Government is called upon to deal with industrial revolution.

In this country proletarian revolt however general will certainly be suppressed, but the suffering and loss caused by it will increase in geometrical progression with the time it lasts, and its duration is in the hands of the Government. Prompt and resolute action will minimise the mischief; timidity and weakness will enormously increase it. It is to be hoped that when the time comes the pressure of public opinion will force the Government to act with courage and energy.

ARTHUR CLAY.

THE COMING DELUGE

"Money is perhaps the mightiest engine to which man can lend an intelligent guidance. Unheard, unfelt, unseen, it has the power to so distribute the burdens, gratifications, and opportunities of life, that each individual shall enjoy that share of them to which his merits or good fortune may fairly entitle him; or, contrariwise, to disperse them with so partial a hand as to violate every principle of justice, and perpetuate a succession of social slaveries to the end of time."—Alexander Del Mar.

In no period of British history has the national conscience been more keenly alive to the disabilities under which great masses of our population labour, or more genuinely anxious to alleviate those disabilities by the introduction of practical measures of reform, than at the present day. And nobody who visits the great mining and manufacturing centres of British industry, or inspects the poorer quarters of our largest and most famous cities, can doubt for a moment that there is much scope for the reformer's activities. At the same time, while there are many ready and able hands working at the amelioration of the social, industrial and political conditions amidst which we are living, there is one factor in our national life—perhaps of greater importance than many others put together—to which the bulk of our people give little or no attention, yet which is at the present moment undergoing a change calculated to vitiate much of the good reforming work being done in other directions. I refer to the purchasing and measuring function of the nation's money.

To appreciate clearly the vital importance of maintaining as far as possible the stability of our great purchasing and measuring instrument and standard of deferred payments, it is necessary to recall the fact that practically every transaction of our daily life—private, public, personal, corporate, national, imperial—is carried through directly or indirectly by the aid of money, and that any fluctuation in the value (*i.e.* purchasing-power) of money must therefore affect each and every individual in the State more or less seriously. The sudden arbitrary changing of the pint measure to three-quarters of its ordinary capacity, or the extension of the standard yard to forty-six, or fifty-six, or sixty-six inches would inflict far fewer and less serious injustices upon the community at large than the shrinkage of the sovereign from

a purchasing-power of twenty shillings to, say, that of only fifteen shillings. Nevertheless, it is a fact that a sovereign nowadays only goes as far as fifteen shillings did a little while ago. Our pound sterling has in reality during the last fifteen years lost more than a quarter of its purchasing-power! Moreover, there are good reasons for believing that this shrinkage will continue. It is quite possible that the distortion of our monetary measure now in progress is but the beginning of a movement that may conceivably prove more revolutionary than anything that the most extreme Socialists have yet imagined. Indeed, if the movement be rapid and continued in a marked degree, many forms of accumulated wealth must of necessity disappear, and in a way more complete than could be effected by the most drastic of class legislation. At the same time, if such a shrinkage in monetary values should come to pass, the rewards of labour would also slip through the fingers of the poorer classes. For prices always rise before wages in such circumstances, and the labouring man would therefore find himself the victim of a cruel delusion—the seeming prosperity of increased earnings being invariably discounted by a still more rapidly advancing cost of living. What was gained in one direction would be lost in another. And with the result that great masses of our population, notwithstanding every effort to assist and raise them, would perforce, for want of means, remain in the same condition of poverty, degradation and arrested development as that in which we see them to-day.

But, it will be asked, why has our good British sovereign shrunk in value? And what grounds are there for conjuring up this nightmare of a further shrinkage? The answer is simple. Like every other commodity in this world, although in a different way and to a different degree, gold is subject to the laws of supply and demand—an increased demand tending, all other things being equal, to raise its value, and an increased supply to diminish its value. During the last half-century there has been a vastly increased demand for gold, practically every great nation in the world abandoning silver as a chief monetary instrument and adopting in its stead the more precious yellow metal. *Per contra*, in England, and in certain other Western countries, very great economies in the use of gold have been effected by the continued development of banking, of cheques and bills of exchange, and of credit facilities of all kinds. At the present moment, with mints open to free coinage of gold, the value of every ounce of new gold unearthed is determined by the purchasing-power of the gold coins already in use. At the same time the purchasing-power of the gold moneys in use obviously bears some relation (though a relation difficult to define mathematically) to the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, in the possession of mankind and actively employed. Exactly what this

amount is nobody can say with any degree of certainty; nor is there any need for us to attempt an estimate at the moment. Suffice to say the output of new gold from the mines of the world during the last few years has altogether eclipsed anything known in history. Moreover, there seems every probability of the output increasing. With an immense flood of the precious metal of unprecedented magnitude pouring into the centres of civilisation, commerce and government, can we feel surprised that, notwithstanding the additional demand for gold, its value all the world over is steadily diminishing?—that its purchasing-power is shrinking?—in other words, that prices generally, measured in gold, are everywhere advancing?

The same thing has happened before, and with precisely the same results. The middle of the sixteenth century was marked by extraordinary discoveries of silver in South America and Mexico. The precious metal was shipped across the Atlantic, and slowly found its level in the currencies of Europe, with the result that the purchasing-power of money dwindled in an extraordinary way. Sir George Evelyn, in his paper contributed to the Royal Society in 1798, attempted to prove that between 1550 and 1795 the level of prices rose 400 to 500 per cent. Although his conclusions have been severely criticised by Hallam and others, there is no doubt whatever that prices at least doubled (in other words, that our monetary measure shrank by at least one-half) during the period referred to, the greater part of the change occurring within a hundred years of the discovery of Potosi.[1]

During the first half of the last century, when the effects of a greatly reduced output of gold and silver from the mines of the world were emphasised by the rejection by Great Britain of silver as a chief monetary instrument, prices dwindled very seriously—over 45 per cent. according to Mr. Sauerbeck, and nearly 60 per cent. according to Jevons. Then came the marvellous discoveries of gold in California and Australia. The effects were at once apparent. Prices quickly swung round, and an upward movement set in, traces of which can be discerned till nearly the middle of the seventies. The distortion in our monetary measure was very marked at first, the sovereign losing some 25 per cent. of its value between 1849 and 1857. Subsequently a partial recovery took place; but there is no question that the increased output from the mines materially affected for a number of years the value of all the gold and gold money then existing, seriously distorting its purchasing and measuring functions, and inflicting corresponding injustices upon all those dependent upon fixed wages, incomes, pensions and the like.

Astounding as the flood of gold from the mines of California and Australia seemed to our fathers, it was, as a matter of fact,

[1] Vide Professor L. L. Price's *Money and its Relation to Prices.*

quite a small matter in comparison with the great deluge of precious metal that is now steadily spreading over the surface of the civilised world. The average annual production of gold for the first half of the nineteenth century was only about 3,150,000*l*. Then came the most wonderful discoveries ever known up to that time. The world's output for the next ten years was approximately as under:

	£		£
1851 . .	16,600,000	1856 . .	29,520,000
1852 . .	36,550,000	1857 . .	26,650,000
1853 . .	31,090,000	1858 . .	24,930,000
1854 . .	25,490,000	1859 . .	24,970,000
1855 . .	27,010,000	1860 . .	23,850,000

Can we feel surprised that the whole world became delirious with excitement—many forsaking all, and rushing in flocks to the gold-fields; others foreseeing dire disaster and social chaos in the monetary revolution that seemed inevitable. And yet, what was that production compared to the output that we have been receiving during the last ten years? Here are the figures:

	£		£
1901 . .	53,544,000	1906 . .	82,569,000
1902 . .	60,869,000	1907 . .	84,904,000
1903 . .	66,650,000	1908 . .	91,450,000
1904 . .	70,688,000	1909 . .	93,000,000[1]
1905 . .	76,675,000	1910 . .	94,000,000[1]

Nearly eight hundred millions sterling of new gold added to the world's stock in the last ten years, as compared with the 267 millions added in 1851-1860! Where will it end? And where will it land us all?

The relation between money and price levels has been the subject of innumerable disquisitions during the last hundred years. It is only necessary to mention such names as Jacob, Tooke, Newmarch, Cairnes, Macculloch, Ricardo, Chevalier, Bagehot, Jevons, Giffen; such Professors as Lexis, Rogers, Walker, Nicholson, Foxwell, Marshall, Price; such index-number specialists as Dr. Soetbeer and Mr. Sauerbeck, to recall the wealth of expert knowledge that has been brought to bear on this question. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century the relation was no doubt a comparatively intimate one (as it is to this day in India and other parts of the East, where but little advance has been made by the people at large beyond the stage when metallic money forms the chief instrument of purchase); but with the growth of banking and the multiplication of credit-spinning devices such as those with which we are familiar at the present day, the connexion between price levels and the volume of metallic

[1] Partly estimated.

money in use has become greatly obscured. So much so, that there are not wanting advocates of the theory that credit, and not metallic money, is now the determining factor in the problem. Whilst in highly-developed States the relation between the instrument of purchase and the commodity purchased is admittedly most difficult to define, there can be no doubt that the relation is there. The connecting link, as has been proved by Bagehot, Giffen and others, is to be found in the banks' reserves. In its issue of the 21st of January last the *Statist* published a table showing that the gold holdings of the chief central banks of the world, and treasuries which act as central banks, had increased from 500,267,000*l.* on the 31st of December, 1900, to 886,447,000*l.* on the 31st of December, 1910—an increase of over 77 per cent. These increased gold reserves imply a great expansion of credit. So that, whether we regard credit or metallic money in active use as the determining factor in the adjustment of price levels, an inflation of prices (*i.e.* a fall in the purchasing-power of money) seems now inevitable. As a matter of fact, this inflation of prices is at present actually in progress, as the index numbers regularly published by the *Economist* and other authorities clearly prove. As the regular annual output of gold is now of unprecedented magnitude, and as there exist no reasons whatever for anticipating any serious diminution in this phenomenal output, the conclusion seems inevitable that the fall in gold must continue. Again we ask, Where will this distortion of our public measure of value end? And where will it land us all?

In view of the exceptionally grave nature of the possibility before us—the shrinkage in wealth of many of our capitalists and property-owners, and the arrest of material progress and social betterment so far as the great majority of our population—the fixed-wage-earning classes—are concerned, it may be well to consider what policy is best calculated to avert the consequences of the deluge of gold that is now threatening to submerge us. Thereotically, two courses are open—to increase demand and to restrict supply. Practically, we can only attempt the former; for although over 55 per cent. of the world's supplies of new gold are obtained within the British Empire, it is beyond the range of practical politics to check the economic development of South Africa, Australia, Rhodesia, India, Canada and other portions of the King's oversea dominions, in respect of gold-mining, no matter what the consequences of the golden deluge may be. (By the way, it is perhaps not generally known that over two thousand millions sterling in gold has been proved to exist in the main reefs of the marvellous Witwatersrand alone. Heaven only knows what may be discovered hereafter in other parts of the Transvaal or of Rhodesia. The whole country is highly mineralised. Australia and Central Asia, too, have hardly

been scratched yet, as a whole; so there are many possibilities in the direction of still more gold discoveries). Unable, then, in any way to influence supplies, we are thrown back for our remedy on the only other economic alternative—an increased use and consumption of the precious metal. Here, fortunately, it may be possible to set machinery in motion that might conceivably correct, in some degree, if not wholly, the distortion now taking place in our public measure of value. Thus Government, if backed by public opinion, could not only make a far larger use of gold itself in England, and in other parts of the Empire, but it could, by legislation, compel those who trade in money and make a business of receiving and safeguarding the nation's ready cash, to afford the public a metallic security more adequately proportionate to the magnitude of their liabilities than is at present customary. In these days the demands for gold could undoubtedly be considerably increased, greatly to the benefit of the people at large.

A satisfactory feature of the policy here outlined is the fact that it exactly coincides with the course urged by many patriotic and eminent thinkers on entirely different grounds. Thus, the political necessity of a substantial war reserve in gold is a point which we alone, of all the great nations of the earth, deliberately neglect. Germany, Russia, France and other countries hold immense reserves of gold for political ends; we trust entirely to private interests for the 'sinews of war,' and expect the great banks and finance houses to shoulder our monetary liabilities in times of national emergency. This they will no doubt do, as far as they can, and for a consideration. As has been very forcibly pointed out by Mr. Edgar Crammond, in Manchester last year, and again before the London Chamber of Commerce a few months ago, financial preparation for war forms as vital a part of our scheme of imperial defence as naval and military preparation. Why, then, should we neglect this most important factor? Why should we continue to expose ourselves to the tender mercies of an enemy who, profiting by Napoleon's miscalculations in this respect, and by the additional knowledge now available to all who care to imbibe it, would have no difficulty in engineering a very formidable raid on our private reserves of gold, thereby creating trouble and confusion in our midst at the very moment when we should require all our money as well as all our wits? It has been said that if such a raid failed, we should make matters extremely uncomfortable for the would-be raiders. The same might be assumed of any raid—naval and military, as well as financial. Further, it has been argued that if Government created a special political reserve of gold, there would be great difficulty in preventing the business world from utilising that gold for its own purposes. Possibly so. That would depend upon the strength

and personnel of Government. Be this as it may, there are at least two reasons of great weight why Government should hold a substantial reserve of gold of its own for political emergencies.

So, too, there are reasons why Government should hold another reserve of gold in connexion with its commercial obligations. Against the liabilities of the Post Office and trustee savings banks Government holds practically no reserves at all, only a little till-money—some 300,000*l*. And yet the total due to depositors (exclusive of Government stock held on their account), exceeds two hundred millions sterling! Just as in the case of Imperial defence, Government look to private financial and banking institutions to supply them with cash in time of stress. And here, again, Shylock will no doubt do all in his power—at a price. We obviously have no right to expect financiers to work for nothing. At the same time a serious run on the Government savings banks would of necessity very greatly inconvenience the money market.

The laxity of Government in the matter of its own political and commercial reserves of gold is doubly dangerous, in view of the admitted insufficiency of the gold reserves at present held by the Bank of England and other private banking and financial institutions. From the days of Jevons and Bagehot up to the present moment, every experienced economist has warned the nation against the inadequacy of its gold reserves. Newspapers of every shade of political opinion, from *The Times* downwards, have urged that the Bank of England's gold reserves are insufficient in comparison with the current liabilities of the banks of the United Kingdom. The trading public, through the agency of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, have over and over again hammered at this subject, but without practical result. Politicians, even, have joined in the cry. Thus, Mr. Asquith, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a bankers' dinner in London in May 1906, said that this question of the gold reserves was 'a matter of grave and increasing importance, and it was at that moment engaging his most serious attention.' The late Lord Goschen followed at another bankers' dinner in July 1906: 'Here we are with enormous liabilities, and with a smaller stock of gold than any other country holds. . . . It is not a satisfactory situation.' . . . Yet, in spite of this unanimity of opinion, nothing has been done. The one and only remedy is legislation that will compel all who deal in the savings and cash reserves of the people to hold a certain proportion of their liabilities in gold. In this way private reserves of gold of a substantial volume would be accumulated and available in times of emergency. The dishonest practices now resorted to by certain banks of borrowing some thirty millions sterling from the Bank of England in the last week of December

for a few days, simply to show to the public substantial balances in 'cash and at the Bank of England' at the close of each year, when accounts are published, could be abandoned for ever. The public would see for itself that each bank's cash reserve came up to statutory requirements.

Here, then, we have three new demands for gold calculated to add materially to the nation's political and economic strength, and also, though possibly in but a small degree, to correct the serious distortion in our monetary measure that is now threatening us. The demand that could confidently be expected to arise from an extension of Government's gold-using policy to other parts of the Empire would be very much more effective, and might perhaps in itself be relied upon wholly to correct the shrinkage in gold values that is the subject of the present inquiry. In this connexion we have the experience of the past to guide us—an experience identical with that through which we are now passing, and invaluable to us therefore in our effort to find a solution to the present gold situation. When, in the middle of the last century, gold commenced to pour over the world from the mines of California and Australia, the economists and learned societies of the day were filled with alarm lest the flood of metal should so depreciate its value as to sweep away property and accumulated savings, and reduce the Western world to a condition of chaos. The writings and sayings of Chevalier, Cobden, Jevons, and others are well known in this connexion. The gloomy forebodings of the economists, however, were not fulfilled, for although there was a very marked depreciation of gold, the fall was soon arrested. How it was that the best economists of the day proved to be so far out in their prognostications has been the subject of many inquiries since. Their theories were unimpeachable, and most of the facts upon which they based their conclusions were also beyond question. There were two or three matters, so it turned out, the importance of which Chevalier and others failed to appreciate accurately. One of these was the magnitude of the then existing stocks of metallic money in relation to that of the new supplies; a second was the magnitude of the increased demands for money consequent upon the rapid development of America and Australia. A third, and the most important of all, was the part played by India in this connexion. Scared at the prospect of rapid depreciation of gold, the Government of India by an Ordinance dated the 22nd of December, 1852, declined to receive any more gold mohurs at their treasuries. The peoples of India were therefore restricted by Government's interposition to silver for their chief monetary instrument. From early times the demands of the East for the precious metals have been an important factor in determining the effects of supplies upon price levels. After the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny,

the trade of India expanded rapidly, and the demand for Indian cotton, consequent upon the deficiency of American cotton during the Civil War in the United States, turned the balance of trade heavily in favour of India. Silver poured into India in phenomenal quantities, so much so that the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in 1864 feared 'that the continued movement of silver to India must bring destruction to the silver standards of all other nations.' As a matter of fact, the enormous withdrawals of money from Europe in response to the demands of India very largely counteracted the effects of the great flood of money flowing into Europe from the mines of California and Australia. In short, it was the unexpectedly heavy demand for metallic money in the East that explains the failure of the economists to measure the probable extent of the fall in gold which the phenomenal output from the mines of America and Australia seemed certain to produce.

And just as India proved the saviour of Europe fifty years ago by arresting a distortion in the public measure of value that might have paralysed large sections of the peoples of the West, so, too, at the present day, when a similar distortion is again threatened, India can once more come to the rescue by drawing off a substantial volume of the present flood of gold. By a strange irony of fate, it happened that the Government of India in the early nineties were once again scared at the prospect of a serious depreciation of their currency—silver, this time—and, backed by the authority of a committee of London experts, they suddenly closed their mints in 1893 to the free coinage of the white metal. A gold standard with, if possible, a gold currency was the policy then adopted. At the time, public opinion in India was by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of this step, but subsequent events—in particular the chronic mismanagement of both reserves and currency, and the complete and constant subordination of India's interests to the requirements of the London money market—have brought the peoples of India to the conclusion that the sooner they adopt gold money, in practice as well as in theory, the better. All the chambers of commerce of India are unanimous in their demands that a substantial portion of the Indian Gold Standard Reserve should be held in gold, in India; whilst so able and prominent a man of commerce as Sir Vithaldas Thackersey has just proposed, at the Imperial Council in Calcutta, that the use of gold in India should be encouraged by the minting in India of distinctively Indian gold coins of smaller value than the English sovereign—a proposal which the Finance Minister, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, very wisely promised should have his most careful consideration.

Remembering the magnitude of the deluge of gold that is now

threatening the world, remembering that the first effects of this deluge have already made their appearance in a depreciation of the metal—a distortion of our monetary measure that involves cruel injustices to all the poorer classes of the Empire—recalling to mind, too, that Government have declared in favour of gold for India's monetary standard and currency system, and were, in fact, only a few years ago doing their utmost to introduce sovereigns into circulation, it might be thought that the present demand for gold from India would have been received by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe with open arms. Strange to relate, precisely the opposite effect has been produced. No sooner has India definitely decided that she will take all the gold that she can get, than the Secretary of State has exerted every influence in his power to prevent a single sovereign flowing eastward! Treating his annual budgets as so much waste paper, he has transferred from the treasuries of the great dependency in his charge into the coffers of his bankers in London, millions after millions in excess of his estimated requirements, till at the present moment not only is there no reserve of gold worth talking about in India in the Gold Standard Reserve, but over six millions sterling of India's Paper Currency Reserve (a paper currency that only circulates and is redeemable in India) has also been transferred to England and invested in home securities—much to the relief of the London money market.

The explanation of this extraordinary action of the Secretary of State for India—this sudden throwing to the winds of his principles of the last fifteen years, is to be found in the attitude of mind of the London money market. Although the world's output of gold during the last ten years has exceeded seven hundred and fifty millions sterling, this vast volume of metal has not come into the coffers of the British Empire, but has gone elsewhere, chiefly to the United States, Russia, France, Argentina, Italy, and Brazil. Notwithstanding the unparalleled volume of business now being transacted by the aid of the London money market, we stand at the bottom of the list of great nations in the matter of gold reserves. Thus the reserves of gold held by the treasuries and national banks of some of the chief countries in the world on the 31st of December last were as under:

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The United States	263,241,000
France	131,177,000
Russia	130,476,000
Austria	55,023,000
Italy	48,363,000
Argentina	37,038,000
Germany	33,052,000
Australasia	31,820,000
England	31,356,000

London being the greatest free market in the world for gold, the world naturally takes much of its gold from that centre. In this arrangement London acquiesces, though not without constant alarms, it being everywhere recognised that, with so huge a superstructure of credit balanced on so slender a basis of gold, the sudden withdrawal of a few millions might affect to greater or less degree the trading transactions of the whole kingdom. That the London bankers, whilst allowing all foreign nations to withdraw from them such gold as may be required from time to time, should use their influence to prevent their largest, wealthiest, and most valuable dependency from enjoying the same facility; that a financial paper of the standing of the *Statist* should lend its editorial columns to the furtherance of this selfish and short-sighted policy; and, lastly, that the Secretary of State for India should join in the game by transferring India's cash balances to London for the convenience of the London money market, thus deferring, perhaps checking, the natural flow of gold to India, can only be regarded as an Imperial scandal, for which we shall inevitably pay a heavy penalty in the loss of the respect and support of the moderate and best leaders of public opinion in India. In addition to and apart from these grave considerations, the policy of attempting to check the flow of gold to the East at a time when a phenomenal output of the precious metal is threatening a serious distortion of the gold moneys of the West, is so stupid, so futile, and so fraught with cruel injustice to the poorer classes of the Empire, as to bring upon the financiers and politicians of Great Britain the condemnation of the whole world, directly the true bearings of their present gold policy are detected and understood.

In the meantime, on rolls the flood in gathering volume, slowly creeping over the civilised world, quietly obliterating effort after effort, and threatening in the end to undermine the very foundations of our social and political existence. During the next ten years a thousand millions sterling or more of the glittering metal will be added to the volume of gold already unearthed. And in the following decade, another thousand millions; and so on. The watery deluge of Biblical record was a swift and merciful punishment for erring mankind, compared with the prolonged anguish which a wide realisation of the meaning of this golden flood must bring. To the rich minority far removed from the forefront of life's battle, the loss of substantial portions of their accumulated wealth consequent upon the shrinkage in the value of money is not a pleasant prospect. To the poor majority (including those thirteen millions of our home population who are always on the verge of starvation), a continuation of the rise in prices now in progress will mean not merely the stereotyping of

the unsatisfactory conditions amidst which they are at present living, but an increase in the severity of their struggle for existence that can only result in the untimely downfall of large numbers of the more unfortunate.

And whilst this situation is slowly developing, the firstfruits of the fall in gold are already being reaped. The speculator, the financier, the banker, the transporter, the merchant, the employer of labour, and even the labourer himself are all delighted at the improvement in trade. An inflation of prices invariably stimulates industry—at first; and increased industry with increased trade spell increased profits and increased money for all—depreciated money, it is true; but who notices the shrinkage in the *value* of the counters when their *numbers* show such gratifying increases! A fool's paradise is a delightful place to live in—for the fools; but the awakening comes at last with its disillusionment, its disappointment, its despair. And in the case of our shrunken sovereign the awakening may be indeed bitter. Then, the multitude of fixed-wage earners will realise that all their past efforts to improve their condition have been in vain. Then, the unreasoning masses will turn upon the already depleted classes with greater vindictiveness than ever. Strikes, over-speculation, panics and financial crises—these will be the symptoms. And should the deluge still continue, the forces which make for cohesion and order in the State must be seriously dissipated till, at length, our whole Western civilisation may be in danger of a lapse from which it may take centuries to recover.

With some knowledge of what may conceivably overtake us, is it too much to hope that science and patriotism will combine to meet the situation? We do not drain and improve our lands by declining to recognise the excess of water lodged thereon, but by constructing channels to carry off the surplus moisture. So, too, we cannot expect to maintain our economic and social health by shutting our eyes to the unprecedented flood of gold that is now affecting us, but by creating channels and reservoirs whereby the deluge can be diverted and stored for the subsequent use and benefit of mankind as a whole. Such reservoirs and channels are possible in the shape of gold reserves—political and commercial—in the United Kingdom and other parts of the Empire, and increased facilities and opportunities for encouraging the flow of gold to India and the East. Other tropical dependencies than India might also be introduced to the benefits of the British sovereign, should the offtake by India prove insufficient to keep the flood down. Here is the remedy. It is for Great Britain to apply it.

M. DE P. WEBB.

Karachi, India.

EUROPE AND THE MUHAMMADAN WORLD

The invasion of Tripoli by Italy has once more brought to a critical point the political and social relations between the leading European States and that large section of the white, yellow, and black peoples who profess the faith of Islam, and who are thus to some extent—but not perhaps quite so greatly as arm-chair students of political geography believe—united against the policy and the civilisation of Christian Europe.

On the face of it, this sudden attack by Italy on the territory of another European Power without warning, so to speak, without recourse to open negotiations or any reference to The Hague tribunal, has shocked a great many people, Christians as well as Muhammadans. Except on the plea of political necessity, it is indeed difficult to defend the action of Italy, and we are forced to shudder at some of the results, such as the carnage among the unarmed inhabitants of Tripoli and its neighbourhood. Indeed, academically, Italy's action is without any logical defence. But from a practical point of view the Italians seek to justify their abrupt declaration of war on the grounds that if they had delayed taking an action which they have long contemplated, and which after all is one of the revenges of history, they would have found the Tripolitan and Cyrenaic territories placed virtually under the control of one or more European Powers, and to a great extent abstracted from any possibility of eventual dependence on the Italian peninsula. How far true are the allegations to be read in the Italian Press, and the stories which I have recently heard from one or two Italian diplomatists, I cannot say; but the allegation which has already met the eye of the English reader in the home and the Continental Press is that both German and Austrian subjects had been promised by the Porte vast concessions in the two North-African provinces of the Turkish Empire. If Italy, it is argued, had waited till these promises became accomplished facts she would have seen the interests of the two great central European Powers so strongly ensconced in the Tripolitaine that she would have been powerless to push them on one side, nor would she have had any assistance in that direction from either France or Britain. Italian publicists allege that Austro-Germany for the

last two years has been contemplating a commercial and political intervention in the affairs of the Tripolitaine, which if unhindered would have led in course of time (under one or other of those diplomatic subterfuges which have so often stood the European Powers in good stead in their attempts to break up the Turkish Empire with decency) to the creation of a German sphere of influence extending from the coast of Tripoli to the heart of the Sudan, and, by some friendly or unfriendly arrangement with France, to the connexion of this sphere of influence east of Lake Chad with the hinterland of the German Kamerun and the frontier of the Belgian Congo.

If Italy has any ground for such assertions as these (which began to take a very definite form about a year ago when the constitution of an Austrian scientific mission to the hinterland of Tripoli was announced) it would be as well if her publicists or statesmen clearly set forth their allegations, so as to give the Turkish Government a chance of repudiating them if it is able to do so. Because the only excuse which Italy can give for her outrage on international law would be to show that if she had failed to take action immediately after the raising of the Morocco question by Germany, she would have had later on to acquiesce in the *fait accompli* of an Austro-German sphere of influence on coasts of the Mediterranean immediately opposite her shores. Undoubtedly such a position as this would have been detrimental to Italian interests, would have for ever hemmed in Italy as a second-class Power with no chance of expansion. That, at least, is the Italian point of view, though it may be getting somewhat out of date, since a good many thoughtful people in Germany, as elsewhere, are beginning to ask whether to become and to remain a great Power in the world, with widespread interests and a strong voice in the world's affairs, it is necessary to hoist the national flag across the seas over alien lands populated for the most part by races not of European affinities or descent, and consequently more or less unwilling subjects of an intruding European nation.

It is quite possible that far-seeing Germans not taking such an ultra-modern view have entertained the possibility of creating a sphere of influence over Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Fezzan, Tibesti, Kanem and Wadai, which would give them within two or three days' steam of Trieste a gateway into the heart of Africa. They too, then, like Britain in Egypt and France in Mauretania, could have built their trans-Saharan railway to the Kamerun and to that Belgian Congo in which they have strong commercial and sentimental interests. They may even—why should they not?—have contemplated the possibility of Belgium finding her colonial empire too heavy to be borne, and of Germany replacing her (with due regard to British interests) in the Congo Basin; and even of

Germany taking up some special position in regard to Angola, such as the British have adopted towards Portuguese South-East Africa. Indeed, I may as well be frank and say that I have met with not a few Germans influentially placed in the commercial and political world who, in putting aside as impracticable an actual German protectorate over Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, have sought to satisfy the very legitimate longing[1] to found a vast German Empire in the undeveloped regions of the world, by projecting such a dominion to commence with Tripoli on the north and to finish with German South-West Africa on the south. Various developments which have taken place in the Nearer East, and perhaps most of all the solid obstacle to German expansion in that direction offered by the compact and powerful kingdom of Hungary, have somewhat cooled—perhaps only for the moment—the German ardour for any colonisation of the Nearer East, and may have turned German attention once more towards the creation of a united and vast empire in the central parts of Africa. Consequently, the abrupt action of Italy has nowhere been received with such hot indignation as in Germany. Austro-Hungary with Balkanic ambitions, which if brought to fruition by the assistance of Slav and Hungarian forces may be realisable, has soon recovered her equanimity, and is already beginning to look upon the Italian annexation of the Tripolitaine as an episode which was inevitable sooner or later.

Whether Italy will prove to be capable of the task she has imposed on herself is a very different question. Little is known, or at any rate very little has been published, about the present condition of Eritrea, but several German travellers, and I believe one or two Englishmen, have not given a favourable description of the present results of the Italian annexation of the

[1] So far as any right to the exploitation of an undeveloped region can be acquired by dint of peaceful, permitted scientific research, Great Britain had the best claim to interfere with Tripoli; for it was, first and foremost, British subjects and officials who at the expense of the British Government or out of their own resources revealed the geography of the Tripolitaine, the eastern Sahara, the regions round Lake Chad, the lower Shari, and the eastern Niger. But if Britain was first, Germany was a good second, especially after 1869, in which year the great explorer Nachtigal was despatched by the Prussian Government to Bornu. The names of many famous German explorers—Overweg, Vogel, Barth, Nachtigal, von Bary, Krause, Rohlfs, Zintgraff, and a host of young contemporaries—are associated with the revelation of the geographical features, ethnography, languages, biology of the Tripolitaine, of its hinterland, of the Libyan Desert, the Tibesti Mountains, Lake Chad, and the Shari basin. And the present feeling of bitterness in Germany that so much of the results of these investigations should go to Italy (who has done little or nothing in this field of research) is at least understandable. Germany has had very bad luck in the allotment of colonies; she did so much to discover and lay bare the southern half of the Congo Basin (though not more than Britain), and yet it has been Belgium which has been endowed with this wealthy territory.

Abyssinian coastlands. Italy's attempt on Abyssinia itself was, as we know, so crushingly defeated that its renewal seems beyond the bounds of practical politics. Italian Somaliland shows as yet no such achievements in colonisation as can be put to the credit of French Somaliland, or to the development of arid territories such as German South-West Africa or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. But the Italy of to-day is a more thickly populated, more prosperous, better governed kingdom than was the Italy of the eighties and nineties. And it is possible that the Italy of the Lombards and Goths, if not the Italy of Rome and Naples, may produce soldiers and administrators, engineers, chemists and agriculturists who will do for Tripoli and Cyrenaica, the Saharan hinterland and the Tibesti Mountains, what France has already achieved in Algeria and Tunis and British officials in Egypt and Nubia. At any rate, Italy, whether or no she has made a false step, must now go on with the task to the bitter end at no matter what cost in men and money, for if she were to confess failure and withdraw, the results would be catastrophic throughout Africa and the Orient. The victorious expulsion of the Italians from North Africa by the Turks, Arabs and Berbers would quite probably be followed by a native rising against British control in Egypt, by revolts against the French in Tunis and in Morocco, by an aggressive attitude towards Christians in Syria and Asia Minor, which would compel the intervention of the Great Powers, and by similar movements in Nigeria, the Sudan, Arabia, Afghanistan, and India, such as would tax severely the resources of the British and French Empires. Nor would either Austria or Germany profit eventually by such a renaissance of Muhammadan independence in Asia Minor and Constantinople or in Mesopotamia; and Russia would feel the effects in Central and Western Asia and in Northern Persia.

It is very hard to have to write in this style against the *230,000,000 of people—many of them of Caucasian race*[*]*—who* profess the Muhammadan faith. Sixty millions of these people, physically speaking, are quite as well worthy of regard as the handsomest and most vigorous nations of Europe. Some of them are of the same racial stocks as the Christian Europeans with whom they are in conflict at the present day: they are Goths, Italians, Greeks, Albanians, Circassians and Slavs, whose forefathers have had Islam forced upon them as a compulsory religion, but who though retaining in an improved form the physical beauty or superiority of the European, have the warped mentality of the Asiatic and the African. In India it may be said almost without exception that the best-looking, strongest, most

[*] It may be roughly computed that there are 230,000,000 Moslems at the present day, of whom about 80,000,000 in Europe, North Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, and North-West India belong, more or less, to the Caucasian sub-species, 44,000,000 to the Dravidian mixed race, while 70,000,000 are Mongols, and 36,000,000 are negroes and negroids.

warlike, and in some directions most enterprising element in the native population, and that which is the least fettered by foolish customs, is the Muhammadan. With the exception of 2,300,000 of Sikhs and 100,000 of Parsis, the really go-ahead, advancing tribes and peoples of that marvellous empire belong to the Muhammadan faith. Sixty-four millions of Muhammadans in India occupy a position of wholly disproportionate importance to the 210,000,000 of Hindus, though if a truthful aspect of the Indian problem is to be presented, it must also be mentioned that 2,300,000 Sikhs count in our purview of the future of India for more than, let us say, 20,000,000 of Muhammadans. It is quite as important for the British at the present day that we should have the whole of the Sikh nation on our side, profoundly convinced as they are of the merits and advantages of British rule, as that we should have ten times their number of Afghans, Baluchis, Panjabis and Hindis as our allies.

Nevertheless the loyalty, the friendship, the co-operation of the whole mass of the Muhammadan citizens of the Indian Empire—some 64,000,000 in number—is a most important asset and may well count for much in the cogitations of British statesmen when they weigh the advantages or disadvantages of siding with Turkey or against Turkey, or by an impeccable neutrality gaining neither friend nor foe in that direction. Yet it would indeed be a pity to purchase the assured loyalty of the Muhammadan Indians by restoring anywhere the uncontrollable political pre-eminence of the Muhammadan religion, or taking any step which should diminish the power for common action of Christianity against the non-Christian world. The only hope of ultimate reconciliation between Christianity and Islam and of the raising of the peoples now Muhammadan to absolute equality, intellectual and social, with the leading Christian peoples, lies in 'the defecation of Islam to a pure transparency' through which may penetrate the only real value yet discovered in religious development: the actual teaching of Christ and of some amongst His immediate disciples. The greatest foe of Islam is undenominational *secular* education, and at present this is impossible of attainment in any professedly Muhammadan school, college, or university. All human knowledge, especially the most marvellous developments of the human mind in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has to be subjected to the intolerable sieve of the narrow mentality of Muhammad, an illiterate, uneducated, bandit-mystic[3] of the seventh century A.C.

[3] Objection may be taken to the author's definition of Muhammad as a 'bandit-mystic.' Yet let any impartial student read the latest, most accurate, and not unsympathetic summary of the life of Muhammad in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (to say nothing of the standard biographies of this religious reformer) and then ask himself if the term bandit-mystic is unfair.

The mind, the outlook and the principles enunciated by Muhammad and by those immediately around him during his lifetime and after his death are illustrated by the Koran. The Koran has been translated into English several times since the first version published by Sale in the eighteenth century.[4] At a relatively small cost any reader of this Review can purchase a faithful translation of the Koran into English (or into German or French). In the original Arabic it is written in a kind of doggerel verse scarcely superior in music, in clarity of utterance or beauty of thought to the crude translations by Burton in his 'Arabian Nights' of the Arab poems woven into that miscellany. In both cases the desire to end up each sentence with a rhyming syllable governs to a great extent the direction of the thought and the quality of the utterance. The Koran traditionally represents the utterances of Muhammad as heard and taken down by various scribes, prominent among them a Christian Abyssinian slave. Muhammad was an entirely uneducated man so far as first-hand knowledge of the then existing literatures of the world was concerned, or any experience of the world outside the limits of Western Arabia. He derived his knowledge of the Hebrew Bible from oral information imparted by Arabian Jews, and his conceptions of Christian tenets from Ethiopian slaves. He was a man, if you will, of an original genius, and not without great thoughts and great ideas, even though he was probably unable to read and could barely write his name. But he was a dreamer and a self-deceived mystic, who, while on the one hand he wanted to make a position for himself in Arabia, and—the appetite growing with eating—sought to transform the successes of a bandit into the foundation of a kingdom, nevertheless really desired to promulgate a new gospel to his Arab kinsmen and their slaves. Like many of his fellow-countrymen at that period, he was disgusted with the puerilities of Greek and Egyptian Christianity, and was in no mind to adopt the negation of the flesh so strongly characteristic of the odious transformations of Christ's Gospel which took place in North Africa and Syria under the influence of Greek, Persian and Syrian casuists. On the other hand, though greatly inclined towards Judaism, which at that date was receiving into its fold those North Africans and Arabians who were turning against Greek and Latin Christianity, he disliked the personal character of the Jew—that character which has so frequently in the history of the last two thousand years marred the spread of Jewish influence, often of a very noble and purifying nature, in sociology

[4] Sale's translation, first published in 1734, is rather a paraphrase and abridgement than a scrupulously faithful translation, such as that by E. M. Wherry in four volumes, finished in 1886. E. H. Palmer's translation, in two volumes, published at Oxford in 1882, is a useful rendering.

and religion. So Muhammad evolved a religion which was neither Jewish nor Christian, but appertained mostly to the faith and teaching of the Jews. The Koran, like the book of Mormon, was a kind of parody of the Old Testament, combined with the first public utterance of Arab and Babylonian variants of the Jewish myths and genuine historical records.

If I might submit the question to the arbitration of an international court composed of impartial agnostics (many of them nominal Christians, nominal Muhammadans, or religionless Japanese), I do not hesitate to say that the verdict would be that there were very few sentences in the Koran which deserve quotation or which shine with that striking, convincing beauty of truth and practical application which characterises—whether we wish to admit it or no—so much of the wording of the gospels and epistles on which the Christian faith is founded, or the Psalms and the prophetical and poetical utterances gathered together in the Hebrew Bible. If there is any gem of undoubted lustre in the Koran it is borrowed more or less from the sacred books of the Jews or the Christians, or, much more rarely, from the Magian religion of Persia.

At its very best Muhammad's teaching only inculcated a modified form of personal cleanliness, almsgiving to the poor, abstinence from wine, and honesty in trade. Incidentally, it led to some improvement in the treatment of children, as its influence abolished cruel customs of abandoning unwanted female children; but its view of the position of woman was lower than that taken by the Hebrew teachers, and far inferior to that inculcated by Christianity. In Islam lustful man was to find for thirteen centuries a warrant for polygamy and an excuse for uncontrolled sexuality. The greatest disadvantage which attaches at the present day to Islam as a world force is the inferior position to which woman is relegated; and as the woman is the mother of the man so this unequal position of the sexes in religion and society inevitably influences the mentality of the man to whom the woman gives birth. The Jewish religion still assigns to woman an indefinite and scarcely honourable place, since women are excluded from the public functions of religion. But Muhammadanism is far worse in that respect, and it is very doubtful whether Muhammad believed or inculcated that women had souls equally with men. In a general sense they are excluded from the public manifestations of religion, except when they come forward to be married to a man or to be divorced from their husbands.

It goes almost without saying that the whole story of the Koran and the bulk of its teaching are incompatible with the pronouncements of modern science. So also—a Muhammadan reader of this article may observe—are the earlier books (or the

books which are assumed to be earliest in composition) in the Hebrew Scriptures; so likewise are most of the dogmas of Christianity, which, though finding little or no place or justification in the New Testament, nevertheless now form an integral part of almost all manifestations of the Christian faith. I admit these impeachments at once. But somehow or other Jews and Christians have found a way of evading the trammels of their religious beliefs where these, in process of time, grew to be inconvenient or out of harmony with the enlargement of man's outlook and the firmly based revelations of science. The Roman Catholic Church has persecuted here and there, intermittently, the too daring speculators of the Middle Ages, and even of the later centuries down to the twentieth; and yet this religion encouraged learning of a sound order, was not incompatible with the founding of astronomical observatories, anatomical schools, botanical, linguistic, and zoological research. The Popes of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries did much to encourage the exploration of Asia and Africa and to secure the publication of travellers' reports. I should not like to argue that the Roman Church has always acted throughout its history with a twentieth century outlook, or that it has not often checked the advance and freedom of scientific investigation, has not occasionally punished with imprisonment, torture, death, or social ostracism thinkers that were too advanced for the age or the area in which they lived. But similar cruelties and stupidities can be laid at the door of the Protestant branches of Christianity—Calvinists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians—who made a fetish out of the Hebrew Bible, who were just as much opposed—perhaps even more than the Latin Christians—to sanitary and social reform, while they attempted from time to time to strangle the arts, to introduce and to maintain a tyranny in the limitation of man's pleasures which was nearly as bad as the intentions and accomplishments of the Wahhabi sect of the Muhammadans. Yet the Roman Church from the sixteenth century onwards steadily set itself to discourage and to alleviate slavery; it gave an enormous impetus to painting, sculpture, architecture, and music; and it founded hospitals, encouraged the study of languages, created museums, and laid the foundations of the modern drama. From out of the Protestant Churches came such splendid achievements in philanthropy as the work of the Moravian missionaries, of the Quakers, and of the Baptists—work which has really been the foundation of all modern reforms in social and international philanthropic legislation. The Greek Church, indeed, has had a poor record beside the civilising work of Western Christianity. It wages no war against alcoholism, and it stimulates the persecution of the Jews. Yet Christian Russia, with all its drunkenness, its political faults and shortcomings,

stands on a much higher level of civilisation and well-being than Muhammadan Turkey.

In short, judged by the test of output in the way of science and art, literature, material well-being, control of disease, sexual morality, public works, subdual of recalcitrant nature, can any comparison be sustained between the countries professing the Christian religion or governed by Christian nations and the lands which still remain more or less independent under the sway of Muhammadan rulers? On these lines is there any sustainable plea of equality between Hungary and European Turkey, Spain and Morocco, Greece and Asia Minor, Italy and Tripoli, Afghanistan and British India, modern Persia and modern Caucasia? The language of the Christian Magyars and that of the Muhammadan Turks are nearly related in origin, and the Magyars and Turks came from the same ethnic stock; but in the course of history one became Christian and the other Muhammadan. Can any impartial critic maintain that the two peoples at the present day are on the same level of civilisation, or place alongside Hungarian achievements in art, music, architecture, literature, biological science, engineering and political government similar achievements on the part of Turkey?

I do not overlook the fact that when Greek-, Syrian-, and Egyptian Christianity was stifling science and killing all the arts but architecture, the Arabs, Persians and Berbers under the flag of Islam saved some branches of Greek and Roman culture from perdition, revived and extended Greek researches into medicine, chemistry, and mathematics, preserved some Roman notions of engineering and hydraulics, and developed from out of Byzantine architecture exquisite designs in building and in mural decoration. But it must be remembered that most of the great names in the golden age of Islam between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries were not those of people of Arab or Turkish descent, but of Jews, Persians, Berbers, Copts, Greeks and Italians, whose conformity with the Muhammadan religion was that of more or less unwilling converts, if indeed they did not by special favour retain the profession of Judaism or Christianity.

The Arabs and Turks by degrees killed all that was noteworthy in Islamic culture. The Arabs have remained to this day as ignorant, arrogant, and semi-barbarous as they were in the days of Muhammad. It is true that in contrast with naked and absolutely savage negroes they have appeared to be a civilising element in Tropical Africa, to which they have conveyed several useful domestic animals and a variety of cultivated plants, besides elementary notions of decency and comfort. But in matters of architecture, for example, the Arabs have done little or nothing to help Africa. The beautiful Saracenic architecture of the north

was almost entirely developed and spread by Copts, Berbers and Persians; and it is only since the seventeenth century that this architecture has penetrated at all into the Sudan, the remarkable 'Fula' (Songhai) style of building which prevails throughout Nigeria from Senegal to Lake Chad being of pre-Islamic and Egyptian origin. When the rule of the Arab in North Africa had come to an end (a change which really began to take place in the eighth century) the Islamised Berbers, with many checks and interruptions caused by Arab invasions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, revived the arts—especially architecture—and civilised amenities of life till they had raised the North African kingdoms between Tunis and Morocco to a state of well-being and efficiency nearly equal to that of contemporary Spain and Italy; just as Persia had a remarkable revival under the Sufi dynasty of Shia Muhammadans. But in both cases the Turks—more especially the Ottomans—came on the scene and spoilt everything. Greek, Latin and Slavic culture throughout the Balkan Peninsula, the Greek promontories and islands, was drowned in blood by the Turks during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the same period the revived civilisation and art of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia (developed by the Persians, the Seljuk Turks, Circassians, the European crusaders, and the Genoese and Venetian traders) were laid in ruins by the same bloody hand. The history of Egypt from the Turkish assumption of sovereignty in 1518 to the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 is practically a blank so far as human achievements go, a miserable period, during which public works fell into ruin, population decreased by millions, and the desert gained steadily on the cultivated land. Equally dreary is the history of Greece under Turkish rule, from the time when the Venetians were driven out of the Greek islands and the Morea to the proclamation of independence in 1821. The same can be written of Servia under the Turks, of Bulgaria and Macedonia, of Syria (until Napoleon rudely called the attention of Europe to that historic land), of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and Asia Minor. What happened to Algeria, Tunis and Tripoli after they were conquered by Turkish pirates and became dependencies of the Turkish Empire? Complete alienation from contemporary advance in Mediterranean civilisation (except as regards shipbuilding), a relapse into semi-savagery of life, a further decay of irrigation works, a steady increase in the destruction of forests, a diminution in horticulture, and a serious advance of the desert sands.

It is true that Morocco fared little better under the Sharifian dynasty of negroid sultans, but Morocco has been a semi-savage country from prehistoric times onwards, large portions of it never having been conquered or assimilated by the Romans, Arabs, or Islamised Berbers. Yet in some respects independent Morocco

prior to the French conquest of Algiers in 1830 remained more in touch with European civilisation than the adjoining parts of North Africa ruled by Turkish pashas, colonels and soldiers. Tripoli, like Tunis, had in the early eighteenth century detached itself almost completely from Turkish domination under dynasties which, though of Turkish origin, had in course of time and intermarriage become practically native to the soil. Under the Karamanli princes Tripoli in the early part of the nineteenth century entered into very friendly relations with Britain, and through this friendliness British expeditions were enabled to penetrate easily across the Sahara into Bornu and Nigeria. But in 1835, frightened by the French seizure of Algiers and the independence of Egypt, Turkey despatched an expedition to Tripoli which brought the Karamanli dynasty to an end, and for the first time in history made Tripoli and Barka real provinces of the Turkish Empire, instead of semi-independent countries acknowledging the political and religious overlordship of the Sultan of Turkey. In all reality the Tripolitaine has only formed an integral part of the Turkish Empire since about 1845.[5] Its capital was taken and its hinterland conquered by force just as Italy is now attempting with no more legal right to annex it to the Italian dominions. Fezzan, Ghadames and Ghat, so far as direct rule goes, have been added to the Turkish dominions at a much later date. But the sole and only use which Turkey has made of the Tripolitaine has been as a recruiting-ground for negro slaves. From this region caravan after caravan has found its way with arms and ammunition supplied from Turkey to devastate or assist in devastating the regions of the Central Sudan, in order that convoys of slaves might be sent across the desert for distribution over the Turkish Empire. Not a single one of the still discernible magnificent public works of the Roman Empire has been restored to utility, no fresh well has been dug along the desert route, and many an old water place has been allowed to crumble and disappear under the desert sands. Tripoli, as a town, contains a few very beautiful mosques, but these date back to the more or less Berber rule and civilisation of the Karamanli pashas; the public buildings actually constructed by the Turks themselves being ugly or paltry. Morally speaking, Turkey has no claim whatever to the Tripolitaine any more than the man in the parable of the Ten Talents had to the talent which he wrapped in his napkin.

By the test which this parable so strikingly illustrates, not only is the human population of the world carried on, but the whole

[5] Owing to native insurrections and guerilla warfare, the Turks were not really masters of the Tripolitaine for ten years after they displaced the Karamanli pashas.

development of life, subject to such slight modifications as arise from the application of other Christian principles. Are we so foolish to imagine for an instant that if 'White' Australia were not defended by the whole force of the British Empire, and if it did not make every reasonable effort to colonise Australia with white people of good physique, the integrity of that island-continent would be respected by Germany, France, China, or Japan? France herself is almost stationary in regard to increase of population, and has shown some relative weakening in power since 1871. What is the result? The steady immigration into France—'peaceful penetration'—of Germanic and Italian people, and a pressure, not unconnected with threats of force on the part of Germany, that France shall open her oversea possessions to German trade without the qualification of protective duties. Holland evinces some lack of energy or capital in developing the marvellous resources of her East Indian Archipelago. What follows? That German and British subjects, with their capital and their energy, are establishing themselves in these regions. Holland governs well and offers no opposition to foreign enterprise in her colonies, consequently there need be no suggestion of coercion in the matter. Spain and Portugal both attempted to close their colonies to the commerce of other nations, and what has been the result, direct and indirect? Not a single square mile of America flies the Portuguese or Spanish flags at the present day. And Portugal will only be enabled to maintain her vast African Empire by allowing the fullest scope to the commerce of all the world. Italian action in Tripoli has been immoral, an outrage on international law; but it is doubtful whether Italy is more blameworthy for what she has done than Britain was in bombarding Alexandria and occupying Egypt, France in invading Morocco, Germany in taking possession of East Africa, or Russia of Northern Persia.

Yet there is an international conscience, but by some fatality it seems to apply only to nationalities that are professedly Christian; and despite this conscience it is only the limitations and the balance of power which have hitherto prevented France or Germany from dividing or controlling Belgium or Switzerland, Austria from annexing Servia, or Britain from enlarging British Guiana considerably at the expense of Venezuela—an achievement which we should certainly have accomplished fifteen years ago but for the intervention of the United States, and an achievement which would have immensely benefited such portions of the vaguely defined Venezuelan territories as came under the British flag.

No civilised man or woman wishes to revive any idea of religious persecution or disability, except it may be in regard to

such religions or religious tenets as by international opinion are voted to be indefensibly cruel and harmful to human development. There is some good in Islam and there is a great deal of nonsense and rubbish attached to Christianity. No European Power that has achieved predominance over a country essentially Muhammadan has, since the eighteenth century, persecuted Muhammadans by forbidding polygamy or compelling them to abandon any of their rites or ceremonies. Muhammadans are free to travel all over Christendom. They may without danger, even without insult, enter any Christian place of worship. Can the same be said for the holy places of Islam whither at the present day no Christian may go except in great personal danger and disguised as a Muhammadan? What about the attitude of the Muhammadan Egyptians towards the Copts of Egypt, Turkish treatment of Christian Armenians, Christian Syrians and Macedonians? We can never hope to make Christians of the Muhammadans by employing force in any form, even by the application of conditions of social disability. Perhaps, indeed, Islam may never precisely range itself under the banner of Christ, just as the Jews will go on for a century or so pretending to ignore the greatest Jew (if He was a Jew) in history. Similarly, during the same period much that is excrescent, outworn, pagan, and open to doubt, will drop off from European Christianity. At the rate at which the world is now advancing all civilised peoples in the Old and New Worlds may be agreed fifty years hence on a common basis of religion, the Service of Man; but in the meantime it behoves Muhammadans throughout the world to look closely into the tenets and practice of their faith, and ask themselves whether Islam has conduced to the advancement of their forefathers and to their own present political and social well-being, and whether—however superior it may be to the moonshine of Buddhism and the nightmare nonsense of Brahmanism, the ancestor-worship of China, or the fetish idolatry of Africa—it is a religion which can maintain a people at the same high level of civilisation as that which exists throughout Christendom.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S NOVELS

It is more than a quarter of a century now since Mrs. Ward's first novel was published, and very little less since she achieved with her second book that commanding success which gave her the position now consolidated by twenty years of sincere and able work. Yet probably few critics would deny that critical opinion has never seriously faced the task of assigning to her writings even a conjectural rank. To this enterprise the issue of a collected edition seems to challenge us; but before attempting it, it is necessary to make clear what is meant here by an absence of critical estimate. There are certain authors (take the late Mr. Marion Crawford as a type), excellent craftsmen in their way, to whom all gratitude is due for many pleasant hours—hours no more wasted than is a day spent in sunshine—yet of whom it may be said without disparagement that the higher laurels never came into the scope of their aim. Others, again, whatever be the ultimate award, have by common consent been recognised as possible candidates for permanent recognition. I pick out Mr. Conrad and Mr. Hewlett at a venture. It makes no difference to the issue that Mr. Hewlett has obtained a vogue probably no less wide than Mr. Crawford's, while Mr. Conrad has been obliged to content himself with a very limited public. Any critic, any man of letters, would agree that in estimating the contemporary art of fiction these two names must be taken into account. Yet from such a survey Mrs. Ward might, I think, very conceivably be omitted, almost by inadvertence. The reason is easy to give. Mrs. Ward created her position by a book whose popularity rested upon qualities apart from its artistic value. And although we have the best authority (her own) [1] for declaring that its success was never in doubt, that success was greatly increased by an article of Mr. Gladstone's in these pages which dealt with it chiefly in its theological relations.[2]

Without discussing here the merits of *Robert Elsmere* as a novel (and upon a re-reading they seemed much greater than I had remembered), it can be affirmed that to the world in general

[1] See preface to *Robert Elsmere* in the Westmoreland edition, which furnishes with each novel biographical notes upon the sources of inspiration, as well as photographs of places which have the honour to be associated with Mrs. Ward's work.

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, May 1888.

the book was the vehicle for popularising a new range of ideas. It interested readers as an article in this Review might have done. The discussions which it raised so abundantly concerned not the story but the material which the story treated. If Stevenson's book *The Wreckers* had filled Great Britain with controversy upon the methods of speculative finance, a similar situation would have arisen. But even if Stevenson had written a novel upon the theme afforded by a clergyman who finds himself obliged to surrender the doctrinal position which he is pledged to uphold, no one would have turned to that book for an exposition of the newest lights on theology. With Stevenson the story is the thing and the sole thing. With Mrs. Ward it is only one of several interests. And it may be added that Mrs. Ward made her success at the very height of Stevenson's intellectual ascendancy, when criticism was dominated by his doctrine of cutting out of the novel all that did not strictly help to advance the tale, and she was therefore unduly discounted by the critical opinion of that particular moment; all the more, perhaps, because, in defiance of the recommended procedure, she had succeeded in interesting those whom no novelist can afford to despise.

I am speaking now of that critical opinion which is responsive and responsible only to the craft itself—which, in fact, very largely reflects the craft's own judgment—and which is always a little prejudiced against the successful artist by certain aspects of popularity. The admiration of those who, admiring Mrs. Ward, admired also Miss Corelli, was in this respect a detrimental asset. Yet, it may be replied, if Mrs. Ward can interest fashionable ladies and other not very intellectual people in things of the mind (as undoubtedly she has done), that is matter for praise: unless her methods can be shown to be illegitimate, unless she has vulgarised and mutilated the thing which she delineates, to bring it down to facile comprehension. I do not think such a charge could be sustained for a moment. Highly trained, indefatigably industrious, her work proves her to be—and not only that, but fair in her presentment of those attitudes of mind which are not her own. The devil's advocate before the tribunal of art would be obliged, I think, to limit himself to this indictment: that she is a publicist rather than an artist; or at least that her success was the success of a publicist rather than of an artist, and that even with developing artistic power she has never learnt to subordinate the accidental to the essential interests of her craft.

The devil's advocate has (as usual) something to say for himself. Mrs. Ward's characters, he affirms, exist too little by their affections or their senses, too much by their ideas; and it is possible to represent her books as only one or two degrees removed from that ungenial thing, the 'symposium' in a review.

She is so well educated (that is indeed the trouble: she is much too well educated) that she knows the proper ingredients for a novel: picturesque backgrounds are provided, plot is carefully planned, incident does not lack, local colour is thoughtfully wrought up. But in remembering her novels, it is not the plot nor the incident nor the characters that one remembers: it is the collision of ideas. Add to this, says the devil's advocate, that Mrs. Ward is admirable as a cicerone to Canada, to Italy, to the home counties, and above all to the highest circles of intellectual and political distinction. Her novels succeed as superior guide-books rather than as human documents.

On such lines the devil's advocate in my consciousness proceeds and would go further if he were let; but the substance of his complaining comes, I think, to this. People talk of such and such a person having 'had no advantages.' Mrs. Ward has had too many 'advantages': they stand in her way. There is something of the child in every artist, and it is hard to find in most of Mrs. Ward's books. When you find it, she is unconsciously creative—working in a wholly different mood. Every page that she writes of the north country (where we know that she was bred, and if we did not know we could infer it) tells simply of life lived. She is part of what she writes about, is one with it. Everywhere else we are conscious of experience deliberately pursued, of scenes and environments admirably depicted, but no more. She can describe to us the society in which most of her working life has presumably been passed: she cannot make it live.

Herein she shows inferior to so true yet so pedestrian an artist as Trollope. Trollope made Barchester—made it out of his own consciousness, somehow obscurely informed. It lives, it is all of a piece, it has an atmosphere which conveys itself: he does not need to describe. Or take a closer parallel. Trollope was probably never in so close touch with politicians as Mrs. Ward has been, yet his novels of parliamentary life, far less technical than hers in their method, far less shoppy (if one may be permitted the phrase), nevertheless catch, as hers do not, the spirit of the institution as we know it to-day, despite the passage of nearly two generations and far-reaching change. The difference is that Trollope is interested primarily in men and women, in the rough lump of humanity; Mrs. Ward is preoccupied with special types, with their ideas, and their setting, social or historic.

Yet after all, what novelist of to-day except Mr. Hardy could one securely class on a level with Trollope? And in one sense Mrs. Ward has a better right to be named with him than most: her survival is assured, like his, for the purposes of history. The historian seeking to construct a picture of the last hundred years

will find his best resource (far better than the newspapers can afford) in certain novelists, persons of normal mind: such preeminently was Trollope. Take for example one of his least-known works, *The MacDermots of Ballycloran*: it is like the report of the Devon Commission dramatised and focussed upon a particular locality. He saw Ireland with the mind of a jury. And if a Royal Commission had been instituted to report upon the life of the country clergy and the more devout among their well-to-do parishioners, who can doubt but that the evidence and the findings would have left an impression which could be well summed up in the novels of Miss Yonge? These two artists (no candid mind can deny that title to Miss Yonge) presented the mode of middle-class living in their day, in a way that will serve the historian—to whom Stevenson or Meredith will be of singularly little advantage. Mrs. Ward also will go down to posterity as the writer who has known how to dramatise in an interesting fashion, not so much the life as the intellectual tendencies of her own generation. The historian will turn to her to understand not what people were like, what they did, what they did not do, how they judged of conduct, but rather (in an age much marked by speculation) what they thought about. You will gather from Meredith what Meredith loved and laughed at, from Stevenson what Stevenson liked men to do or to be. But Mrs. Ward dispassionately, or at least with scrupulous generosity, sets out for us the general opinions current in her time upon high matters of concern.

A novelist's early attempts are often instructive; and Mrs. Ward's first book showed all the superficial characteristics of her manner. To begin with, *Miss Bretherton* had the attribute of associating itself inevitably with an actual personage—in that case a living actress. Mrs. Ward has always steadily insisted on the right to find in fact a starting-point for fiction, a suggestion which the artist may develop. In another respect the choice of subject was characteristic, since it admits of being stated as an abstract intellectual formula. It might have been written in answer to an examination question put somewhat thus: 'If an actress of high ambition, but destitute of training, makes a dazzling success by sheer beauty, what is likely to be her evolution?' And the answer given in Mrs. Ward's thesis-novel reveals a third trait destined to mark all her work. Miss Bretherton owes the salvation of her artistic soul to the fact that she has come in touch with persons of what is sometimes called the highest culture. It is an obsession with Mrs. Ward that there exists somewhere (at the top) a distinctive society, admission into which may be simply represented an assay or proof of fitness (as in *Canadian Born*), but is more commonly treated by her as a ripening and perfecting experience. In almost all her later

books her characters either belong to this charmed circle or come within its outer ambit—to be attracted or repulsed, according to the measure of their deserts.

Still, in Mrs. Ward's later work the moral effect of this contact is not put so crudely in terms of educational influence as in *Miss Bretherton*. In truth, the interesting thing about this first book is its lack of quality. It showed, one would have said, a deplorable competence—ability to furnish out something that fitted all the orthodox formulae. A woman so well trained, who could write so well, had seen so many places and people, and yet who could give neither atmosphere nor life, seemed indeed a case to despair of. Yet within two years she had written *Robert Elsmere*, which beyond all doubt has life, and here and there has atmosphere.

Life it has, poignant life, in the central chapters which relate the actual struggle of Elsmere's choice. They culminate, when the choice has been made, in the story of slight incidents which render delay unbearable to him, his quest of one man's fortifying sympathy and then—the climax—the avowal to his Puritan dale-bred wife. In that chapter and the next, which describe Catherine's frantic impulse of flight and her dazed penitent return, Mrs. Ward reached a point which she has never surpassed, perhaps never again quite reached; and this assuredly is no dispraise. She has not the gift that seems to burn away superfluous words till none is left but the essential utterance; yet passion is there, the struggle, the strain, and out of passion the unspeakable relief in reconciliation achieved. It is the only passion that she knows, the passion of souls perplexed between intellectual or moral faith and the drag of their humanity—a passion singularly austere and unsensuous, with affinities to the landscape which is never far from this writer's mind. What there should be of coldness in those fells and becks and dales, I cannot tell; but Wordsworth's temper enshrines it, and Mrs. Ward is of the same lineage. If she can understand Catherine, the woman of little reading, of convictions so set and limited that they narrow even her heart, it is because Catherine embodies that austere spirit of the fells, Puritanism of the mountains and the glassy Westmoreland streams. Catherine, not Elsmere, is the true centre of the book: she is a life; he is little more than a bundle of ideas, tendencies, and attributes. Where he becomes vital, he catches life and significance from her.

That is the atmosphere which I find in this book—the atmosphere of one place, of one person only. Mrs. Ward details with love and with knowledge all the charms of southern English landscape—though here, as everywhere, she draws out too long her descriptive passages, and mars even the chapters which I

have spoken of with an excessive elaboration of sights and sounds upon the heath where Elsmere paused before his fateful homecoming. If she does not smother her northern landscapes, it is only because the feeling behind them is too much alive. Much could be spared, no doubt, yet the superfluities, too, have the touch of inspiration. In the early chapters, which depict the life of Whindale, one perceives still the prentice hand. Mrs. Ward strives after humour, a grace denied her, and the result is triviality; but how wisely she learnt her lesson! I cannot recall in her later works any effort for a laugh. Her gift was so to impassion herself in following the struggles of a conscience that she could impart her own interest in an adventure half spiritual, half intellectual. That is where she is an artist. What matters to the artist is Catherine's grip on Robert, Robert's on Catherine—the effort of two souls bound by mortal love to retain close touch of one another when their most vital beliefs run counter. But—there is also the publicist to be reckoned with. The publicist is persistent to expound exactly what Elsmere believed, why he came to believe it, and what expression his belief found in action. All this appeals to a curiosity, or a faculty, which is not the faculty that art affects. If Mrs. Ward had needed to expound Catherine as she expounds her husband, the book could never have lived.

That is why *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, the complementary subject, is a far better work of art. Here is the same collision of faith and unfaith, but reduced to simpler terms. Helbeck, the Roman Catholic, with ages of tradition behind him, loves the girl who simply cannot believe. No doubt at the back of Mrs. Ward's mind there is a feeling that all this sort of trouble is deplorable, and could be avoided if only people would believe something more sensible. If Helbeck had been a Christian in Elsmere's sense, Laura could have easily believed enough to satisfy him and herself. But with a fine dramatic instinct the novelist chooses that form of creed which is most averse to compromise, which knows no mean betwixt acceptance and rejection; and the inevitable end arrives. She renders well the Puritanism of the Romanist; she renders it the better because that, too, is native to her dales. Not in any other setting can I conceive Mrs. Ward's entering into sympathy with an upholder of the fiercest resistance to modern ideas; but Helbeck and his Bannisdale are one, and she knows them as ancestral neighbours might.

Helbeck, of course, is work of her fully-matured ability. Yet I question whether anything in it is quite so good as the best passages in a relative failure which followed *Robert Elsmere*, the *History of David Grieve*. It is not David's history in Manchester that appeals to me (save as a good study of the untaught

scholar's thirst for books), and still less his experiences in Paris. It is the picture of dale folk, of the unloveliest forms of Puritanism treated with a comprehension that has in it nothing cruel. Old Reuben, who so ill defended David and David's sister against the tyrannous Hannah, is lovable, and loved, through all his weakness; and even for Hannah herself, the shrew, the oppressor, the defrauder in the name of God, Mrs. Ward has at least respect. Hannah is of the dales, her hardness is theirs, a thing needed to make up all that they stand for; in truth it estranges Mrs. Ward a little less than Helbeck's Romanism. And in David and his sister, the characters who demand our sympathy, the mountain air is finely felt.

One gift shows itself first in this book—the remarkable power of picturing mean feminine types. The young lady from a Manchester shop who sets her cap at David is excellently seen.

Whether it may be rightly argued that women can be fully portrayed without the gift of humour, whereas men cannot, it might be interesting to inquire; but certain it is that Mrs. Ward has not that gift, that she fails in her men and succeeds remarkably with women. In her fourth book, one of the finest and completest things is the study of Mrs. Boyce, Marcella's mother, who is everywhere touched with something that serves instead of the corrective laughter. Doubtless she is thrown into relief against her daughter, whose main trait is a lack of all the qualities which save men and women from making fools of themselves. It is a great achievement to have rendered a heroine likeable who is conspicuously without humour.

Marcella is the first of the considerable series of novels whose interest is mainly political—in which the fortunes of characters are bound up with a House of Commons career. *Sir George Tressady*, which pursued Marcella's history into a later period, is to my mind that rare thing, a sequel better than the original book. Here again Mrs. Ward's gift for dealing with mean women stands to her. Lady Tressady is a real addition to the portraiture of contemporary types; for the shrewish little doll is seen with humanity, and we are made to understand, if not sympathise with, the phases of her jealous rage. One scene in this book—that where Marcella comes to apologise to and appease the woman whose husband she has unwittingly made captive—is perhaps the best thing Mrs. Ward has done: as a piece of technical mastery in the contrasting of two women's characters it was more difficult to achieve than the central chapters of *Robert Elsmere*. And if the novelist implies that Marcella strained compassion almost to the limit of folly, it is only by way of reminding us that Lady Maxwell's married felicity (too sacred for Letty Tressady's ears) was of a piece

with her fortune and her station in the world. Even here what one might quarrel with is only the novelist's implied comment: the dramatic movement of the scene, the truth of what the two women do and say, could hardly be bettered.

Lady Rose's Daughter (a very clever study in social values), the *Marriage of William Ashe*, and *Diana Mallory* all belong to this political group. I remark with interest that the virtuous hero is always Tory or at least Whig (though he must be for social reform and have some diffidence as to the duty of game preserving); whereas the attractive villain of the piece is always Radical. He may be defeated and exposed, as in *Marcella;* or again, as in *Diana Mallory,* he may be rewarded beyond his deserts by marriage to the generous girl who forgives and sets to work piecing up his miserable existence. But in all cases he is shown up for the self-seeker we know him to be. Further, in all these books there is the hint of some well-known story; which in *William Ashe* goes far beyond a hint. Lady Kitty in this book is very unlike the Lady Caroline Lamb of the original: she is ultra-modern; but Mrs. Ward has contrived to give a sense of freakish charm combined with half-mad wilfulness, which invests her heroine with something like tragic dignity.

Lady Kitty is, I think, the only lady in Mrs. Ward's gallery who transgresses seriously; and she does so in a curious absence of passion. She falls to an attraction of the intellect rather than of the temperament; and so the page is left unsullied—not needing expurgation. Indeed, the really pathetic closing scene of the book is rendered a little ridiculous by the stress which husband and wife lay upon precautions to observe decorum, when after years of separation they meet by accident—she evidently moribund—in a tiny Swiss hotel.

Oddly enough, the only physical note of passion which I can trace in any of these books comes as part in a very powerful study of jealousy. *Eleanor* (apart from its incidental interests as a description of Italian scenery, and of a persecuted Modernist), tells the story of an attractive woman, well past her first youth, who sees the man of her heart slip away from her to new youth and beauty—armed, too, with attractions which she had herself enhanced. Mrs. Ward tends to deal with this same theme of the jealous woman; it makes a great part of the story in *Fenwick's Career* (again a resetting, Romney's story brought up to date), and the main pith of the book in *Daphne.* But the fullest and subtlest treatment is that in *Eleanor*—the finest too, because it is jealousy uncomplicated by any marital sense of ownership. We have simply two women and one man set between them—one consciously pursuing, the other attracted indeed and attract-

ing, but merely as it were by the law of existence, and finally refusing what she sees elsewhere so passionately desired. No subject could be more depressing; yet it almost comes to a happy ending, because Mr. Manisty marries the young girl, and we know well that an American woman will, sooner probably than later, assert herself and teach her husband that she, and not he, is the centre of creation. So, judgment is executed upon one of the most detestable types conceivable—and I would not say that Manisty is inconceivable. The amazing point is that Mrs. Ward evidently admires him. She makes him carry about Greek texts in his pocket and read them at odd moments, which is with her the fine mark of masculine perfection (see the novels *passim*).

Canadian Born, latest but one of the books, cannot be accounted among the successes. Mrs. Ward has been to Canada, and builds up a story with impressions of travel; it was a fashion of novel-writing that William Black used with unfailing charm. But here through all the pleasure in nature one hears the voice of the publicist formulating views. A little thing would change many of the scenes, many of the dialogues, into excellent leading articles.

But Mrs. Ward's excursions into the field of imperial policy are in a sense superficial: they bring us into touch only with the surface of the writer's mind. In *The Case of Richard Meynell* she returns to that deeper prepossession which has never left her since it inspired her first achievement. In the preface to the Westmoreland edition of *Robert Elsmere* she tells how that book owed its birth to a movement of revolt—revolt against a Bampton Lecture!—and how that revolt sought its utterance in a pamphlet, and how years after the pamphlet ripened into a novel, which put the thesis of the pamphlet as a concrete human case. If Robert Elsmere disbelieves, is it only (as the Bampton lecturer would suggest) through spiritual pride or some other unchristian quality? That is the question which the book is written to answer. But beside it runs the other question: Are the things which Elsmere cannot believe things essential to Christianity? Now, after twenty years, Mrs. Ward returns to these problems, and it is apparent that in her view the first question no longer needs to be put. No one, she would say, disputes that persons in the Christian community living good and even exemplary lives hold views as difficult to reconcile with the letter of the Creed as are the tenets of an extreme ritualist with the Thirty-Nine Articles. Her question now frames itself rather in this form: Has the Christian a right to assert views which involve wide modification of Christianity's intellectual framework? Obviously this is an inquiry by far more polemical than that other, which could

be answered by showing how a good man can in all honour and sincerity, and against every pull of his nature, feel himself driven to conclusions at variance with those of his Church. The problem raised is less human: and in answering her question Mrs. Ward must assume the *rôle* of a prophetess, picturing in advance not a secession but a struggle within the Church of England. That forecast will interest all who care for such matters; but as a novel the book suffers by lack of any contest within the hero's mind: there is no essential drama. Mrs. Ward tries to meet this lack by inventing a plot, to me wholly incredible, which forces upon Meynell a certain choice arising out of extraneous happenings. The struggle in Elsmere's case is inevitable, inseparable from his position; but because a novel ought to have a plot, Meynell is grouped with a set of people each and all of whom have acted with criminal folly, and so force him to decide between his private honour and his public mission. Yet this is all, in reality, padding: what Mrs. Ward has wanted to do in writing the book has been to project herself into an imaginary contest of modernist Anglicans against Anglican orthodoxy; to invent the situations that might arise, the weapons that might be used, and above all the sermons that might be preached. All my respect for her talent cannot help my feeling that the publicist in her has bolted, dragging the artist off her feet.

To sum up, there is, broadly speaking, in all Mrs Ward's books either the adventitious interest attaching to a *roman* more or less *à clef*, or what I venture to call the guide-book interest: whether the guide-book introduces us to Italian landscape, to the Quartier Latin, to the environments of artist life in London, to the House of Commons and its appanages, or to the domestic circles of the really great, does not matter, these various themes are treated a little in the guide book's vein. Or, again, there is the propagandist interest of an attractive and well-accredited heresy—a heresy on the side of the angels.

Only once has she attempted what I may call the story pure and simple—the tale of Bessie Costrell's theft and her undoing. It is the kind of subject that Maupassant would readily have chosen and handled in perhaps one-third, perhaps one-sixth, of the space. The tale is one of natural pity; no artist of any accomplishment could fail to move us with it. Yet judged by it Mrs. Ward must be set down a failure.

It is not there her gift lies. She has doubtless found her own way. Her gift has been to interest rather than to move. She has, using the bait of a story, interested a vast public in things of the mind; she has with surprising skill dramatised current

movements of public thought and of public feeling; and consistently she has written well. Here is a characteristic passage of her prose, from *Diana Mallory*:

> The February afternoon darkened round the old house. There was a light powdering of snow on grass and trees. Yet still there were breathings and bird-notes in the air, and tones of colour in the distance, which obscurely prophesied the spring. Through the wood behind the house the snowdrops were rising, in a white invading host, over ground covered with the red-brown deposit of innumerable autumns. Above their glittering white rose an undergrowth of laurels and box, through which again shot up the magnificent trunks—grey and smooth and round—of the great beeches, which held and peopled the country-side, heirs of its ancestral forest. Anyone standing in the wood could see, through the leafless trees, the dusky blues and rich violets of the encircling hill—hung there, like the tapestry of some vast hall; or hear from time to time the loud wings of the wood pigeons as they clattered through the topmost boughs.

That is very good, very true, very well seen, and the final note of sound, bringing in another sense, deftly completes the realisation. But after all what matters in a novelist is not description of landscape, and I at least find it impossible to illustrate Mrs. Ward's gifts as a novelist by quotation. Length is an attribute of her work, as it is of a German sausage; the mixture is well distributed all through, but it is a little monotonous.

And the writing itself, good as it is, lacks personality. It would be hard to swear to a page of Mrs. Ward. I do not know but the same holds of George Eliot—the novelist whom she most resembles—but the comparison is not fair. Everybody knows that George Eliot had humour and had passion, superadded to the mental attainments which she shares with Mrs. Ward. What discriminates her from Mrs. Ward is what places her among the immortals. To try a more adequate comparison, Mrs. Oliphant too had humour, and also had charm; yet I think that Mrs. Ward's intellectual range, her real grip of struggles that involve the intellect, go far to compensate for her lack of those graces. And while Mrs. Oliphant, poor soul! wrote her fingers literally to the bone, pouring out copy with undiscriminating profusion, Mrs. Ward has been the careful stewardess of her own talent; she has evidently laboured to make each book complete to the utmost of her ability. She seems to have everything that can be acquired by study—including the technical accomplishment of bringing singularly untractable matter into a story. I fear that the qualities which she lacks are qualities necessary to survival—the salt of humour, the fire of passion, the personal charm of a style. Yet in any review of our period in literature her name must always occupy considerable space. Future criticism will not overlook the fact that she almost alone

of her contemporaries avoided dealing in the crudities of passion and won her popularity by a singularly austere appeal; addressing herself not to the senses or the simpler feelings, but to those emotions which connect themselves with high and often abstract intellectual interests. There is no mistaking her honest and well-nourished public spirit, no ignoring her services as a good citizen. Yet, while a book like *Beauchamp's Career* braces the tone of those who read, and puts life into the ideals of good citizenship, Meredith makes these effects, as it were, unconsciously and by the mere contagion of his presence. He writes for the sake of embodying a number of characters working themselves out in mutual relations; and his creative impulse is the artist's pure and simple. I am sure Mrs. Ward enjoys writing her novels. But the pleasure which I feel in them and behind them is the publicist's who has discovered a subtle device through which argument can be conducted under special forms. She fails, I think, in the last resort, not because she is too much of the good citizen, *but because she is too little of an artist.* She would sooner found an influential sect than write a supremely good book. This is a perfectly natural taste or ambition, but one incompatible with the highest literary success.

STEPHEN GWYNN.

THE COURTS AND THE EXECUTIVE

The convenience in the public interest was all in favour of providing a speedy and easy access to the Courts for any of his Majesty's subjects who had any real cause of complaint against the exercise of statutory powers by Government departments and Government officials, having regard to their growing tendency to claim the right to act without regard to legal principles and without appeal to any Court.

PROBABLY these words were read by few when they were reported in *The Times* newspaper last December in the judgment of Lord Justice Farwell in the interlocutory appeal of *Dyson* v. *The Attorney-General.* Yet no more pregnant warning was delivered to the public, even during that month, which was so full of political pronouncements. While the din of political battle has been raging round the respective rights of the two Houses of Parliament; while voters were being adjured to free themselves from the shackles of one House; while the sacred name of Liberty is still being bandied backwards and forwards, and at all kinds of curious angles, in the game of party strife, there has been proceeding, almost unnoticed—quite unnoticed by the general public and its political spokesmen—a change of most serious and threatening import to the real liberty of the people. It is the change to which Lord Justice Farwell made allusion in the judgment which has just been quoted. It is the change from the subject's freedom against tyranny by the Executive Government, through access to independent Courts of law, to the subject's helpless and unconstitutional subjection to a bureaucratic Executive, 'without' (in the Lord Justice's words) 'appeal to any Court.' A more profound destruction of liberty it is difficult to conceive; for the independence of our Courts and the subject's untrammelled right of appeal to them lies at the very root of our constitutional freedom, and is so explicitly recognised that, though an action, as between a plaintiff and an ordinary defendant, will not lie against the Crown, yet the Constitution has evolved a form of procedure—the Petition of Right—under which the meanest subject may bring his action against the King himself in the King's own Courts. There has even been recognised the power in a subject who fears

that his rights may be infringed by a private Bill pending in Parliament to apply to the Courts for an injunction to restrain the promoters of the Bill from proceeding with it. And it is this bulwark which is being slowly undermined and sapped—silently, and with only an occasional feeble protest—through the machinery of unnoticed legislative provisions which make of the Government departments concerned the supreme arbiters of their own interests, and try to take away the right of appeal to a Court of law.

It is a serious assertion which has just been made, but it is capable of proof. We may, as one instance, illustrate the assertion that the Executive tries to oust the jurisdiction of the Courts by recurring to the interlocutory appeal in *Dyson* v. *The Attorney-General*,[1] from a judgment in which a quotation has already been made. Mr. Dyson, a land-owner, questioned the validity of the notorious 'Form IV.' which the Inland Revenue Department purported to issue under the provisions of the Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. In order to test the validity of the Form, he commenced an action in the King's Bench Division of the High Court against the Attorney-General, and in due course delivered a statement of claim, alleging the particular matters in which, according to his contention, the directions contained in the Form exceeded the powers conferred upon the Commissioners of Inland Revenue by the Act. These matters were various, and we need not stay to discuss them now, beyond stating that they were matters of substance, and, indeed, importance, and not frivolous objections; as subsequent judgments in the case have shown, the Court of Appeal treating the action as a most important and desirable one, and declaring Mr. Dyson to have been absolutely right in his contentions. For example, there was an allegation by the plaintiff that he was ordered to supply information which was both beyond his power to supply and beyond the particulars which sec. 26 of the Act empowered the Commissioners to demand. Moreover, as is common knowledge, the demands under Form IV. were creating widespread criticism and involving an enormous amount of work and worry to those concerned—work and worry which would be much simplified if the plaintiff's allegations could be substantiated.

Surely, as the Master of the Rolls in his final judgment complained, a reasonable Executive Government, realising that it was the servant and not the tyrant of the public, would have welcomed the opportunity to thrash out the vexed questions involved before a competent tribunal, where, if its position could be justified in law, it would be justified. At least it might have been anticipated that no technical stumbling-blocks would have been thrown in the way of such an action—one which, in the

[1] Reported in 27 *Times' Law Reports*, p. 143 [1911], 1 K.B. p. 410.

words of one of the Lords Justices, 'was of the greatest importance to hundreds of thousands of his Majesty's subjects.' But what did the Executive do?

The Attorney-General took out a summons under the Rules of the Supreme Court, Order XXV., Rule 4, to strike out the statement of claim as disclosing no reasonable cause of action. That is to say, the Executive tried to stifle the case, and prevent it going to trial. This method of procedure succeeded in chambers; but when the plaintiff appealed to the Court of Appeal, even the representatives of the Crown practically abandoned the contention (demolished by the Master of the Rolls in a sentence) that Order XXV. could apply to such a case as this. But even so, they fought; they tried another argument—viz. that such an action could not be brought against the Attorney-General, and they appeared in the guise of sticklers for correct procedure. The technical points which they took need not detain us. They did not detain the Court of Appeal for long, for that Court promptly ruled that the case must go on.

The argument on behalf of the Attorney-General [said Lord Justice Farwell] admitted for this purpose the illegality of the inquiries [*i.e.* Form IV.], but claimed for a Government department a superiority to the law which was denied by the Court to the King himself in Stuart times.

Could a much deadlier criticism be levelled against a professedly democratic Government?

The judicial criticism was not mollified when the case itself came before the Court of Appeal, after it had been heard by Mr. Justice Horridge, and 'Form IV.' had been declared to be so tainted with radical defects as to be an illegal and worthless document. The Master of the Rolls, having ruled that the decision in the Court below was right, alluded again to the extraordinary action of the Executive Government in trying to prevent a trial of the action, and to the Attorney-General's contention that the Court ought not to make an order.

I am bound to say that, assuming the jurisdiction to exist, I cannot imagine a more proper case for its exercise. It is no light matter for the Commissioners to issue broadcast forms which purport to impose obligations which do not exist and which add a threat of a penalty in case of non-compliance. A general declaration is pre-eminently desirable in these circumstances. And I am a little surprised that the Commissioners do not welcome a decision which will guide their action in the future.[8]

Lord Justice Moulton also scouted the notion that the action was in any way an improper one. 'It would,' he said,

be intolerable that millions of the public should have to choose between giving information to the Commissioners which they have no right to demand and incurring a severe penalty.[9]

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[8] *Times* newspaper, November 18, 1911. [9] *Ibid.*

But to return to the judgments in the interlocutory appeal. After the passage in Lord Justice Farwell's judgment, which was quoted at the beginning of this article, he pointed out that in that same year there had already been three other such cases, and that in all of them the defendants had been 'represented by the law officers of the Crown at the public expense.' 'As things were,' he concluded, 'the Courts were the only defence of the liberty of the subject against departmental aggression.'

We shall have occasion to recall these words presently, when we come to deal with the new legislative method of closing the Courts against the victims of 'departmental aggression'; but let us meanwhile glance at the cases cited by Lord Justice Farwell as illustrations of the Government's attempts to put itself above the existing law.

The first of these cases is *Rex v. Board of Education*[4]—commonly known as the Swansea school case. That case was remarkable for the strange incident of the Board of Education showing itself so determined, for political reasons, to decide a dispute in a particular way that it threw over the report of its own Commissioner—Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Hamilton. The facts of the case may be recalled shortly. In Swansea there is a Church of England school, which, under the operation of the Education Act of 1902, came in due course under the administration of the local education authority, whose duty it was to maintain and keep it efficient. Before the Act the salaries provided in the Board schools were higher than those paid in this school; but instead of bringing them up to the same level when it took control, the local education authority kept the Church of England school salaries at the old inadequate rate, while actually raising the scale of the salaries in the Board—now called the 'provided'—schools. It was impossible in these circumstances to keep together the teachers in the Church of England school, and in order to avoid losing them, pending the obtaining of redress, the managers of the school advanced the necessary extra money out of their own pockets. In course of time the matter came before the Board of Education, and that department sent down Mr. Hamilton, K.C., to inquire and report. Mr. Hamilton, whose ability and fairness are so distinguished that merely to refer to them seems superfluous, heard evidence, and reported that the school had regularly earned the grant, and to that extent had been maintained and kept efficient, but that this had been done, not by the local education authority, but only by the combination of funds contributed by the managers; that the managers had neither played into the teachers'

[4] Reported in *Law Reports* [1910], 2 K.B., p. 165; 79 *Law Journal*, K.B., p. 595; and 26 *Times Law Reports*, p. 422.

hands nor acted improvidently; and that it was not practicable to keep the staff together or to obtain a staff capable of keeping the school efficient, unless higher salaries were paid than those which the local education authority had fixed.

Thereupon the Board of Education did an amazing thing. It decided the point at issue in an exactly contrary sense to the findin of its own Commissioner, and in a letter gave its reasons, which were based upon an interpretation of the law peculiarly its own, for it assumed that the local education authority had power to differentiate, in the matter of teachers equally qualified and teaching the same subjects, between the salaries paid in provided and non-provided schools as such; and then it found as a fact, in the teeth of the evidence, that the suggestion that the future efficiency of the school would be imperilled by the employment of teachers at the lower rate of pay was

a somewhat remote speculation, and ought not, in the view of the Board, to prevail against the judgment of the local authority that the school can, in fact, be maintained in a state of efficiency on the rates of pay which they are willing to provide.

The Board of Education apparently thought that this decision finished the matter. The managers of the school took a different view, and applied to the High Court for a writ of *certiorari* to quash the decision and for a *mandamus*. The Divisional Cour decided in the school managers' favour, holding that the Boar had no power to discriminate in the matter of salaries between provided and non-provided schools as such.

But a Government department has access to a long purse, anc the Board appealed to the Court of Appeal. It raised the contention that the question under discussion was one of fact whether the local authority had maintained and kept efficient the school—and that of that question the Education Act made the Board the sole judge. So we again find the Executive trying to make itself supreme by attempting to oust the jurisdiction of the Courts. The particular provision upon which the Board relied is sub-sec. of sec. 7 of the Act, which enacts: 'If any question arises under this section (the maintenance section) between the local education authority and the managers of a school not provided by the authority, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education.' 'There is no appeal from their decision,' contende the Attorney-General. 'Apart from any question of the construction of the Act which appointed them, which would, of course, be for the Court, the Board are the sole judges of fact and of law.' Of the question whether the salaries offered were sufficient, 'The Board were the sole judges. They have examined it and decided it, and this Court cannot interfere with their decision.'

This Court thought otherwise.

There is nothing in that section [said the Master of the Rolls] which entitled the Board of Education to decide an abstract question of law, or anything else than a question of fact, although the question of fact may involve the consideration of the true meaning and effect of the Act of Parliament itself. It does not enable the Board of Education to legislate, and if its decision is based upon a wrong interpretation of the statute I think it is not absolute in the sense that no Court can interfere with or review it.

And then he administered a rebuke to the Board's conception of judicial method.

It is not alleged that the Board had any materials before them except Mr. Hamilton's report, and the evidence on the inquiry, and there is not a scintilla of evidence to justify the statements in the letter containing the decision of the Board.

Lord Justice Farwell, as in the Dyson case, uttered a warning from the public point of view. 'The point is of very great importance,' he said, 'in these latter days, when so many Acts of Parliament refer questions of great public importance to some Government Department.' And he added the comforting words, so far as legislation already enacted is concerned :

Such department, when so entrusted, becomes a tribunal charged with the performance of a public duty, and as such amenable to the jurisdiction of the High Court, within the limits now well established by law. . . . Such tribunal is not an autocrat, free to act as it pleases, but is an inferior tribunal subject to the jurisdiction which the Court of King's Bench for centuries, and the High Court since the Judicature Acts, has exercised over such tribunals.

And Lord Justice Buckley made plain the limitation of the Board's functions by saying :

In order to perform their duties under the Act the Board of Education must, of course, form an opinion as to what is the construction of the Act, but they cannot determine its construction. That is for a Court of law.

Unabashed, the Government pursues the matter to the highest tribunal, and the hearing in the House of Lords is marked by a strangely significant speech from the Attorney-General in opening the appeal. Let me quote from *The Times* newspaper report :

The learned counsel criticised in detail, and *with some severity*, the judgments of the Court of Appeal, especially that of Lord Justice Farwell. *Some of their Lordships' observations were irrelevant and even mischievous*, as, for example, with respect to the rights of parents and ratepayers.[1]

So, just as learned Commissioners who fail, in their impartial report after an inquiry, to fall in with the political views of the

[1] *Times*, February 25, 1911.

Education Department, are thrown over, the judges of the Court of Appeal, when they expound the law in a sense which does not forward the politics of the same department, are to be brow-beaten and almost insulted—and that by a law officer who, in another capacity, is the head of the Bar, and so should set an example of respect to the Courts and the independence of their judges. And to add to the irony, and again to the significance of the situation, this Attorney-General and his clients represent the party which, as Herbert Spencer has reminded us, lays one of its principal claims upon our regard on the fact that it struggled in the old days for the independence of the Courts. To-day it is more like the new Republican Government of Portugal which, by the mouth of its Foreign Minister, informed a *Times* correspondent that it 'could not possibly overlook, even in judges, conduct which amounted to acts of rebellion.'[6]

For that matter, however, we need not look as far as Republican Portugal. For on the 30th of May last, Mr. Winston Churchill, who then occupied the position of Home Secretary, a post which more than that of other Cabinet Ministers demands the most carefully correct attitude towards his Majesty's Judges, permitted himself to say that

> where class issues and party issues were involved, it was impossible to contend that the Courts commanded the same degree of general confidence. On the contrary, they did not, and a very large number of people had been led to the opinion that they were, unconsciously no doubt, biassed.

These amazing remarks were naturally received with cries of 'Withdraw!'; but Mr. Churchill, instead of taking the occasion to retract his indiscretion, replied that he had not the slightest intention of withdrawing what he had said, and he would repeat that it was unfortunate that collisions occurred between the Courts and the great trade union bodies. The next day a fitting rebuke was administered to Mr. Churchill, when the Deputy-Speaker said:

> I think it is most important that our rule against attacking Judges should be kept up. They are not here; they cannot be here to answer for themselves, and they ought not to be attacked except upon a substantive motion.

The next of Lord Justice Farwell's cited cases is *Re Hardy's Crown Brewery.*[7] This case takes us back from Whitehall to Somerset House, and brings again under notice the methods of the Inland Revenue Commissioners. This department is entrusted with the administration, under the Licensing Act, 1904, of the compensation money given to owners of public-houses closed

[6] *Times*, February 20, 1911.

[7] Reported in 27 *Times Law Reports*, p. 25, and 103 *Law Times Reports*, p. 520.

under the Act, out of a fund forcibly extracted from the pockets of other public-house owners. When a house is so closed, and the amount of compensation is not agreed between the owners and Quarter Sessions, the matter is referred to the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, to inquire into and fix a figure. A reference of that kind occurred in connexion with the closing of a house belonging to Hardy's Crown Brewery (Limited), and the Commissioners awarded the sum of 1500*l.* The owners appealed, and in the High Court obtained an award of 1770*l.*, the Judge (Mr. Justice Bray) refusing the Commissioners their costs, on the ground that they had acted unreasonably, and that their conduct had led to the appeal. It is this unreasonable conduct on the part of the Commissioners which brings them into our present category.

This is what had happened. Before the Commissioners fixed their amount they obtained from the owners and tenants detailed information of the trade, etc. For some weeks afterwards the owners heard nothing more from the Commissioners, and then were told that the Commissioners had fixed the compensation at a much lower figure than was claimed, and so the owners gave notice of appeal. Three weeks later—though they had a month within which to make inquiries—the Commissioners notified the owners that they intended to maintain their decision as a whole. It was only after the appeal to the High Court had been presented that they consulted experts. At the hearing of the appeal they refused to produce any documents or reports which they had received, or the name of the person who would know what information they had obtained, and they called no witnesses to show that they had taken proper steps in arriving at their decision. When the Judge asked for information they refused it to him too. The owners, therefore, had no opportunity of answering any statements which might have been made to the Commissioners from other sources. This was the unreasonable conduct which made Mr. Justice Bray depart from the statutory practice of allowing the Commissioners their costs; and when the Commissioners went to the Court of Appeal on the matter, their high-handed and unjust behaviour received a fresh rebuke. As an example of bureaucratic insolence this case is worth attention by every student of politics, and by every one who is disposed to acquiesce in extension of the bureaucratic domain.

The third of the list of last year's cases to which Lord Justice Farwell referred is *In re Weir Hospital.*[a] The department of the Executive whose action comes up for criticism in this case is the Board of Charity Commissioners.

[a] Reported in *Law Reports* [1910], 2 Ch., p. 124; 79 *Law Journal*, p. 723; 26 *Times Law Reports*, p. 519.

Mr. Weir left a house at Balham and his own residence at Clapham Park to trustees, to use them as a dispensary, cottage hospital or convalescent home, or other medical charity, to be called the Weir Hospital, for the benefit of the inhabitants of Streatham and the neighbourhood; and he gave his residuary personal estate to his trustees for the maintenance, out of the income, of the hospital. The trustees, after Mr. Weir's death in 1902, established a dispensary at the Balham house. Before doing anything with the other house—called the Hawthornes—they had to wait until certain restrictions were expired, which happened in November, 1907. Meantime they had accumulated the income, after satisfying the wants of the Balham house dispensary, and in 1907 the total fund of the charity amounted to 100,000*l*. In July of that year the majority of the trustees applied to the Charity Commissioners for a scheme, they being doubtful whether the Hawthornes could be made suitable for the establishment of a cottage hospital or convalescent home which would require the expenditure of so large a fund. On the instructions of the Commissioners they obtained an architect's report, which was to the effect that the premises were unsuitable for a convalescent home, but, with the purchase of an adjoining site, would be appropriate for a cottage hospital. As an adjoining site was on offer, the reader will naturally suppose that a scheme for a cottage hospital was sanctioned, and Mr. Weir's instructions thus carried out.

Not at all. The Charity Commissioners evolved a scheme of their own which had no relation whatever to the testator's instructions. There is a general hospital in Battersea called the Bolingbroke Hospital, and the Commissioners determined to divert Mr. Weir's money to that institution. It is situated half a mile from the furthest boundary of the parish of Streatham and some considerable distance away from the Hawthornes. Though Mr. Weir had expressed no desire for his money to go to a general hospital, and had very particularly expressed his desire for a cottage hospital or home at the Hawthornes, in Streatham, for the benefit of Streatham, the Commissioners induced a majority of the trustees to agree to a scheme under which the Balham house was to be continued as a dispensary, but the Hawthornes was to be used as a nurses' home (as to which the Court of Appeal doubted whether that was a charity at all), and 50,000*l*. of Mr. Weir's money was to be applied towards completing the Bolingbroke Hospital; while the residue of the income was to be applied in augmentation of the income of the Bolingbroke Hospital, an acknowledgment of the increment thus appropriated being made by re-naming that institution the Weir and Bolingbroke Hospital. And in order not to lose time in thus appropriating money left for another purpose,

5000*l.* of it was promptly seized, without waiting even for the scheme to be settled, and paid over to the Bolingbroke Hospital.

Happily, the Court of Appeal again did its duty. It granted a petition presented to the Court against the carrying out of the scheme. And so the fund was restored to the purposes for which its grantor had bequeathed it, with the exception of the 5000*l.* which had already been seized. With regard to that in particular the Court had some things to say which were not flattering to the Government department concerned. The Master of the Rolls ended his judgment by saying :

I cannot part with the case without expressing my astonishment that the Commissioners should have directed the payment out of the charity funds of 5000*l.* to the Bolingbroke Hospital without any scheme and without even notice of intention to make such a payment.

Lord Justice Farwell was even more emphatic. He said :

This payment was clearly unjustifiable: if it had been made by trustees they would be personally liable to replace it; it is so hopelessly wrong that the Attorney-General's counsel could suggest no ground of justification; it was wrong on the elementary principle that it is unlawful for A's trustees to take A's money and give it to B. . . . There is not a shadow of excuse for this payment, and it is alarming to find that a Government office is capable of such a misapplication of funds committed to its care.

Unfortunately, he was obliged to add :

I cannot find, however, that the Legislature has given the Court any jurisdiction to set this right. The Court can refuse to sanction a scheme, but no provision is made enabling the Court to enforce repayment of money mistakenly applied by the Commissioners.

He further related what had happened in Parliament with regard to this payment, and the story of shuffling that he told is not reassuring :

On the 23rd of March, 1908, one of the Commissioners in the House was asked, *inter alia*, under what statutory powers this 5000*l.* was paid. This part of the question was not answered. On the 20th of May, 1908, he was again asked the same question, and simply referred to his former answer. In July 1908 the question was repeated to another Charity Commissioner, in the House, and on pressure he stated that he would write a letter referring to the sections of the statute under which the payment was made. Such a letter was afterwards sent, and none of the sections referred to therein have any bearing whatever on the point, and the Attorney-General's counsel admits that there is no such section; and there ended the inquiry in the House into the statutory powers of the Commissioners to make this payment. Comment is needless. The facts speak for themselves.

Perhaps Lord Justice Farwell was right; and I will not burden these pages with any further comments upon the case, except to draw attention to the very great powers with which Parliament

has entrusted the Charity Commissioners. For example, under the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, the Commissioners have power to make schemes entirely altering educational endowments, even to the extent of repealing Acts of Parliament and abrogating deeds, trusts, etc., concerning them; and these schemes, when approved by His Majesty in Council (the Executive in another form), have all the force of statutes. Thus a Government department—and one capable of such acts as those we have just been considering—may, without Parliament having anything to do with the matter, abolish provisions made in Parliament's laws, and may besides entirely change the character of endowments left for educational purposes, with whatever particularity and solemnity the trust deed may have been made by the donor.*

It may be said, after reading the above, that the Courts at any rate have held their own, and done their duty by the public in guarding them against tyranny and encroachment on the part of the Executive. This is doubtless true so far as the cases we have cited are concerned; and I do not know at the moment of any cases in which the Courts have failed in that duty. But gratitude to the Courts for the stand which they have made must neither blind one to the danger that the like independence and judicial acumen may not always be manifested, nor make us forget that the power of the Courts has already been dangerously limited by statute.

Of this we have an example in the powers actually conferred upon the Education Department, to which reference has already been made. The Education Act of 1902 (and it is unpleasantly significant that this Act was the work of a Conservative Government) does make the Board of Education the supreme arbiter of certain important matters. Sub-section 3 of section 7 of that statute enacts that 'If any question arises under this section between the local education authority and the managers of a school not provided by the authority, that question shall be determined by the Board of Education.'

The matters dealt with by the section comprise the provisions for the maintenance and efficient upkeep of schools, and include such things as the curriculum, the number of teachers, inspection,

* Further light upon the operations of the Charity Commissioners is provided in a letter in *The Times* of the 6th of March, 1911, from the Vicar of All Saints', Derby. He complained that the Commissioners were forcing upon Derby a scheme for the amalgamation of all the municipal and parochial charities, the proposed managing body being mainly representative of the Borough Council. Under this scheme the name and identity of charities becomes extinguished, two trusts, whose united incomes amount to about four-fifths of all the charities, are disbanded, and the benefits of charities are applied throughout the borough irrespective of the boundaries set by the donors. The door is opened to political abuses, and there is every prospect of the expenses of administration, now small, mounting to a high figure, judging by the analogy of a similar scheme which has been enforced in Norwich.

appointment and dismissal of teachers, alterations in the school buildings, and general management; and no school can obtain its share of the Parliamentary grant unless it complies with the provisions of the section. Thus thousands of schools founded by religious bodies with their own money, besides the increasing thousands of schools paid for altogether by compulsory rates and taxes levied upon the public, are placed under the heel of a bureaucracy in the control of a party politician. The Courts, as we have seen, have found some limit to this extravagant power: the Department cannot determine questions of law upon the construction of the Act which endues it with these powers; but an enormous area of unchecked authority remains. Under the guise of administration, too, the Department is continuously introducing changes which might well come within the purview of legislation—as, for instance, introducing debatable teaching in matters relating to the consumption of fermented beverages. Constantly the Department is imposing regulations which involve serious expenditure in the carrying out, and so are virtually the levying of new taxes upon the people. And what effective control do, or can, the people's representatives in Parliament exercise over these acts?

Let us pass to a more recent Act of Parliament—the notorious Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910. Those who follow political debates will perhaps remember that the Committee stage of that measure was marked by efforts on the part of the Opposition to get adequate rights of appeal against the decisions of the Inland Revenue Commissioners, who were to be clothed with such extraordinary and far-reaching new powers. These efforts were not altogether unsuccessful; but they fell very far short of the success which is necessary.

Take section 17 of the Act. That section provides for certain obviously necessary exemptions from the undeveloped land duty introduced by the Act, such as land kept free of buildings in pursuance of a development scheme, or land used for recreation. But then is added: 'The opinion of the Commissioners as to matters which are expressed to be matters for the opinion of the Commissioners under this sub-section shall be final, and not subject to any appeal.'

Again, if a landowner has failed to object to a provisional valuation by the Commissioners, he is barred from any appeal against the Commissioners' valuation of the total or site value of his land; and on an appeal against assessment of duty he may not discuss the question of value which the Commissioners have fixed.[16] Further, in arriving at the total value of land by deducting from the gross value sums on account of restrictions on the

[16] Finance (1909-10) Act, 1910, Secs. 27 and 33.

land, the Commissioners are to give their opinion as to whether the restrictions were imposed in the public interest or in view of the character of the neighbourhood, and their opinion is to be subject only to an appeal to a referee—another State official.[11] The introduction of the referee (these referees are simply surveyors in the pay of the Treasury) between the Commissioners and the Courts where an appeal lies, is regarded by critics as a method for making appeals by aggrieved owners more costly and troublesome. As a part of the bureaucracy, the referee is little likely to approach his duties in an independent and judicial spirit. But the whole Act seems designed to make it difficult (where it is not impossible) for the individual to escape from the clutches of the bureaucrats into the free air of the Courts of Justice. The Executive makes regulations under this Act, as under so many other Acts, and these regulations are often of a kind which should be in the Act, and properly discussed in the House—for they are often no mere matters of detail. True, such regulations have to be laid on the Parliamentary table for forty days before acquiring force, but that sort of protection is in practice nugatory.

For another example of this sort of legislation reference may be made to the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908. Under section 39 of that Act it is competent for a local authority to acquire land compulsorily from its owner, if it can get the consent of the Board of Agriculture. Parliament is ousted; though in all previous legislation empowering corporations, etc., to acquire land compulsorily the consent of Parliament, after detailed inquiries by Parliamentary Committees, has been regarded as essential. Here a Government Department is given full power to deprive an owner of his land, and the wording of one of the sub-sections—'the confirmation of the Board shall be conclusive evidence that the requirements of this Act have been complied with, and that the order has been duly made and is within the power of this Act'—is a provision for ousting the jurisdiction of the Courts also.

How complete this ousting is was brought out in a case heard in the Divisional Court in 1909.[12] Mr. Ringer applied to the Court to quash an order made by the County Council under the Small Holdings Act. Mr. Ringer had purchased adjoining farms, and, as one was of heavy and one of light soil, they could be worked advantageously together, but the heavy soil farm, owing to the impossibility of keeping sheep on it in the winter, was of no use without the other. That was why the other was purchased; and buildings were erected and arrangements were made for working the two together. The County Council coveted the light soil farm, and served upon Mr. Ringer an order for compulsory

[11] Sec. 25.

[12] *Ex parte Ringer*, 25 *Times Law Reports*, p. 718.

purchase. He sent his objection to the Board of Agriculture, but that department confirmed the County Council's order. Mr. Ringer went to the High Court for redress, arguing that the Board had not given effect to the restrictions in the statute, under which it was enacted that before confirming an order for compulsory acquisition regard should be had to the very points which formed the grounds of Mr. Ringer's objection, and that the Board should

avoid taking an undue or inconvenient quantity of land from any one owner or tenant, and for that purpose where part only of a holding is taken shall take into consideration the size and character of the existing agricultural holdings not proposed to be taken which were used in connexion with the holding and the quantity and nature of the land available for occupation therewith.

The Judges were sympathetic, but they could give no relief. Mr. Justice Darling read the words as to the powers of the Board quoted above, and pointed out that they 'gave to an order made by a public department the absolute finality and effect of an Act of Parliament.'

Here there was a public department put in a position of absolute supremacy, and whatever the opinion of the farmers of Norfolk who came to the Court asking for relief might be about the matter, they could only say that Parliament had enacted only last year that the Board of Agriculture in acting as they did should be no more impeachable than Parliament itself.

And Mr. Justice Jelf said:

This case presented an illustration of the length to which Parliament had the right to go in ousting the powers and jurisdiction of Courts of law. If a majority in Parliament were successful in passing an Act of Parliament which had that effect, then the jurisdiction of the Courts of law in matters in which some people might think it was desirable that even Government departments should be under the control of the Courts was nevertheless ousted, and the Court had no power to interfere with the decision of the department.

Thus the reader will see that in some directions legislation has already been pushed to a point where the Courts are unable to interfere, even in a flagrant case, to protect the individual from bureaucratic oppression.[13]

[13] The Housing and Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, is another instance of arbitrary and final powers to order schemes for the compulsory acquisition of land and so forth being conferred upon a Government department—in that case the Local Government Board. These powers were passed by the House of Commons with scarcely a word of discussion, and though they were subjected to strong criticism in the House of Lords, the criticising peers were reviled for their pains in the Radical Press, and were denounced as wreckers of a great democratic measure. Moreover, their efforts to get proper appeal provisions inserted in the Bill were largely futile, and the small measure of success attained was chiefly confined to a provision that the Local Government Board, if so directed by the High Court, shall state a special case for the opinion of the Court upon any question of law which may arise in the course of an appeal to

One more example must be cited from the Statute Book, for it is not only a particularly gross instance, but it is evidence of the multifarious directions in which the evil principle is at work. I refer to the Public Authorities Protection Act, 1893. This Act provides that no action, prosecution, or proceeding shall lie or be instituted against any person for any act done in pursuance or execution of any Act of Parliament, or of any public duty or authority, or in respect of any neglect or default in connexion therewith, unless it is commenced within six months after the act or neglect complained of. Or, in plainer English, no action shall lie against any public administrative body, or its representative officer, for any wrong done by him or it, unless the writ, etc., is issued within six months of the committal of the wrong. Further, the Act provides that whenever an action is brought against a public body, and that body succeeds, the costs which the plaintiff has to pay shall not be the ordinary taxed party-and-party costs, but costs as between solicitor and client—which, it is scarcely necessary to explain, is a very different, and much more onerous, matter.[14]

This Act widely extends the area of official protection. It not only exalts the national Executive, but brings within the ambit of Governmental privilege every local lieutenant of Government—every county, borough, urban, rural and parish council, every board of guardians, and every dock and harbour and water authority, if that authority be of the so-called public kind. It is not confined to the affording of special protection to State and municipal officials in the execution of their proper administrative functions: it extends to the torts committed by a municipality in the ordinary trading operations in which modern municipalities engage. And this is a growing evil. For example, at the time when the Act was passed the London tramway service was in the hands of commercial companies, and if, say, a man was injured

the Board, that it shall not dismiss an appeal without a public local inquiry, and that any town-planning schemes which it may approve shall be laid, if anyone objects to them, before Parliament, before achieving final authority, Parliament having the power to quash the scheme by an address to the Crown. It will be gathered that this is no adequate protection against high-handed dealing with the property of private individuals.

[14] This provision as to costs should be contrasted with the practice of the Government when they find themselves in the wrong, and have to withdraw from an action. Recently the Attorney-General proceeded by information against Mr. Burdett-Coutts in connexion with a Revenue dispute. By the time the case came on for hearing, the Attorney-General found, from the decision in another case, that his action was quite unfounded, and he was obliged to withdraw the information. Yet, though he had put Mr. Burdett-Coutts to anxiety and trouble, he refused to pay his solicitor-and-client costs. He stood upon his technical rights, and would only pay party-and-party costs. So a citizen who was entirely in the right, and was proceeded against by a State official who was entirely in the wrong, was nevertheless forced to bear some part of the expense which the State official's blunder had forced upon him.—See *The Times*, October 18, 1911.

by the negligence of a tramway driver, the injured man had plenty of time in which to discover the extent of his injuries, to negotiate terms of compensation with the company, and, failing satisfaction, he could, in reason, consult his own convenience as to when he should commence legal proceedings. But since the passage of the Act the tramways of London have been acquired by the London County Council. And now, in consequence, a man so injured would have to learn the extent of his injuries, formulate his claim, conduct his negotiations (usually a tedious process), and instruct his solicitor, who would have to issue the writ, all within six months of the accident, or no redress would be obtainable. Is not that illogical? Is it not a hardship upon the citizen, and unfair treatment of traders like tramway companies and railway companies, who have to support municipal enterprises which enjoy not only special financial privileges, but also special privileges before the law which are denied to the companies whose rates support these municipal enterprises?

The absurd unlogic and injustice of the matter may be imagined by supposing a wayfarer knocked down by a tramcar in the neighbourhood of Tooting Broadway, where the County Council and private tramways meet. If the accident occurs in that part of the road where the tramway undertaking is owned by the company, he has his own time in which to decide the momentous question of taking legal proceedings. If he is unfortunate enough to get his injury from a similar tramcar a few yards away, his remedy is barred, unless he is under way with an action within six months.

And do not let any reader labour under the illusion that no public authority would be so mean as to insist upon its technical privilege in the matter. In my own practice I had a case which illustrated the avidity with which these bodies avail themselves of the privilege. A man was injured in a tramway accident in London, and the evidence available showed a good case for compensation. But the very fact of the injuries and the consequent upset led to some delay in making a claim; the dilatoriness of official correspondence enhanced the delay. Then when at last, unable to get compensation awarded voluntarily, the injured person went to a solicitor, and the solicitor had conducted some further ineffective negotiations, and a writ was issued, it was found that the day of issue was a day beyond the six months after the happening of the accident, and the action had to be abandoned.

The County Council had already given proof of its determination to stand upon its privileges. In *Parker* v. *London County Council*,[18] action was brought by an infant and his mother to

[18] Reported in *Law Reports* [1904], 2 K.B., p. 501; 20 *Times Law Reports*, p. 271.

recover damages alleged to have been caused by the negligence of the Council's servants, while plaintiffs were passengers on a tramcar belonging to the Council, through a collision with another of its tramcars, on the 16th of June 1902. Correspondence took place, and full particulars of the special damage were given to the Council on the 19th of November, but the writ was not issued until the 12th of January—more than six, but within seven, months of the accident. The Council relied on the Act, and Mr. Justice Channell had to hold that the Act exonerated them from liability, notwithstanding that he said he thought 'the Legislature was not contemplating at all the case of a municipal body carrying on a commercial enterprise.'

Perhaps an even worse case was *Hewlett* v. *London County Council*,[16] for there the County Council actually admitted in Court that the accident was caused by the negligence of its servant, and correspondence between the Council and plaintiff's solicitors with a view to effecting a settlement had been going on for a long time, and had only eventually broken down after the six months had elapsed. The Council objected to the correspondence being read in court, but it was read, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, adding that the Council had by its conduct induced the plaintiff to delay commencing an action. But the Judge was forced, nevertheless, to give judgment for the Council.

Another illustration may be found in the case of *Williams* v. *Mersey Docks and Harbour Board*.[17] There a widow brought an action under the Fatal Accidents Act, 1846, to recover damages for the death of her husband, which was due to injuries resulting from his falling into one of the Board's locks, through alleged negligence on the Board's part. The accident happened in December 1902, and the man died in December 1904. The action was commenced in February 1905. If the Dock Board had been a dock company the widow would have had until December 1905 in which to bring her action, but as it could claim the privileges of a public authority, it was held by the Court of Appeal that the Public Authorities Protection Act applied, and that, as the accident happened more than six months before the issue of the writ (it could not have been issued within six months, because the man was still alive), the widow must be deprived of her rights.

Another flagrant case was that of *Cree* v. *St. Pancras Vestry*.[18] There the Vestry had compelled the owner of some premises to execute works to a supposed drain. After he had incurred the

[16] Reported [1908] *J.P.*, p. 136; 24 *Times Law Reports*, p. 331.

[17] Reported in *Law Reports* [1905], 1 K.B., p. 804; 21 *Times Law Reports*, p. 397.

[18] Reported in *Law Reports* [1899], 1 Q.B., p. 693; 68 *Law Journal*, Q.B., p. 389.

expense the Vestry found that it had made a mistake, and that the supposed drain was a sewer, which the Vestry itself was liable to repair. The owner died about this time, and his executors claimed repayment of the money he had been forced wrongfully to expend. The Vestry refused, and the action to recover was not brought until more than six months after the expenditure of the money. The Court held that the money could not, therefore, because of the Public Authorities Protection Act, be recovered, and the executors not only lost their claim, but had to pay, in addition, not the Vestry's ordinary party-and-party costs of the action, but costs as between solicitor and client.

When the London water companies were disestablished, and a public authority took over the supply, we were bidden to anticipate the reign of justice. We were not bidden to remember the Public Authorities Protection Act. The Metropolitan Water Board has remembered it, however, as consumers who have been induced to overpay are finding to their cost. When an overcharge is detected the Board relies upon the Act, and on the strength of it refuses to disgorge overpayments in regard to which the Act can be pleaded. In one such case at the Lambeth County Court recently, Judge Parry condemned the practice as 'a most unprincipled thing,' and one which, if done by a private individual, would put that individual 'beyond the pale of ordinary civilisation.'

I could extend this list of futile attempts to break down this iniquitous statute, but space forbids. I must, however, cite just one more, as it emphasises the point that the period of six months allowed by the Act is sometimes insufficient for an injured person to find out how badly he is injured. In *Spittal* v. *Glasgow Corporation*,[19] the pursuer claimed damages for injuries sustained through a collision with one of the Corporation tramcars, alleged to be the fault of the driver. For more than six months after the date of the accident the pursuer said his condition was such that it was impossible to tell the extent of his injuries, which appear to have been very serious; so his writ was issued late. A jury probably could not within the prescribed time have gauged the compensation payable; but a jury was not given the opportunity: the Act was relentlessly applied.

It is time to close. The subject might be elaborated with greater illustrative detail. Further instances of a policy to aggrandise bureaucracy might be quoted—such as the triumvirate of all-powerful Commissioners which it was proposed to set up under the Licensing Bill of 1908, to determine according to their own sweet will what owners of public-houses should be allowed to continue to make a living, and which should be marked down for forcible

[19] Reported in 41 *Sc. Law Reports*, p. 629.

extinction; but it is hoped enough has already been collected to furnish a warning.

There are plenty of dangers which threaten the liberty of Britons to-day, plenty of evils which have crept into the body politic; but it is doubtful whether there is any danger more threatening, any evil more insidious and harmful than this already partially successful, but little regarded, effort to destroy the freedom of the individual and justice in the country, by pushing ever further the sphere of authority of the Executive, and meanwhile ousting the authority of the Courts, which are the sole protection of the individual against the tyranny of bureaucracy.

ERNEST E. WILLIAMS.

LIBERTY OF CRITICISM WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

A REJOINDER.

THE real importance of the issues at stake will, it may be hoped, justify my apparent boldness in attempting to reply to the weighty and suggestive article of the Bishop of Winchester which appeared in the November issue of this Review. I should wish, in the first place, to thank him for his courteous and generous treatment of my own paper which appeared in the October number. He will readily believe that if I continue the discussion, it is through no lack of respect for him, or desire for controversy, but because the questions raised affect profoundly the whole future of the Church of England, and, indeed, of religion itself. Being raised, it is well that they should be threshed out from every point of view.

It will be remembered by those who have followed the discussion that the Bishop admits to the full the main thesis of my original article. The attempts to check by methods of repression the progress of criticism and the development of religious thought form a sorry record of failure and mistake, and we have rightly come to view with grave suspicion all such appeals to authority. Since the Bishop makes no reference to the question of clerical subscription, with which I dealt at some length, we may, I hope, assume that he is not prepared to quarrel very seriously with my second contention: that the principles on which our creeds and formularies are understood in practice allow a very large measure of freedom in their interpretation.

The gist of his reply lies in this: that side by side with the principle of liberty must be placed the principle of authority and the Church's duty of bearing witness to revealed truth, while the 'Voysey case' shows us that authority still has its work to do, and that a 'philosophy of pure liberty' is impossible. Now, of course, it had not been my purpose to add to the long list of somewhat unconvincing dissertations on the theoretical relation between liberty and authority. Text-books of politics, art and theology are full of discussions on this well-worn theme. My object was pre-eminently a practical one. In view of the definite situation which had arisen in consequence of the withdrawal of

Mr. Thompson's licence by the Bishop, I attempted to show tha one particular form of 'authority,' working by certain methods had to its credit an almost unbroken record of failure and blunder The Church, or those who claimed, whether officially or otherwise to speak in its name, had again and again considered it its dut to attempt to prevent its ministers voicing new points of view theology when they came into conflict with the orthodoxy of th day or the traditions of the past. Again and again it had prov itself wrong, and had taken up positions which it was afterwar forced to evacuate with no little ignominy. We had confined ou survey to the story of the Church of England in the last centur, but the same lesson could be enforced from the record of almos every Church in every period. We have therefore a stubborn fa of history with a practical deduction which he who runs ma read. As good Pragmatists might, we had asked how this so of authority worked, and the answer had not been doubtful. W had come then to have a profound suspicion of it; the presumptio was enormously strong against its being right in any given case In particular we were justified in being not a little disturbed wit regard to the latest example of its exercise.

But what of the 'Voysey case' to which the Bishop naturall calls attention? He represents me as 'careering past it' with light heart. If I referred to it briefly, it was through no feelin that I was on thin ice, but merely because, however uncertai 'the limits of criticism' may be, the limits to the indulgence the most lenient editor or the most sympathetic reader are quit definite, and the article had already run to an inordinate length The case does not, I venture to submit, seriously affect our mai position, and it certainly has no bearing on the particular cas which is the immediate issue before the Church just now. Th Bishop himself frankly and generously repudiates as 'grossl untrue and unfair' 'the odious suggestion that there is no differ ence or slight difference between the author of a recent boo [*i.e.* Mr. Thompson] and Mr. Voysey.' The case of the latter i an 'extreme case.' He says, indeed, that I 'stated Mr. Voysey' heresies in pretty forcible terms,' with perhaps just the shadow a suggestion that I had found it convenient to paint them in some what dark colours. The description of his views was in fact take from the 'Articles' presented at the trial. We are not calle upon to re-try the case. It was argued with great fulness before th Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and with regard to th facts and the real meaning of Mr. Voysey's language, we have right to rest upon the long and impartial judgment which close the trial. Anyone who will be at the pains to read this will agre that we have, as I suggested, an instance not of an attempt to re-interpret Christian doctrines, but of a rejection of Christianit

as a whole. It is quite true that in his defence Mr. Voysey claimed to be re-interpreting, but, as the Bishop says, this defence was 'in the nature of a paradox.' There are many points in his long apologia with which we find ourselves more or less in sympathy, but it would not be possible to say of him, as we said of others, that his main positions have become admitted commonplaces of present-day theology.

We may admit, then, that authority was right for once. But, after all, if a would-be sportsman has been in the habit of shooting his host's dogs and maiming his friends, we do not encourage him to use firearms on the ground that he has once brought down a supposed mad bull. And if he argues that he must keep a gun to defend himself against burglars, we may insist that he shall confine its use strictly to this purpose, and we may fairly ask for some guarantee that, when he does shoot, he shall hit the burglar and not the policeman.

Again, the case is a fair illustration of the fact that there are some limits to what the official representatives of a Christian Church may be allowed to teach. As an abstract proposition few would deny this; certainly I myself never attempted to do so. In fact, I mentioned Mr. Voysey as an example of the sort of case where some appeal must ultimately be made to authority. But the force of the conclusion drawn from the far more numerous examples on the other side is in no way weakened. One who held strong opinions on the subject might argue strongly against the use of corporal punishment, pointing to the evil results and injustice to which he imagined it led, and yet he might quite freely allow that in an isolated case here and there its use might be defended. In view of such a case he might allow the birch to be kept on a very high and inaccessible shelf as a last resource in dire necessity. So we do not assert that expulsion or suspension for gross doctrinal error is never to be justified. But even here there is the important *caveat* that in cases where the intervention of authority is defensible in theory, it may still be unwise in practice. It may be more politic to ignore even the undoubted 'heretic' than to make him a martyr and call wide attention to his errors by invoking disciplinary measures.

We do not deny, then, that authority is right once in a century, that there are ultimate limits to freedom of criticism, that quite occasionally these limits may be exceeded, and that still more occasionally it may be wise to restrain those who exceed them. But on the whole we shall agree with the Bishop's objector when he says 'that the history of the claim to authoritative witness is too sinister to allow of its being practically conceded'; we shall only wish to add as a safeguard 'unless in extreme and quite indisputable cases.'

As a general indication of the sort of line which might be drawn between admissible and inadmissible criticism, the distinction was suggested between the interpretation and the rejection of fundamental[1] Christian doctrine. The Bishop doubts whether this distinction will quite bear the stress put upon it. No doubt it may be difficult always to draw a hard and fast line: there will be border-line cases, and each must be judged on its merits. But the distinction exists, and since the Bishop has no better test to offer us (he admits that it is 'impossible to answer in the abstract, hardly more possible in the concrete,' when, where, and how authority may be rightly exercised) it may serve as a rough guide. It has at least the advantage of being that laid down in the Voysey Judgment itself: 'He does not profess to interpret, he simply denies the positions asserted in the Articles, and asserts other doctrines inconsistent with and repugnant to them.'[2]

Or again:

> It has not been attempted by the Articles to close all discussion or to guard against varied interpretations of Scripture with reference even to cardinal articles of faith, so that these articles themselves are plainly admitted, in some sense or other, according to a reasonable construction, or according even to a doubtful, but not delusive, construction. Neither have we omitted to notice the previous decisions of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and especially the judgments of this tribunal, by which interpretations of the Articles of Religion which by any reasonable allowance for the variety of human opinion can be reconciled with their language, have been held to be consistent with a due obedience to the laws ecclesiastical, even though the interpretation in question might not be that which the tribunal itself would have assigned to the Article. . . . We think that the extracts deliberately exhibit the opinions of the appellant, by which the Articles of Religion, with reference to original sin, the sacrifice and suffering of Christ, the Son of God, both God and man, to reconcile His Father to man, the Incarnation and Godhead of the Son, His return to judge the world, the doctrine of the Trinity, are plainly contradicted and impugned.[3]

II

At any rate, we are not afraid to apply this test to what is, after all, the case from which we started. We must regret that the Bishop has apparently not felt himself free to say anything directly about Mr. Thompson, or his book, *Miracles in the New Testament*, on account of which he withdrew his licence. He allows that the *onus probandi* lies on those who exercise the

[1] As my original phrase drew the contrast between 'an attempt to restate or re-interpret doctrines' and 'the rejection of Christianity as a whole,' I hope the Bishop will allow me to insert this qualification into his paraphrase. It certainly expresses what I meant, and I think it is what he meant too.

[2] *Annual Register*, 1871, p. 178.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 186.

weapon of authority, but he does not attempt to show in what way this particular case falls within the somewhat vague limits where he finds authority necessary. As we have already seen, he acknowledges freely that there is no parallel between this case and that of Mr. Voysey.

There is, however, no reason, so far as I am aware, why we should not ourselves look more closely at the merits of this particular case. It has been canvassed at length in the religious Press, and it opens up most important issues, not merely in its bearing on the place of authority as a whole, but in the immediate questions which it raises. For Mr. Thompson's book is admittedly symptomatic; he has only stated explicitly and decisively a position towards which a number of clergy have long been feeling their way vaguely and tentatively. It is well to clear the ground of irrelevant considerations. It is urged that Mr. Thompson is a young man, that he has been rash and over-positive, or that he has not been sufficiently mindful of the distress he might cause to those of simple faith. These charges, so far as they are true, are only 'aggravating circumstances' which cannot come into consideration until the defendant has been proved guilty of the main offence. If all 'rash young men' were to be suspended, the supply of curates would be even shorter than it is, and the black list of every diocese would be a long one.

The real charge against Mr. Thompson is that he rejects (*a*) miracles in general, and (*b*) the particular miracles of the Virgin Birth and the Physical Resurrection. In so doing, is he rejecting essential doctrines of the Christian faith, or attempting to re-interpret them?

It will be understood that we are not proposing to discuss whether Mr. Thompson's arguments are critically or philosophically sound. The present writer is bound to confess that he has not been entirely convinced by them, able though they are. We are only asking whether the holding of such views is consistent with a sincere belief in Christianity. Nor must we delay over the question of miracles in general, though it would have been useful to show that in most cases Mr. Thompson's objection is not to the recorded facts of the Gospel story, but to the generally accepted explanation of those facts. It is, however, admitted that a wide freedom of criticism is allowed on these points.

The gravamen of the charge is that he rejects the Virgin Birth and the Physical Resurrection. Now, it cannot be emphasised too strongly that according to the Bishop's own admission Mr. Thompson is 'a devout believer' in the Incarnation.[4] The whole point of his argument, whether it be right or wrong, is that it means more, is more intelligible, and is more in accord with our

[4] See the Bishop's letter in the *Guardian*, September 15, 1911.

best conceptions of God, if we believe that the Christ was made like unto His brethren in all things, even in the manner of His birth. The closing pages of his book, which urge this point of view, are not conventional sops to orthodoxy; they express a sincere conviction which is shared in varying degrees of clearness by many, clergy and laity alike. The question, then, is whether one who does not believe in the Virgin Birth is rejecting a fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

We turn to the New Testament. The only certain mentions of the Virgin Birth are found in the opening chapters of the first and third Gospels; there are a few other very doubtful references. Now, much has been written about the 'silence' of St. Paul and St. John, St. Mark and other New Testament writers. Were they unacquainted with the Virgin Birth? Did they reject it? We need not answer these questions, and indeed no single answer would cover the different cases of all the writers. It is sufficient for our purposes that they build up their Christology in entire independence of the Virgin Birth. They base it on the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, and to place the miraculous Birth on a level with these in importance is to mistake entirely the balance of New Testament teaching. The 'test' of the First Epistle of St. John is 'whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God,' 'He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in him,' 'Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is *come in the flesh* is of God.' Nowhere in the New Testament is greater stress laid on sound doctrine than in this Epistle, but in no passage is belief in the Virgin Birth even mentioned, much less made a *sine qua non*. Need we add that we can appeal to the teaching of the Master Himself? Not even in His dealings with His most intimate friends does He drop a hint that faith in Himself depends on, or implies, a belief in a particular mode of His coming into the world. Every priest at his ordination undertakes 'to teach nothing as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which [he] shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by Scripture.' The whole gist of Mr. Thompson's position is that he is convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that, taking the evidence of the New Testament *as a whole*, the fact of the Virgin Birth cannot be proved by Scripture. And many who cannot follow him so far will yet be constrained to admit that the *acceptance* of it certainly cannot be so proved as necessary to eternal salvation.

It would not be difficult to collect a catena of quotations from recognised theologians to this effect; one must suffice us now. In 1903 Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster, published his well-known *Some Thoughts on the Incarnation*, in which he argues strongly for the truth of the belief in the Virgin

Birth. But he prefaced his book with an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he protests no less strongly against the cry for an authoritative pronouncement of the Bishops 'by way of meeting the questionings of recent times' on this subject. He deprecates 'the act of reassertion by authority of that which is questioned by criticism.' While the Incarnation itself is a cardinal doctrine of the faith, 'to say that the historical fact of the Virgin Birth is a cardinal doctrine of the faith is to use language which no Synod of Bishops, so far as I am aware, has ever ventured to use. It is to confuse the Incarnation with the special mode of the Incarnation in a way for which Christian theology offers no precedent.'

Similar considerations hold good with respect to the Physical Resurrection. The point in debate is not the continued personal life of Christ, manifested to His disciples and energising in His Church in every generation. This is accepted without reserve by Mr. Thompson and those who think with him. The question is as to the mode and the subsidiary accompaniments of the Resurrection. Did it imply some change in the material particles of the physical body? Was the tomb empty? If so, what had become of the body itself? What was the nature of the 'spiritual body' of which St. Paul speaks? What was its relation to the corpse which had been laid in the tomb? The answer to these questions would necessitate an exhaustive dealing with the evidence of the New Testament, and a consideration of more than one very difficult philosophical problem. The point which concerns us is whether a denial of the 'empty tomb' is equivalent to a denial of the Resurrection. Probably most educated people who believe fully in a future life for themselves do not imagine that anything will happen to their decayed bodies 'at the last day.' By the 'resurrection of the body' we mean our continued personal existence, the real persistence of the 'spiritual ego,' in a sphere of being where 'body' in anything like its material sense can have no place. 'Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.' St. Paul argues from the nature of Christ's risen body to our own; he equates the two, and we are entitled to reverse the argument. It is indeed a fair question as to how the disciples held so firmly to their belief in the reality of the Resurrection appearances unless they believed that the tomb had been found empty, and how the belief arose unless the fact were true. But this is a subsidiary question of proof. Many serious thinkers to-day find that their belief in the power and presence of a personal risen Christ is in no way connected with a belief in the physical miracle, which indeed they find a stumbling-block rather than a help. To deny the empty tomb is not to reject a doctrine, but to re-interpret its implications. It is in this con-

nexion impossible to protest too strongly against the language used by the Bishop of London in a recently published[5] correspondence with Mr. Thompson on this subject. He writes:

> I do not admit that the phrase 'the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead the third day' admits of being interpreted in any sense which is consistent with His Body having seen corruption like that of an ordinary man, or that the Christian hope could survive if the miracle were disbelieved.

It may fairly be urged that such language does quite as much harm and causes quite as much 'distress' to many serious minds as the unguarded utterance of extreme critical opinions does to others. Again a single quotation on the other side must suffice. Canon C. H. Robinson in his *Studies in the Resurrection of Christ* brands as 'singularly foolish' a widely-read book 'in which the writer sought to show that the continued existence of Christianity depends upon a belief in an empty tomb.'

> So far is this contention from being valid that if a belief in an empty tomb were no longer to be regarded as indispensable to a belief in the reality and genuineness of the Resurrection of Christ, some who are now unable to believe in His Resurrection would find it comparatively easy to do so.[6]

Or again, while arguing against a theory that the body had been removed by the Sanhedrin, he writes: 'It is however only fair to point out that the acceptance of this theory is not necessarily incompatible with a belief in the real objective Resurrection of Christ.'[7]

III

With regard to the whole position it is worth while calling attention to some recent words of the present Bishop of Oxford:[8]

> On the whole a free intellectual life is essential to religion. A religion which cannot face facts or assimilate all real knowledge becomes a superstition. And any change in the intellectual atmosphere demands—not a fresh revelation but a fresh theology—a fresh presentation of the old creed in new intellectual terms. We are all familiar with the peril which besets an old religion of becoming fanatical and obscurantist in face of new knowledge.

Dr. Gore apparently uses 'creed' in the sense of 'faith,' but if the old 'faith' needs to be presented in new intellectual terms we obviously cannot exclude as inadmissible all attempts to re-interpret or restate the old creeds in which that faith has been formulated. Again, with direct reference to the points we have been considering, he writes[9]:

> Contemporary criticism *seems* to be—we do not believe that it is really, but it seems to be—demanding in the name of freedom the negation of the

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[5] *Guardian*, November 10, 1911. [6] *Op. cit.* p. 18. [7] *Ibid.* p. 70.
[8] *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1911, p. 104. [9] *Ibid.* p. 105.

miraculous which enters into our fundamental creed, and is of the essence of our religion. Of the essence of our religion—so Westcott spoke of it, and we believe rightly. Can Christianity ignore the miracles of the Virgin birth and bodily resurrection and remain Christianity? *This is the question which at this moment requires the most careful examination in the light of the best mind,*[19] and not merely the narrowly critical or narrowly scientific intellect, of our time. We believe that neither science nor criticism can claim that its own freedom within its own sphere is rendered impossible if the basis of historical Christianity in miraculous acts of God is maintained. But here is the most anxious point of contemporary controversy. We have not the time to pursue the inquiry here.

The importance of this pronouncement can hardly be exaggerated, when we remember the quarter from which it comes. Dr. Gore emphasises his own firm conviction that the miracles in question are of the essence of Christianity. But at the same time he implies that the question is an open one, and has not been decided once for all; otherwise it would be an insult to the best mind of our time to invite it to a most careful examination of it. It is the whole position for which we are contending. We may have the gravest hesitation in accepting the views of which Mr. Thompson's are an example. Still less do we urge that the Church as a whole should in any way commit herself to them, or even indicate any approval of them. We simply urge that the questions should not be prejudged, but left open for 'the most careful examination' from every point of view.

Our quarrel with the Bishop of Winchester is that he has in fact prejudged these questions, and with the Bishop of Oxford that he upholds his action in doing so. Yet the latter urges that they require further study and examination. It is not out of place to quote once more Temple's words to Tait: 'Such a study, so full of difficulties, imperatively demands freedom for its condition. To tell a man to study, and yet bid him, under heavy penalties, to come to the same conclusions with those who have not studied, is to mock him. If the conclusions are prescribed, the study is precluded.'

There are three possible answers to the questions at issue. The ultimate verdict may be that the facts discussed are both true and essential to Christianity; or that they are probably true, but not fundamental; or that they are neither true nor fundamental. The convinced believer in Christianity may be forgiven if he refuses to contemplate what is logically a fourth possible answer, that the facts are fundamental, but not true.

It is at least conceivable that either the second or the third of these answers may turn out to be the right one; there is already a considerable body of serious opinion which inclines to the second. If so, what verdict will future generations pass on the withdrawal of Mr. Thompson's licence? Dr. Talbot himself

[19] The italics are mine.

contemplates the possibility of a mistake. 'If it [authority] wrongly assumes something to be of the essence which is in truth only of the accident time will expose its mistake, and new cases will be added to Mr. Emmet's black list of authority's blunders.' Considering the almost unbroken record of authority's mistakes in the past, the probability of a further mistake, so long as it acts on the same principles, cannot be regarded as altogether negligible. It is a little difficult to write quite calmly of the Bishop's point of view. It is as though a judge should say: 'We admit that the Courts have continually been wrong in cases similar to your's, and it is quite possible we may be wrong now, but authority must be upheld and we must bear our witness to the claims of truth; therefore you are sentenced to penal servitude for an indefinite number of years. If it should turn out that your supposed offence is no offence, no doubt you will ultimately be released.' It hardly needs saying that the Bishop of Winchester is the last man one would accuse of any intentional injustice; I apologise even for the denial of such a suggestion. The blame lies not on the individual, but on the inherent defects of the method employed. It must be remembered that we are not concerned now with mere authoritative pronouncements or manifestoes, for which no one but the authors may be 'one penny the worse,' but with the infliction of a serious punishment.[11] We cannot pass with a light heart over the possibility of a mistake. The great principle of English justice is that it is better that many guilty should escape than that a single innocent man should suffer.

Now, this principle rests not merely on consideration for the individual, but on the disastrous effects which a miscarriage of justice has on men's respect for law, and on the prestige of the responsible authority. We have been reminded of the claims of the authority of the Church, and of its duty of bearing witness. It is precisely because we care about these things, when properly interpreted, that we are eager to prevent them from being misapplied. There can be little doubt that the low estate of Church authority and the scant regard paid to its witness are due to the admitted blunders of the past, which have brought both into disrepute. The Bishop sees in its mistakes 'signs of the protective resistance by which the instinct and reason of the Christian society repel what is alien to the integrity of its Trust.' The point of view is a little paradoxical. Did the Church really vindicate its authority by attempting to anathematise one whom in the next generation it was to welcome as its Archbishop? Can

[11] It is quite true, and I hasten to add that the Bishop remarks on the fact with pleasure, that in this particular instance the *immediate* effects are not so serious as they might be, since Mr. Thompson's position as Fellow and Dean of Divinity of his College is untouched. But this is an 'accident'; presumably the Bishop would feel bound to adopt the same course in a case where the victim's whole professional career might be affected.

it commend its claim to witness to the Truth by rejecting and penalising new points of view, good and bad alike, until the spirit of the age forces it to accept them?

Let it be repeated once more that we do not ask that the Church should embrace eagerly every new thing. Conservatism undoubtedly has its place in Church as in State. We welcome 'the massive orthodoxy of a Pusey or the fiery vigilance of a Liddon,' when the one gives us the Commentary on *Daniel* or the treatise on *Eternal Punishment,* and the other the Bampton Lectures on *The Divinity of Our Lord*. The point is whether conservatism would not conduct its defence more effectively if it would content itself with the rapier of discussion, and leave on the shelf the blunderbuss of authority. We may ask further whether the real authority of the Church would not gain if it abandoned its old methods, and whether its witness would not be listened to with greater respect, if it confined itself to the sphere where it has a right to speak.

IV

Is it possible to indicate very briefly where the true authority of the Christian society lies, and the field in which its witness is really of decisive weight? May we not say that its witness guarantees primarily and completely the facts and experiences of the religious life, and only secondarily and partially the theology in which those facts clothe themselves? The Dean of St. Paul's gives us the very phrase we are looking for. 'The authority of the Church, rightly understood, is the authority of the redeemed race, the elect—*the stored spiritual experience of humanity.*' [12] The idea harmonises exactly with the stress which modern psychology has come to lay on the reality and validity of religious experience. The individual is not an isolated unit, nor does he start *de novo*. When in prayer he finds himself in communion with a Higher Power, he can fortify himself as to the reality of his experience by the remembrance that it agrees with that of the elect souls of the race. If, on the other hand, he can feel nothing himself, and denies that there is anything to be felt, we may fairly refer him 'to authority'—the authority based on accumulated experience. This authority has a right to speak to the religious fact which it knows at first-hand; each individual—so far as his experience is genuine—adds his quota to the evidence, and goes to swell the crowd of witnesses. Or we may take such a doctrine as that of the Atonement. When we are inclined to explain away the death of Christ as merely a striking example of love and self-sacrifice, we are again and again pulled up short by the undoubted fact that each generation of Christians, beginning with that of St. Peter and St. Paul, has found in it something more. The authority of their experience, varied and widespread, seems

[12] *Faith and its Psychology*, p. 124.

decisive; they witness at first-hand to a fact—the Cross does somehow bring to the sinner the sense of forgiveness and the practical power of a new life. But the theological interpretations of this fact, found in Articles or Confessions, stand on a different footing; they are attempts to analyse and explain the experience, valuable, no doubt, but partial, inadequate and temporary.

The same principle may be applied widely to the Eucharist, the Inspiration of Scripture, to the Incarnation itself. The Church is the witness to the Resurrection, not because it is in a position infallibly to guarantee by supernatural evidence the historical accuracy of certain events, but because it can testify by a varied and ever-growing experience to the power of the living Christ. On this sort of witness we cannot lay too much stress.

Here, I think, we shall have the Bishop on our side. 'The Church exists to testify' to a Person and a Life, rather than to a Creed or a Theology. What is the ultimate relation between the two? We do not wish to prejudge the answer; it 'is the most anxious point of contemporary controversy.' We only ask that others shall not prejudge it on their side, and that it may be recognised that more than one answer may be given without disloyalty to the common faith.

The problem of the relationship between Christianity and modern thought is difficult, and requires the most careful handling. To insist that on such matters as the place and interpretation of the miraculous traditional orthodoxy has said the last word is obstinately to shut our eyes to the clear teaching of history, and to deny the abiding presence of the Spirit of God, working through many and various channels. The Church has tried the method of repression, and by common admission it has failed. Is it not wise enough and strong enough to rest with a consistent and practical faith on the fundamentally Christian principles of liberty, and the inherent power of truth? The experiment is at least worth a trial.

Much will be gained if it can be realised that in the present controversy all are at one as to the fundamental facts on which the real religious life of the Christian rests. Our discussion touches only the comparatively subsidiary points of the proof, the explanation, and the logical corollaries of those facts. 'The foundations will be cast down' has been the cry of the fearful in every generation; but when the storm has passed away, it is seen that the things which have been shaken are not foundations after all. For 'the Lord's seat is in heaven,' and the real source and the ultimate evidences of our Christian faith belong to a region where the searching winds of criticism cannot penetrate.

CYRIL W. EMMET.

THE SOCIAL ENGLISH

The general drift of these remarks will be extremely comfortable and pleasant and friendly, but a few reproving criticisms must occur in the course of them. I am told, and believe, that a critic of painting or music should be able to paint a little or play the piano, but he need not necessarily do it well. Everyone who lives in the world at all must have manners good or bad, but the critic of manners need not be assumed to approve of his own. Indeed, it is likely that the person more than usually keen to observe manners, being more than usually sensitive, should commit many faults of his own, from the acuteness of his feelings or from the over-subtlety of his efforts to study other people's. He will be more easily rebuffed, and, in consequence, silent or awkward, he will appear heartless to the less sensitive from fear of touching on what is painful, and so forth. For my part, I awake miserable in the night from some reminiscent dream of clumsy or offensive acts or words of mine, and I do not know that I can make that excuse. There is always something of a boomerang about criticism of manners, but now no reader is justified in assuming any odious self-complacency in me, no acquaintance in turning an ironical eye on me when next we meet. I am only a critic.

I do not propose to contradict Matthew Arnold. Much of what he observed in our life generally as hideous and base is unfortunately much the same. We revel in stupid murders, and some time ago the 'Life Story' of a wretched girl accused of complicity in one of them was advertised, written by her wretched father or mother, as the great attraction of a popular paper. My theme is a much narrower one, being only the English as they appear in the manners and talk of their social life. Even so it might well fill a big book, or a row of big books, for that matter. But since those books will never be written by me I may as well set down the notes which reading and a rather widely varied experience have suggested to me, even though they be rather outlines or headings for a more elaborate study than the study itself.

It is my belief that our manners are more agreeable and easy than they have ever been, are indeed distinctly civilised, and a credit to us generally. It would be, of course, a hopeless attempt to prove this conclusively and directly. One cannot quote a

number of agreeable remarks and contrast them with less agreeable conversations preserved for us, and if one could the method would be fallacious. What I propose to do is to examine the causes which I think have produced the changes for the better in which I believe, to show how probable it is they should have produced such changes, and invite you to recollect your reading in memoirs and novels and plays of manners, and look about you and compare. I think you will then agree with me. We shall ramble about a good deal, excusably, I hope, since this article is a collection of notes and not a scientific treatise, and we shall dive now and then beneath the surface of appearances, and possibly—for this is my ambition—bring back with us a little pearl worth finding, a suggestion, to wit, for the quality in our social civilisation which distinguishes it from others, and for which, if we are to be overwhelmed and perish, the world would do well to mourn our disappearance. I see in fancy an arching of foreign eyebrows, but let the foreign reader bear with me to the end.

Let me first remove one obstacle to belief. Old people very often tell us that manners were better when they were young, and we, observing what charming manners the old people themselves have, are apt to think they must be right. It is an illusion. Old people have good manners because they are old, not because their manners were better than ours when they were young. They are no longer obsessed as are young people with their own passions and ambitions, and they have learned tolerance and to be merely amused by extravagant opinions, or if they have not their prejudices sit prettily on them. In every generation it is a common saying that manners have grown worse, and it is absurd to ask us to believe that they have progressively deteriorated since the days when people called one another bad names, and fought on the spot over a difference in opinion. Old people, too, are often referring to a different standard or principle, as when they complain of a lack of reverence in children towards their elders, not observing that the spirit of comradeship may be just as good a thing as the spirit of discipline. As an ageing person myself, I think it far more agreeable, and trust that my age at least will never be reverenced. But let us now get into the thick of the main subject.

Manners are of the head and the heart. Perfect manners can be only of both, because occasions there must be in social life when the heart is not a sufficient guide. A clever person with little or no heart may be better mannered as a rule if he takes pains than a good-natured person with little or no head; but when he falls, as he is pretty sure to fall some time, his selfishness or irritation betraying him, he falls with a thud. Indeed, it is curious to observe how often very clever people, with every reason to

iciliate those about them, offend from sheer bad nature, indiffer-
ce to others' feelings, or brutal aggressiveness, whereas, when
r clumsy, well-meaning fellow goes wrong, nobody who is
both fool and prig really minds, and one loves him the more
er his apology, which usually makes the blunder worse. Now,
m sorry to say I cannot pretend for a moment that we English
ve been gaining in intelligence. The evidence is too sadly
ong the other way. We are not what we were in matters for
ich we once had a special aptitude, and do please, look, though
y for the briefest moment, at the mental quality of our popular
pers and novels. Consequently it is improbable, to say the
st, that examples of exquisite fine breeding should be more
uent than they were. That must be, say what you will, an
ir partly of intelligence, of quick perception, imagination, the
of the right word, with something of humour added, if our
yment is to be complete. I may say that the examples I
w are nearly all of men, and somebody says that intellect is
nale speciality : I would rather say that intellect in a woman is
to be a little too conscious and proud of itself. I have read in
ingenious Mr. Chesterton that all men have bad manners
ept those under the immediate influence of women, who are the
mplars and guardians of manners, and I think he is altogether
ong. They may take it as an *amende* (or they may not—I am
at all sure) that the most perfect manners known to me are
sessed by a woman, but she also has very rare gifts of perception
humour. Such fineness of breeding, however, in woman or
n, must be rare, just as fine painting or poetry is rare, and
reover it needs some hard trial of circumstance before it can
surely known ; it is rare now, and I think it always was rare.
not the theme of this article, which deals with a more average
ter—the pleasant manners which are all the better for some
lligence, but are mainly based on friendliness and kindness.
it is quite certain that we English are a kinder people than
were. That is proved by many things. The worst blot on our
ory is the treatment of factory-workers, especially of women
children, in the beginning of our industrial prosperity ; the
tment may be hard still, but it is no longer inhuman. Our
for the sick and old, and our attitude to prisoners and
nders against the law prove the change. Our tenderness and
itude for children run into an unwholesome worship of them
and there, but think of the unfortunate 'Fairchild family' !
y middle-aged person must have noticed the disappearance of
ality in our dealings with the other animals. Without any
t at all we are kinder all round. There are observers who
that we are softer all round, and that this kindness is but the
eable side of it, the other being loss of courage and endurance

and manhood. 'When Britain set the world ablaze, in good King George's glorious days,' we were harsher and hardier.

Well, we may be softer, and if so, it is a pity, but that has nothing to do with kindness, for in civilised peoples the bravest men are nearly always the gentlest. In any case we *are* kinder, and it is inevitable that the fact should appear in our ordinary social intercourse. And surely and obviously it does so. Do but remember not only the rows and scrimmages of olden days, but the rude encounters of the 'wits' in more recent times, the incessant effort to 'score' at any cost to somebody else's feelings. The idea of social intercourse seems to have been a hostile encounter or competition; it is now, or is becoming, as it should be, an occasion merely of mutual pleasure. If the 'art of conversation,' which is alleged to be dead, involved necessarily all the competitive rudeness and snubbing of which one reads, the monologues and breezes, I should rejoice at its decease, but, of course, it did not necessarily involve them. One who was considered, and rightly, as of the very best talkers of our time, was remarkable, even more than for his own wit, for the skilful sympathy with which he appealed to and drew out the previously silent: he is dead, alas! but he would be only middle-aged were he still with us. That is the true model, and I think it is followed unconsciously more often than it was. And even when there is no occasion for it, when there is no predominant wit but everyone is talking, well or not, happily together, I would rather by far be of that company than of one when the most brilliant talker you like was exercising his wit at the expense of a butt who did not enjoy it. Would not you also? The mere monologist, however clever, is universally voted a bore among us: the wit who wanted to crush people, like Samuel Rogers, we simply would not tolerate. All this is because we are kinder, and whether it means that we are less brilliant or not, it certainly means that we are better-mannered.

This point is as good as another at which to dispose of the objection that our conversation is rough because it is so full of chaff and slang. It really is not an absolute rule that formality and punctilio imply good manners. There are occasions, no doubt, when these are necessary, and when chaff would be offensive, but they are rare, happily, and the occasions are more numerous when formality would be even more offensive, because it would be unfriendly. You must pass this truism, because it may serve to correct a vague but prevalent idea, that various societies we read of which had more forms and ceremonies than ours therefore had better manners. The contemporary English might be the better, perhaps, for a little more ceremony in public: a little more hat-raising, for instance, when men enter a shop served by women,

or enter a restaurant, would do them no harm. But the ceremonies of our ancestors often went with a good deal of rudeness. In the old plays, where everyone was everyone else's humble servant, what rude things they said! And gentlemen who were always sweeping their hats with a profound bow not infrequently dashed them in one another's faces. Formality, like familiarity, may be well or ill timed. But assuredly chaff is, at its best, the salt of conversation. It is a mistake to suppose that it is a modern invention, because it is a natural human instinct among friends, and one finds it scattered everywhere in history. You find it in Plato's dialogues, in the letters to George Selwyn, in the jokes of the Regency—where it was very poor and coarse. It is the accusers of our manners, however, who allege that it distinguishes our time especially, and we will accept their allegation. The more chaff of the right sort the better, say I. It bridges gaps in acquaintance, it produces an atmosphere of intimacy more quickly than anything else, and even when it is barren it fills with a fair appearance the place of the wit which is lacking. Like everytking else, it may be used excessively, and it is a bore when some of us would argue seriously; but that is a defect of intelligence, not of manners. So with slang. Slang is a bore when people will use the same word or phrase of it to express anything, but there again it is intelligence, not manners, that is at fault. Slang in itself, which most often is simply a new or revived metaphor, seems to me rather preferable as an ornament of speech to the oaths of our ancestors, though I am no pronounced enemy of oaths, either. Here, again, I am set off at a tangent, like Sterne, and would there were more resemblances! —in regard to oaths. Swearing is said to be an occasionally offensive feature of modern manners, being used, that is, when it should not be used. If that be true I fancy the explanation to be this. Among themselves our males—I hope I do not offend my associates—do not object to strong language when they know one another fairly well. They avoid it instinctively in the society of ladies. But some ladies, in these days, like their ancestresses, do not object to it either, and even use it themselves, and then, of course, there are no bad manners in the men who swear within limits, because nobody is annoyed. The male mind, however, may grow confused by this licence and lose its instinctive restraint in the matter, and so an occasional stray word may be dropped unawares and unfortunately. The same explanation may apply to a story or joke offensive to the propriety of the last generation, and told to an unhappily chosen audience in this. One hears such a complaint now and then. But I do not think such things often happen, and they are but a small affair. . . . Less formality on the one side, more chaff and slang on the other, what does it all mean but that as our social civilisation improves strict rules are

found less needful, and natural fun and emphasis can have their play? Chaff and slang make for ease and friendliness, and these, after all, are the basis of good manners.

In this connexion there may as well be a separate paragraph about the manners of the young and adolescent. I have just read again an essay of Mr. Max Beerbohm, in which he attacks quite bitterly the manners of contemporary young women. Well, I am some years older than he, and have arrived at a time of middle life at which one is not apt to be a harsh critic of young women. I am sure, however, that he is far happier in the company of contemporary girls than he would have been with those of 1820, whose manners he eulogises so wistfully. In one respect I agree with him. It is a pity that the teaching of a graceful deportment should have gone out of fashion—I mean in the matter of moving and sitting, and so forth. I have in mind a lady who was taught those arts by Taglioni, and whose movements certainly shame the girls of the period. But when it comes to conversation the girls of this period, being more individual and articulate, are a world more interesting than those of a hundred years ago, who would have bored Mr. Beerbohm to death, and I question if their manners are not better also. They are sometimes too brusque and downright: that is a fault of self-conceit, and theirs is more respectable than their ancestresses, because it comes from a good opinion of their own wits and perceptions, and not from infallible maxims and views laid down for them. Downrightness, too, shows interest. I would far rather that a girl who disagreed with me were to say, as nowadays she might say, 'Oh, that's frightful rot!' and proceed to argue vehemently, than that she should give me a frigid 'Indeed! I fear I cannot agree with you,' and change the subject. The former, in my opinion, would be the better mannered of the two. As for the very young men, Mr. Beerbohm rightly condemns their slouching and inattention to appearances, which compulsory military service, as I hope, will cure in them. I do not find anything to complain of in their attitude to myself; rather the contrary, indeed, since it seems to me less aloof and retiring than ours was twenty years ago, to men of my age. Mr. Beerbohm arraigns their casual carriage towards girls of their own age, but I will explain how that happens, and why he should be easy about it, a little later; there is a more creditable reason than the numerical preponderance of women in England to which he is driven. We must now go back to the causes.

The increasing kindness and humanity of the English, then, I take to be the chief cause, perhaps, of their greater ease and amiability in society. That is a good cause, and operates altogether in a good manner. There is another cause which may be good or bad, but which operates sometimes through the less

fine qualities of poor humanity. I refer to the ever greater fluidity of our classes, which is a commonplace of social observation. We are mixed up socially every day with greater and greater freedom. It is true that certain gloomy observers see emerging from our economic circumstances a plutocracy which will form a real caste. I hope that will not happen, and as I am not dealing with the future, I may disregard the possibility. What the manners of such an avowed plutocracy would be like I do not know, and with all my optimism would rather not guess. M. Anatole France's prophecies in his *Iles des Pingouins* were not encouraging. For the present, if we are governed by a plutocracy it is good enough to mask its authority in social intercourse, and does not prevent the fluidity of classes I spoke of. Now, in a rigid caste system the manners of each caste may be good within itself, and are less likely to be good as between caste and caste. The family party—I had written 'happy family,' but what with its duels and divorces it was hardly that—the family party which formed the English aristocracy in Horace Walpole's or Charles Fox's time was certainly easy, and was very tolerably amiable, I should think, in its internal manners; the country gentry were rather rough; the middle classes were stiff and dull, as until lately they remained; the lower orders were distressingly brutal. The manners of superior caste to inferior caste I am sure were of an extreme arrogance and patronage on the whole. Well, these distinctions have been continuously losing their significance, though convenience still enforces the invidious use of them in writing. The aristocracy has still much power, but it is also partly an element of the plutocracy and partly an illusion; nobody could perform the tiresome task of defining the middle classes; the lower orders, bad as their economic condition is often, have often, also, scant cause to envy those who aforetime were their immediate superiors, and so far as social life goes, do gain something from the lip homage paid to equality. And the whole thing is being mixed up, though social distinctions remain more rigid in the lower than in the higher strata. Now, when these classes first began to mingle there must have been a great deal of patronising manner and conceit, and giving of airs on one side, and a great deal of unsocial watchfulness and degrading servility on the other. Snobbishness in any ordinary sense is impossible in a rigid caste system: it gets its head when the barriers are broken down. As time has gone on, however, I see, comparing one thing with another, a great improvement. Partly kindness and humanity, as I said, but partly a reason less noble—decreasing power and stability on one side, increasing *possibility* of power on the other. Let me illustrate. When, fifty years ago or so, an average duke made the acquaintance of an unknown

Mr. Smith, I am sure his manner, however affable, was patronising to an extent which would be extremely unpopular now, while Mr. Smith was generally diffident and obsequious in a degree which made pleasant intercourse impossible. But the average duke to-day is aware, I feel pretty sure, that dukes are not quite what they were, that he is in a way on his trial, and had best be conciliatory on the whole; while this unknown Mr. Smith may turn out to be a remarkably important fellow. The wide and constantly changing mixture involves much ignorance about chance acquaintances. Smith, on his side, is not awed as his predecessor was, to begin with, and then if, unlike you and me, he has not humanity enough to take his duke simply, without worrying about the dukedom, he is probably anxious above all things—thanks to the anti-snob satirists—to dissimulate his snobbishness, and if he makes a mistake it is probably in the direction of an inverted snobbishness, of a too easy familiarity. So here and in a thousand like cases qualities not the noblest in us work on the whole for a comfortable sociality. Of course I know that the worst manners on the face of the earth belong to those successfully aspiring snobs who are short-sighted enough to slight their old acquaintances, or to snobs who are afraid that too great intimacy, or even association, with people (infinitely their betters, very likely) not in favour with the common world may prejudice their own miserable ambitions. But these, I sincerely hope and believe, are rare exceptions whom a more enlightened community will merely push into a lethal chamber on the first offence. On the whole, when snobbishness is at all illuminated by intelligent self-interest it works for conciliation and bonhomie in the sphere of manners. . . . In the mixture of classes, again, manners have filtered down, inevitably, and those of the upper classes used certainly to be better, because more natural and less embarrassed, than those of the classes technically beneath them. There are people who are annoyed by a lack of deference toward them in shops and so forth. I cannot sympathise with them, and I believe that real dignity seldom fails of respect. The manners of class to class, not only in equal social intercourse, but in all the occasions of service, are infinitely more agreeable than they were. Even the suddenly enriched learn by observation that a *de haut en bas* manner to waiters and shopkeepers is not the best. And what young man of fashion would dream in these days of calling his valet 'scoundrel' and 'rascal,' as was the common custom aforetime if we believe the books and plays? I am told that in this respect, at least, of our attitude towards technical inferiors, we much-criticised English may be favourably compared with some peoples abroad. That a real democracy exists anywhere may be

doubted. But an apparent democracy by making for a common form in manners tends vastly to improve them—when there is a good model for imitation, which fortunately we English have possessed.

This slight comparison brings me to one of greater significance, to that dive below the surface of which I spoke at the beginning, to the pearl I fondly hope may be found there. The English, I truly believe, have 'rounded Cape Turk' at last, or at least the best of them have done so, and if that is the fact indeed, then surely our English civilisation has achieved something of its own. There is the Mussulman attitude to women. I have no quarrel with it; travellers have told me that it promotes the greatest happiness of the greatest number; I daresay it does. There is the attitude of chivalry, or of idealised chivalry. I have no quarrel with that either when it is genuine, for then it is a beautiful thing. As an attitude of a man to a woman there may be found in it the deepest happiness known to us, our strongest instincts and our least petty and selfish qualities of the spirit working together. I count him wise who worships what he finds kindest and sanest and finest in humanity; I count him most happy if he finds that in a woman; I count the cynic who calls him the mere dupe of sex a fool. But that attitude I praise as one of a man to a woman, the fruit of deep and intimate experience, and only so can it be approved by sense as well as sentiment. As an attitude of men to women generally it is rarely genuine, and then it is a beautiful folly; it is more often a sham, and one remembers that when the sentimental worship of women was most popular with us the usage of women in factories was most vile. There is a third attitude, that professed by modern Western civilisation, as to beings free to think and act for themselves, and worthy of attention on equal terms. It does not exclude the saner chivalry, and the man, happy in knowing one woman whose welfare is more to him than his own, to whom he is in a real sense devoted, is precisely the man who most easily can treat the other women of his world in a vein of rational friendship and acquaintance, with no perpetual obsession of their sex. The road of progress which Western life has followed in regard to women may be in one sense a return, if we believe the story of their position in the Germanic tribes of old, may be a re-assertion of our racial spirit after its centuries-long thraldom to alien influences and authority. St. Paul—I trust I may mention the fact without offence—was an Asiatic. In any case we have followed that road for a long time now, and it is futile to hope for a return: there is the stationary Eastern ideal, and there is the moving Western: we must take one or the other.

In other countries as well as in England this road has been

followed, and I do not know that ours is distinguished by anywise lead in respect to material equalities and opportunities for women. That subject is beset with the gravest difficulties, and fortunately it is quite beside my purpose to discuss it. If women should have votes, *if they should hold* importantly responsible positions, if wives should labour in factories—these questions let others dispute. They are doing so with much heat, and as it seems to me, with much disposition to ignore the essential: I agree with the 'advanced' party in some respects, disagree in others, as my customary fate is in most discussions. My special point is that in social life, in the attitude of men to women as they talk and take their social pleasures together, we English have gone, and gone wisely, beyond the other peoples of the West in a sincere respect and friendliness which has nothing to do with sex. I mean that the most amiable of us accept and show that we accept our women friends on their merits as social creatures simply. Heaven forbid I should affirm that we have abolished the indirect consequences of sex. Most miserable then were we to have lost so much of the savour and fun of life. For my part I should think most of the charm of social life gone if I ceased to prefer a reasonably attractive woman as a companion to a man of equal conversational gifts. I mean that we are not obsessed by sex, are not always thinking of it in regard to the women we meet. It is very likely indeed that the reader knows more of foreign people than I, and I am very sorry if his knowledge will not support me. All I can say is that such experience and reading and indirect knowledge as I have convince me that the Latin civilisation has never really gone beyond regarding women from the sexual view only. Of course that does not appear too openly or offensively among well-bred people. But the man of the Latin civilisation—which of course is wider than the so-called Latin races—seems to me, in his social intercourse, to be dominated entirely by the fact whether or no the women he meets attract him as women. Within the range of their civilisation other people may be more civilised than we: in this attitude to women I believe we have extended civilisation beyond the old range, have achieved or are achieving something new: pity, I think, if we have no time given us to improve on the experiment. Meredith said that true comedy began only when women were admitted to a social equality; social civilisation, I think, is only perfect where that equality is real, and where, therefore, a fact which after all is irrelevant to social occasions no longer dominates them.

In all this I have written perhaps a little too absolutely, but if that is so it was to make my point with reasonable brevity. It is certainly far from me to accuse my countrymen of a priggish exclusion of natural feelings in society, of imperceptiveness or

dulness before physical beauty in women. A face fair beyond others, a charm which is distinctively feminine—those qualities must first engage the attention of natural man everywhere, and most often continue to hold the first place in his regard. But we do not—the amiable of us—allow them to confuse a sensible equality of attitude in social life, which we feel would be unfair to their possessor as well as to others. I think, too—and will no attractive woman of cosmopolitan experience support me?—that their possessor, consulting an English lawyer or doctor, would have a greater certainty of his repressing the emotions they might excite and attending strictly to her case than if she were consulting his foreign colleagues. I have heard so. To put it roughly, we make love when we make love, but we do not make half love on inappropriate occasions, counting it ill manners. That at least is our intention, and when we fall short of it we are criticised. A deeper philosopher than I may find some inner cause in our nature for the change. We are not less philoprogenitive than other men. Is it not possible, indeed, that a constant preoccupation with sex is more likely to fritter away real passion than to strengthen it? But I will leave the matter there: after all, I remind myself that, whatever our social merits, we are prudes in our reception of public utterances, and that I am not writing a scientific treatise. . . . Whatever unseen cause may produce this change or advance, its effect on our manners is obviously great. Dried up is the perpetual stream of personal compliments in which we were wont to paddle, and which other nations use more or less copiously still. I fear our excellent grandfathers were often clumsy at the business, and I am sure that contemporary Frenchmen are skilful and tactful at it, but I think our custom is the more comfortable even if we could be as witty as they. It must surely be a bore for a beautiful woman with brains that her face should never be taken for granted, even as those ladies among us who are public orators resent the reporting of their clothes to the exclusion of their speeches. Then, too, in the day of personal compliments what was done about the plain and unattractive women? If they were left out it was invidious; if they were brought in it was patently insincere, and therefore (I should imagine) offensive. Oh, no, ours is the more comfortable course. No doubt our equal and friendly attitude may err on the side of roughness. We should know when our attitude of absolute equality is unacceptable, as it may be to foreign ladies, and is, and should be, to old ladies of any country. Mr. Beerbohm rightly rebukes young men who are too off-hand, but I trust I have shown him that this fault comes from a better cause than he supposed, and may be called a fault on the right side. Chaff of a woman may be rude, but so may be chaff of a man. That is the fault of a naturally bluff people,

but surely the risk of meeting with it is a small price for women to pay if they are relieved from an insincere and tiresome deference. They will not miss, in consequence, any of the real homage which is reserved for their private ears.

Such are the causes which in my opinion have produced in the last generation or so, and more particularly in the last twenty years, a very great improvement in our English manners, rendering them far more natural and easy and agreeable. That they are sometimes rough I have admitted, but I do not admit that they are rougher in a bad sense than they were, believing that formality can go hand-in-hand with great essential roughness to other people's feelings. I wonder how far the reader has agreed with me in all this. If only a little or not at all, I should like to hear his objections and reason with him. He may be under an historical illusion. I think the pretty ceremonies with which we credit the past are greatly extended by tradition, especially by stage tradition. A certain sedateness and gravity of culture, for example, may well have distinguished the Court of Charles the First, but that may have been lost before the Restoration in the turmoil and camp-life of the Civil War, and yet the second Charles remarked to a remonstrating bishop that 'Your martyr swore twice as much as I.' People of exceptionally fine breeding (like Charles the Second himself) shine in history, but we must not take their manners as typical. Or, again, the reader may be thinking of the whole interest of society, and confuse social attitudes and manners with the intellectual content of our talk. That very possibly, I fear probably, has declined, but he must not be misguided by brilliant exceptions here, too, or believe that society in general ever talked as it talks in Meredith's works: Thackeray with his accurate ear for banalities is his better guide. Or he may be misled by modern discomfort, by the general hurrying from place to place which is the result of our much vaunted inventions. I quite agree with him that this is an extremely stupid phase of civilisation, and I trust it will pass when people discover that it is pleasanter to stay for three weeks in one place than to pay seven different visits of three days each. That does affect manners evilly in so far as the older plan of hospitality made for serenity and familiarity: they have improved in spite of it. That is a trivial thing, however, and I am reminded that there may be triviality to spare in this article already. The subject compelled a good deal of it, I think, but I trust that some suggestion of what is not trivial has somehow been involved. I said at the beginning, however, that it was not a scientific treatise.

G. S. STREET.

WILL CHINA BREAK UP?

Among the world-wide symptoms of unrest at the present moment the rebellion in China, affecting, as it does, about a quarter of the human race, is the most important in its far-reaching possibilities. Day by day we hear of the accession of different provinces to the revolutionary propaganda, and it would appear as if not alone the Manchu dynasty, but the monarchical system that has in one shape or another lasted for thousands of years is about to be swept away as lightly as thistle-down is blown before a gentle breeze, at a moment's notice, and without previous agitation among an unlettered and peculiarly conservative population of 400,000,000.

Before we lightly accept this outcome of the present situation it will be well to consider in broad lines the grave internal troubles that China has overcome in the past, and the conditions under which the mass of the Chinese people live in the present.

The modern history of China practically begins with the Hau dynasty, B.C. 206 to A.D. 220, during which Canton, Fu-kien and Yunnan were added to the empire, and Szechuen was colonised, followed by the T'sin dynasty from A.D. 265 to 419; and after a succession of short-lived dynasties established by successful adventurers the T'ang dynasty was founded, 618-907, during which, by the way, at the siege of Tai-yuen, cannon were used in the defence that threw stone shot of 12 lb. 300 paces. After a series of petty dynasties and general anarchy the Sung dynasty was established in 960-1126, but were displaced by the Manchu Tartars, the Kins, who compelled the Chinese to shave their heads after the present fashion; hence the custom of all Chinese rebels is to allow the hair to grow in its natural manner.

The founder of the succeeding Ming dynasty was first a Buddhist priest, then rebel soldier, and ultimately successful commander, when, having driven out the foreign ruler, he established his capital at Nankin, and founded a dynasty that lasted from 1368 to 1628, the period having its full share of wars and uprisings, the last Emperor committing suicide on his defeat by a Tartar chieftain. The aid of the Manchus was sought to expel the usurper, which they did after a contest lasting for forty years,

and themselves established the Ts'ing dynasty in 1644, the present representative of which is the infant Emperor, whose destiny now hangs in the balance.

It must not be assumed, therefore, that China has reached her present position through a long period of somnolence. On the contrary, for over two thousand years the eighteen great provinces that now form the 'Middle Kingdom,' exclusive of Manchuria and Mongolia, have been conquered and reconquered, concentrated and separated from time to time, so that Chinese use as a proverb 'Long divided we unite, long united we divide.' There were serious rebellions in 1661, in the reign of the Emperor Kang-hi, when four provinces, and in 1796, in Kiaking's reign, when twelve provinces revolted, and three hundred cities were destroyed; and the Mohammedan rising in 1856 cost the lives of many thousands. But the gravest crisis in the modern history of China was the Taeping rebellion. The Southern Chinese have never freely accepted the Manchu rule, and in the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung various secret societies inimical to the Government, including the well-known and influential Triad Society, have long existed. The result of our early war with China, in the complete success of our military operations, had shaken the belief in the power of the Manchus, and in 1851 Hung Seu Tsuen, a native of Kwangtung, who had attracted to his propaganda several thousand followers, raised the standard of rebellion and proclaimed his intention to expel the Manchus and establish the 'Taeping,' or native dynasty of Universal Peace. The rebellion began by capturing some villages and ravaging the country, as usual in Chinese troubles. They swept from village to village, city to city, province to province, leaving desolation behind them, and gathering an immense army, with which the various cities were garrisoned, until at length it was computed that the Tien Wang, or Heavenly King, which title Hung Seu Tsuen had adopted, had at his command between four and five hundred thousand men. He had adopted a blasphemous parody of Christianity as the basis of a system controlled by him and five friends whom he had associated with him as rulers, with kingly titles, and for a time his supposed Christian principles attracted the sympathy of some missionaries.

The Taepings captured Hankow in 1852 and Wuchang in 1853, where they accumulated much loot and provisions, and moved down the Yangtze river, where they captured Nankin in March, and massacred 30,000 Manchus; there Tien Wang established his court. The Chinese Government, which had no regular standing army, sent Imperial troops probably no better armed or disciplined than the rebels to oppose them, but the rebels had the best of the game. They lived on plunder, and their

approach to the large cities set in motion all the turbulent elements, who looked forward with confidence to an orgy of looting and excesses.

From this period the Taepings held possession of Nankin, which is surrounded by a splendid wall thirty-five miles in circumference. Their hordes marched over sixteen of the eighteen provinces, and even threatened Pekin; their commanders were equal in strategical ability to those of the Imperial and provincial troops, and they were joined by some European adventurers, while they drew supplies of arms and munitions of war from Macao. The Imperial Government laboured under the disadvantage of the semi-independent position allowed to the viceroys, each of whom looked upon other viceroyalties as practically foreign countries with whose fate they had but little concern. With the departure of the devastating hordes over their own borders they rested content, and considered it no duty on their part to assist the neighbouring viceroy whose province was being attacked. So matters continued, foreign countries preserving strict neutrality, until the Taeping General Chung Wang proceeded to attack Shanghai. The various concessions were put in a state of defence, and a large volunteer force embodied. The attack was made and repulsed.

A wanton attack upon our boats at Wompoa at length determined the French and English admirals to take action, and a series of operations were undertaken. In 1860 a force of foreigners, Manilla men and others, was raised by Ward and Burgevine, two American soldiers of fortune, and paid by the Chinese merchants. Chinese were also enlisted. This force, which had named itself the 'Ever Victorious Army,' did good service, and ultimately reached the number of 5000. In 1862 General Ward was killed. At the time Colonel Forester was second in command. He declined the command, which devolved upon Burgevine. The latter was unpopular with the Chinese merchants who paid the force, and with Li Hung Chang, with whose troops it was operating. Representation being made to General Staveley, then in command of the British troops, he applied for permission to lend an English officer: Burgevine was dismissed by the Chinese authorities, and Captain Holland, Royal Marines, was placed in command pending instructions from our Minister, Sir James Bruce. On receipt of his approval the force was in March 1863 handed over to Major Gordon, R.E., who from these unpromising materials created a disciplined and effective fighting force, and, during the operations until the destruction of the rebel leaders and disbandment of the force, showed those magnificent qualities as a leader and a man that shone so brightly from that day until his abandonment to a hero's death at Khartoum. During

his advance to attack Yesing, after the taking of Suchow, they found the people in the villages in the last stage of starvation and eating the flesh of those who had died.

This was the condition of Southern China at the close of the Taeping rebellion, which had lasted for fourteen years and is computed to have cost the lives of over twenty-two millions of people.

This was but forty-six years ago, and from the accounts we may estimate the probable procedure of a general uprising, should it take place. There is some reason to believe that the Boxer conspiracy also was originally aimed at the Manchu dynasty, but was afterwards turned against the foreigners, who are as unpopular with the mass of the Chinese people as they ever have been.

The immediate origin of the present movement was the opposition to the foreign loan for the construction of the Szechuen railway, but this was only a symptom of the feeling that railways built by foreign loans and under foreign control are a danger to the aspiration of young China for development uncontrolled from without. Numbers of Chinese students have visited and studied in Japan, Europe and the United States, and a large proportion regard the republican as the ideal form of government. The Western learning is recommended as a means to an end, but it would be a hardy assumption that the end aimed at is such free intercourse with foreigners as obtains among the nations of more advanced civilisation. 'China for the Chinese' is a fine cry with which one instinctively sympathises, but the new wine fermenting in old bottles has yet to produce certain definitions that are unsettled. What China? Is it Monarchical China or Republican China? Is it to be one great republic or eighteen republics? The two Kwangs (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) have already proclaimed their republic and 'elected' their President at Canton. Are these provinces, free and independent, to arrange their own customs? and, if so, what is to become of the Imperial Customs as guarantee for Chinese foreign loans? Is each independent province to appoint a representative to foreign Courts, and is it to deal direct with foreign powers respecting the many cases of friction that arise from time to time? If on the other hand China means a federation of independent States under a president, how is the latter to be selected? The most active minds in China are the Southerns, but they are not favourites, and Canton would have but a poor chance of seeing one of her sons in that position. To a native of Chi-li a Cantonese is more a foreigner than a Manchu. This was forcibly brought to my notice during the Boxer troubles, when a number of Cantonese gentlemen waited upon me in Hong Kong, in great distress on account of their sons who were at the Chinese University in

Tientsin. They said that their sons were considered foreigners, and could only show themselves abroad at the risk of their lives. They begged me to use my good offices in having the young men sent down, and were prepared to pay $10,000 if a ship could be chartered. I telegraphed to our Consul giving my guarantee up to that amount, who kindly chartered a ship and sent the young men down, to the great relief of their parents, who at once paid the money. Assuming the success of this revolutionary movement for the present, its leaders will be face to face with an entirely new problem. The idealists picture a settled and law-abiding community aglow with patriotism and burning with a desire to record their vote. The facts of Chinese life do not, unfortunately, quadrate with these ideals. China has for all these centuries been controlled by violence and financed by 'squeezes' modified by bribery. These ugly principles are crystallised by custom until a working system has been evolved that almost neutralises the pinch of the executive shoe. The working agriculturist having paid his very modest rice tax has no fear of any further interference from the Government, but on the other hand he enjoys no protection from robbery, which is frequent, and is usually carried out by armed gangs. The traders and merchants afford the hunting-ground for the forced benevolences for viceroy, governor, magistrate, or other official. Those who can afford it secure a guard for their houses. China is accustomed to violence. If a district becomes too bad a force of 'braves' is sent there, who relentlessly destroy those whom they are satisfied are bad characters. In the towns the pawn offices, which are really the storehouses for valuables, are strongly fortified buildings, with every precaution for defence. All the great cities contain a large proportion of turbulent people ready to take the fullest advantage of disturbance, political or otherwise, by violence and pillage.

Upon communities such as these the dogs of war have been let loose. Hankow and Wuchang are in ruins, and in Nankin the Manchu garrison have repaid in kind the Manchu massacre of 1858. So far, foreigners and their property have been respected, and I have no doubt that the revolutionary leaders will continue to respect them to the best of their ability. But if the rebellion be opposed by faithful Imperial troops, and the passions of the people be again aroused to anything like the pitch attained in the Taeping rebellion, foreigners will be safe only within reach of their protecting forces.

To forecast the future is no easy task, but remembering that the character of the people has not changed, it is not unwarrantable to assume that like causes will produce like effects.

So far as we know at present the forces of the provinces of the West and South have revolted. These forces are not homo-

geneous, and, save where some troops are foreign drilled by foreign officers, can be little better than an armed mob with a medley of arms and ammunition, ill-officered and incoherent. Brave they may be, for in the Taeping rebellion both sides on occasions fought bravely; but while for the present enthusiastic subscriptions may supply the funds to pay them, the upkeep of an army with its supplies is an expensive business, and already we read that at Suchow the revolutionaries are short of funds, and the people refuse to pay any rice tax, which has, they claim, been abolished. It is clear that in the event of a struggle money must be procured, or the rebellious armies must 'eat up the country,' repeating the desolation of the terrible Taeping times. Nor can the leaders be certain that under sufficient inducement, not unknown in Chinese troubles, their best commanders or most effective troops may not declare for the Imperial Government while the delegates at Shanghai are debating on the creation of federated united States out of the different races and languages that still form the Chinese Empire; with possibly a whisper of apprehension as to the possible predatory action of certain foreign countries who may fancy a slice of territory here or there when the process of disintegration has really set in.

It is not even now certain that the reformers are all of one mind. Sun Yat Sen is, of course, a Republican, as he has been named as probable president; but Kang Yu Wei was devoted to the late Emperor, to whom his reforming enthusiasm brought such misfortune, and is probably a Monarchist, seeing that everything that he advised or that the Republicans demand has been conceded already by the Regent on behalf of the child Emperor.

Again, there are certain observances connected with the religious worship of China for which an Emperor is required, except China at large is prepared to change her religious customs at the bidding of the 'Intelligents,' to my mind a far-fetched assumption. These considerations impress me with the view that with whatever seeming enthusiasm the flag of rebellion has been raised the leaders are face to face with stupendous difficulties if a compact army of well-drilled Imperial troops remain faithful.

By the *Statesman's Year Book* of 1910 I find that the foreign-drilled Imperial army numbered 60,000, of which 20,000 are in garrison in Manchuria and Mongolia, and the remainder are quartered in Hupeh, Kiangsu, Kiangsi, and Honan. There are, therefore, no foreign-drilled troops in the South, and we have no statement that the 20,000 men in Mongolia and Manchuria have revolted.

In 1900, when I visited Hankow, the Viceroy, Chang-chi-tung, kindly invited me to see his troops on manœuvres in the neighbourhood, and placed an officer and his secretary at my disposal.

The plan of operations was lithographed, the ground being properly contoured. There were 8000 troops present, commanded on that day by Japanese officers, the day's operations being criticised by German officers, who would next day have command, with their Japanese confrères as critics. I rode through the different lines and examined some of the arms, which were in perfect order, while the men were well dressed and equipped. When in position the fire control was excellent, and while there was a want of instruction in skirmishing or taking cover in advancing, with a lofty disregard to the effect of what on service would be a withering artillery fire, I was most favourably impressed with the bearing and keenness of the men. Later on I saw about six thousand men drilling at Shan-hai-quan, who performed their evolutions with precision. I have no doubt that armies such as these, if properly led, would give a good account of any Southern troops that they might meet, and of course the situation is dependent upon the question whether such drilled troops sufficient to form a division are available for Yuan Shi Kai, and if he determines to use them.

At a crisis like this no man at a distance—and probably no man on the spot outside the inner circle—can venture to form an opinion as to the fate of the dynasty. The effete so-called Tartar Army that has rotted in the provincial capitals, forbidden to marry Chinese or to enter into any business or trade, has gone, and the fact that the throne is occupied by a child Emperor, whose policy can be settled by ministers as freely appointed under a new constitution as any body elected by a republic, would seem an ideal conjunction at which to make the most extreme constitutional changes without destroying the monarchical principle that is interwoven with the ceremonial religious customs of the people. But within thirteen centuries no Chinese dynasty has lasted longer than 287 years. The Ming dynasty lasted for 255 years, and the years of the present dynasty number 267. Will this be considered a factor in the mind of Yuan Shi Kai? and will he come as a deliverer, or shall we see the strong man gratify a possible ambition after the manner of Eastern strong men all down the centuries? In either case, given sufficient money, I should plump for his chances. A successful revolution of discordant States would assuredly result in chaos.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH KNIGHT

SOMETHING more deserves to be said concerning Joseph Knight than the brief notices which appeared at the time of his death in 1907. He is not forgotten, though there was never a man so unassuming and so indifferent to the sort of notoriety now supposed to be reputation. Frequent tributes of regard and affection for him came to me after his death, and still continue to come. There was no one like him for his friends, many of whom feel with the veteran Shakespearean Dr. Furness that 'a cantle of London is gone with him.' There is surely more in such feelings than a mere sense of the gaiety which irradiated any company, and I hope with the help of his family and friends to show what sort of man Joseph Knight was.

In a sense all the world knew him, and was the better for the sight of him, the youngest of veterans, undefeated by the whips of time or the caprices of fortune. But it is possible to be at once genial and reserved, and Knight gave his fullest confidence to a few only. To have been one of these is the happiest of memories.

'When I'm gone, I might be worth a magazine article,' he said half humorously one day when we were talking of the 'inane munus' of the obituary notice. 'But I daresay the old man will be of little interest. His reputation will "hang like a rusty nail in monumental mockery."'

I took him up with more Shakespeare, and his own just contention that there was nothing of the old man in his conversation, that he was young in his perpetual appreciation of the youngster. He was all gaiety in a moment, full of the disappointments, deeply felt at the time, which had after all brought him the very career he wished. 'I do not think,' he added, 'I could have had a happier life.' Of his early days Mr. John C. Francis has given a pleasant sketch in *Notes by the Way*. There was a period when he, the man of splendid physique and magnificent vitality, was condemned as a boy to early death for organic disease of the heart! Doctors were wrong, but did him good, for he was able to browse among fields and books at large, and thus, like Walter Scott, laid the foundations of his commanding erudition in English poetry. When he went to school, as Mr. Francis reports, he won the prize for memory by repeating the First Book of *Paradise*

Lost, and going on with the Second until all his competitors were obviously outdistanced. His popularity was shown by his election as *dux* of his school—the natural reward, one would imagine, of his personal gifts—but the real question was whether a boy disqualified by the knowledge of Pope and Byron could be put above his fellows, since learning at school wins, or used to win, some such recognition as the Moslem award to a fanatic. It is a thing to be respected, but in itself undesirable. In a competition for a story Knight was nowhere, and he had not the architectonic gift which goes to the making of a play or a novel. No worse a critic for that, perhaps!

With great velleities (to use one of his characteristic words) for literature he stuck to his father's business at Leeds as a cloth merchant, and it was only a striking incident that changed his career. He happened to be on a jury, and his handling of the case was so able that he was advised to go to the Bar. He came to London, became a barrister, and was for some time a joyous denizen of the Temple. But he never practised, and was quickly led away to his real love—literature. Years after he was offered the unusual distinction of becoming a Bencher of his Inn, and with admirable good sense refused it as a prize that should belong only to working members of the profession. His early activity in letters was journalism on the *Literary Gazette*, later called the *Parthenon*. Here he and Viscount Morley were the chief hands, and sometimes produced practically a whole number between them. But the paper, as its later name showed, felt the handicap of a more potent rival and went under.

It was dramatic criticism, due to a chance meeting with Viscount Morley, which proved the main business of Knight's long years of London life. It should, however, be mentioned that he did many literary reviews—even up to his last years—for the *Athenæum*, exercising especially that taste for poetry which, he contended, approached science in a mind properly trained, and, unlike Jeffrey's, possessed with a natural feeling for it. One anecdote from past days may be recalled. He had reviewed in the *Athenæum* (the 1st of April 1876) the verse of his friend Lord Houghton, and described it as 'a little above the bards who celebrate domestic affections and household incidents. At his best he approaches Procter, at his worst he subsides to the level of Eliza Cook.'

The secret of the reviewer was kept, and it was just as well, for Lord Houghton told Knight that he would give ten years of his life to know who wrote the notice and to kill him!

But, independent in criticism, he was a man of many friends. Swinburne, Rossetti, and many another writer and painter of past days revolved in his circle of bright spirits. They relished his

friendship, sought his advice and help, opened their hearts to him in times of difficulty. His appreciation of William Morris in the *Sunday Times* had a great effect on the sale of *The Defence of Guinevere*. He heard Swinburne read those early verses which assured competent judges of the flowering of a new immortal, and was an admirer whom no forces of Philistinism or prudery could shake.

Some of his friends' letters he preserved, and I give a few passages which will show the feelings with which he was regarded. Swinburne writes in 1875 :

> There is no 'secret' about my forthcoming poem, which I hope will be in print by next month's end. It is a play on the Greek model, more regular than *Atalanta*; the title *Erechtheus*, the length a little over 1700 lines. I mean to read it before publication to a few friends, and shall be very glad if you can make one of the party. . . . I see the *Athenæum* gives high praise to Browning's 'sensation novel' (*The Inn Album*). It is a fine study in the later manner of Balzac, and I always think the great English analyst greatest as he comes nearest in matter and measure to the still greater Frenchman.

Rossetti carries on with him a correspondence concerning a suitable publisher, doubting between Murray, Ellis, and Blackwood. He is relieved to hear that Knight is going to review him, and answers a gift of Dobell's *Poems* in the following terms :

> I have been reading the poems of Dobell's you gave me (for which I have never thanked you yet) with great admiration. For pure rush of singing-power—or what Swinburne is fond of calling 'clang'—he has no equal living, except the supreme Swinburne himself—*i.e.* always when at his best. But there is such a provoking and endless excess of iteration—a sort of pumping-up which gives the idea of a man lashing himself into productiveness by the sound of his own voice—that one continually feels disposed to throw the book down in a rage.
>
> The secret of such defects is apparent when one comes now and then upon some naïveté of reminiscences from another poet such as could never occur to a man who overlooked or reconsidered his work in the least; and this reckless neglect is no doubt equally the cause of the insufferable redundance. Besides, most of the finest things in the book have nothing whatever to do with *England in Time of War*, but have evidently been shot in because he had them by him, and are sometimes degraded and half-spoilt by a catch-penny title stuck on to give a *faux air* of their really belonging to the subject in hand.
>
> However, the upshot of my abusiveness is that I must really send my book to a man who is so great a master of song for all his faults.

Jeaffreson finds in Knight a severe reviewer of his book on Shelley, but sees that the business could not be more kindly done, and confesses the charm of the man :

> *Cor Cordium!* How I do love thee, my dear Knight! None the less, because in your care to be kind to me you had proper care for your own honesty and critical character. It did not escape me how, in constructing your expressions of disapproval, you selected the words least likely to give me annoyance.

Of course, I can't at present regard my book in the light of a mistake; but certes there must be something wrong about it for you to have so clear an opinion that I had better not have written. No doubt it is too pugnacious; but whilst no single person is struck who did not first strike me, at least some of its violence was necessary to break up the ring of supercilious noodles who, not content with covering Shelley with servile adulation, have concurred in pouring detraction on Byron. . . .

When Buchanan made his onslaught on Rossetti, Knight wrote in his Address Book, 'I remove the name of this —— from the list of those whom I have the honour to call my friends.'

This letter from Millais, greatly prized, is worth reproduction. He was a close friend of Knight, who was deeply affected at meeting him in his last days at the Garrick Club :

Dear Knight,—I have just finished reading your *Life of Rossetti*, which has interested me so much that I have not set my palette this morning and shall do no work this day. The book [*Life of D. G. Rossetti*] is written with great discrimination and appreciation of the man's genius. It may be interesting to you to know the last time I saw Rossetti was at Sandys' studio in Victoria Road, Kensington, where I remember Swinburne spouting some vigorous verses, and it is a pleasant recollection to me that we were heartily glad to meet again. There had been an estrangement in consequence of a serious difference between him and Hunt, and knowing that I inclined in favour of Hunt, a long separation occurred, which was more *accidental* than *intentional*.

Anyhow, our meeting was thoroughly cordial, and as he left me at my door—shortly before the milk was arriving—he expressed his delight at our meeting, and arranged that I was to come and see him at Cheyne Walk. A few days after I called, and was not admitted; and again I called, with the same result, and not receiving any letter or call from him the old state of things was renewed, and *I never saw him again*. I would not trouble you with this if I did not think a certain importance is attached to it now that my old friend is gone. In the whole course of my connexion with the Brotherhood I have never said a word I would recall or uttered a word to occasion offence. One offence I have committed, I have become a Member of the Academy, for that, however, I do not feel disposed to apologise.

If you have erred a little in your premises, you have done so on the *right side, love of your subject*—if Rossetti was superior in the Poetical, he received in return the technical element, and in great part his Art education.

It was from the beginning a *give* and *take* companionship, and it is impossible to say how one would have got on without the other. When Hunt and myself were competent draughtsmen and painters, Rossetti was a child in the Art, and I never shall forget his innocent struggles over difficulties—I can hear him now, calling loudly on Hunt to come and help him, and I myself, at his request, painted a hand of Joseph pruning the vine in the background of *The Girlhood of the Virgin*.

Well, we shall all be gone before long, and I only hope as gentle and loving a biographer as you are will deal with me.

Your sincere friend,

J. E. Millais.

P.S.—The poets will say he was a greater painter than poet. The painters will say he was a greater poet than painter, but we shall agree that there never was before a *more remarkable combination*.

Another old friend of Knight's, Johnny Toole, I once saw sitting sadly wasted at the Garrick under the picture of himself in full health. Knight with some success and other members of the party with less were endeavouring to reply to the volubilities of a French author. As we passed out of the room a pleasingly malicious voice faintly uttered the words, *Ici on parle français!*

The Duke of Beaufort, a different type of correspondent from those above, sprawls and scrawls across a page written from Badminton in 1878 to explain that:

> Among my numerous avocations I am a large cheesemaker of various sorts. . . . As I know such things vary very much from year to year, I have not full confidence. I chance it, however, and ask you to accept a Single Gloucester, or Jackdaw as it is called in this country.

Two men for whom Knight always expressed special regard were Sebastian Evans and Westland Marston, the author of *The Patrician's Daughter* and other plays, and the father of the blind poet. Knight always said he owed to Marston the steadying of his ideas, the zeal to arrange a mass of thought and erudition, and settle the untidy mind more characteristic of the journalist than the genuine critic or philosopher. Marston's Sunday parties were celebrated in their day, and gathered in an unconventional circle a good deal of talent. A letter to me from the late A. J. Munby, a genuine poet in his way, says:

> My knowledge of the *Athenæum* goes back to the rule of Hepworth Dixon, whom I knew, and of Westland Marston, his poetic critic, who dealt with some of my earlier verse in his able and kindly way.
>
> I knew Marston and all his family. The circle who met at his house included Dixon, of course, and my friend D. G. Rossetti and his brother, and Mrs. Lynn Linton, and Swinburne, and Ralston, and Sir F. W. Burton, all of whom were friends or acquaintances of mine; and also George Lawrence [the author of *Guy Livingstone*], and Norman Lockyer, and others I did not know; and then there was poor Philip, the blind poet, always sad and silent; and his two kindly sisters, one of whom married O'Shaughnessy.

His friendship with Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, then head of the Record Office, brought him recognition of his literary ability. His book of selections from the Elizabethan dramatists constituted, he was told, a claim to edit them with deserved academic recognition. But in those days universities had a prejudice in favour of their own products which could not be overcome. He wrote for Froude as editor of *Fraser*, and cherished the fact that he received special praise and price for an article on the Spanish Inquisition.

Here I may interpose one or two of the stories which came with such grace and ease from Knight's lips. They were characteristic of him in being devoid of that spice of ill-humour, that venomous veracity which has made the fortune of many a

story-teller. Nothing in Knight was more notable than the absence of that worldly spirit which, in his own phrase, 'knows nothing, but always suspects the worst.' He had not the feline humour which scratches while it seems to caress. Yet no man was better qualified by his natural gifts of language for sly innuendo. His wealth of detail was happily copious, and poured out without that sense of effort or that hesitation for a good word which spoils some of the effects of admired American wits. 'They laugh at my adjectives,' was his humorous complaint, 'and then the wretches go and crib them.'

One of his stories concerned a literary man long since dead and famous in Victorian days for the 'improving' essay. This gentleman wrote one article for the *Saturday*, and no more. But he never cashed the resultant cheque, and made a reputation out of it. He kept it on his person, and producing it by accident with his handkerchief or cigar-case used to exclaim with a casual air, 'Ah! my *Saturday* cheque!' To Chancellor Christie explaining that he did not seek people much, and preferred his own company, Knight replied with the single word, 'Epicure!'. When offered an introduction to Mr. Rider Haggard, then making a reputation by *Jess*, he at once adapted Shakespeare to the occasion:

> If I do prove him Haggard,
> Though that his Jess's were my dear heart-strings,
> I'ld whistle him off.

In pure nonsense he was supreme, and his record of a friend's advice concerning the pronunciation of Psyche is noteworthy: 'Some calls it Pisky and some calls it Psick, but the "z" is not sounded as in zinc.'

In the course of his life he had many strange adventures, the oddest of which was a near escape from drowning in the Arthington tunnel near Leeds, the top having fallen in, and the water rising so high that the driver and stoker came to his carriage to have somebody to die with. The train could not advance, but finally was backed out of the tunnel.

He did not believe in ghosts, but had seen more than one. Staying characteristically after his last train at the house of a friend he had not seen for some years, he was put up for the night in a room strange to him. He could not sleep, and in the dim light of morning saw a lady with high cheek-bones doing her red hair at the mirror at the other end of the room. He hid his face in the bed-clothes, but, peering out again, still saw the figure distinctly. He dashed out of bed, lit the gas, and the figure disappeared. He kept the gas burning till full morning came. At breakfast he told his host of the vision. The reply, punctuated with a long whistle impossible to reproduce here,

was: 'You've seen our Scotch governess; she died in that very room, and her coffin was there yesterday. I thought it best to tell you nothing about it.'

Without referring to Knight's books, I must mention here his enduring work in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, for which he composed, as Mr. Francis points out, no fewer than [illegible]00 biographies. They are, as a keen student of letters gratefully remarked to me a few days ago, to be depended on, and not all are concerned with the drama. Knight's own favourites were his accounts of Margaret Cavendish, the dear, fantastic Duchess of Newcastle, and Colley Cibber, whose *Apology* he thought worth a cheap reprint, and used to quote with gusto.

In the defunct *Gentleman's Magazine* he wrote as Sylvanus Urban with the ease of a born bookman, and that wide intellectual curiosity more characteristic of the eighteenth century than our own. Written month by month at leisure, these papers were—apart from his letters—the most natural outpourings of his kindly spirit, full of that 'literature and delight' which was a favourite phrase of his.

In dramatic criticism he wrote much for the daily papers for a long term of years; also for the *Athenæum*. It is not my purpose here to explain his merits in this way, but good judges regard, I believe, his *Athenæum* work as some of the soundest of his day. His work on daily papers he perhaps took less seriously, and there is evidence that such conditions were not favourable for serious criticism. A friend reminds me that Delane killed it for men of his generation when, upon some complaint by an eminent actor, the great editor said scornfully to Oxenford, 'I will not have the *Times* turned into a cockpit for these people.' And not long since a popular theatrical manager suggested a standard of criticism which recalls the altered end of *The Castle Spectre* invented by a country actor, 'And give us your applause, for *that* is ALWAYS JUST.'

Knight was at any rate not one of those convinced advocates on one side or another who can see no good or bad in a play, and I can testify that his judgment on the prospects of success was exceptionally sound. At many First Nights I have heard him prophesy the run of the piece, and he was seldom much out in his reckoning. He would have been a better guide for managers than, to judge by their ventures, most of them possessed in his time. Once at least he spoke up for the critics. Towards the end of 1899 the Lyceum was the home of melodrama, and I remember his taking me to a short-lived piece in which Wilson Barrett was a Q.C. in love, later a degraded drunkard sleeping on a bench in St. James's Park, and finally a Judge, married, possessed of children with no hereditary taint, and pointing to

a Palace of Hope in the distance, raised for the fallen by the profits of his poems! Such drama disappointed its promoters, and one of them declared in a crowded assembly that the critics who denigrated it ought to be shot when they came out of the theatre. Knight rose at once and said that he agreed, but the gentleman was a barrister, and ought to know that torture was medieval. He had only one emendation to suggest—shoot them *before* they entered the theatre. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ.*

There has been some suggestion that Knight was the sort of 'general utility' man of an earlier age who made up by industry and fluency for lack of special aptitude for his business. This idea hardly needs refutation. In old age, perhaps, he was inclined to that lenity of judgment which is popular with managers; but he was never open to undue influence. He refused anything which might have been conceived to put him in a position of obligation to be repaid by preferential treatment. An occasion on which he prided himself highly was the dinner given to him by the actors and actresses of the day (the 4th of July 1905). It was the first time, he said, that the sheep had entertained the wolf, and I find the following Latin note in my diary: *Adde quod J. K. eadem nocte a multis et pulcherrimis honoris causa oscula recepit.* On this night he was full of youthful spirits, and somewhat piqued by Irving's reminder that he was a grandfather.

A great service to the stage which should not be forgotten was the whole-hearted way in which he threw himself in 1870 into the then unheard-of experiment of getting the Comédie Française to perform in England, a venture which has been singularly fruitful in its results. 'Dear old Joe Knight, gentleman that he is,' is a phrase I have preserved of Clement Scott's writing. Though not precisely happy in expression, it presents a fact worth emphasising. Knight was an equal blend of the Bohemian, the gentleman, and the scholar. The second of these characters is needed to qualify the first; the third to give it grace and excuse. The Bohemian is said no longer to exist, but one knows enough of him to be aware that he was apt to sacrifice some of his independence to secure those material comforts which Fate or his own improvidence denied him. I seem, in fact, to detect in such figures some of the pliant and agreeable qualities which Lucian ascribes to social parasites, and to see the man of ready wit amusing the great person, taking his orders and his food as an appanage to his party. Knight never tolerated anything of that kind, and was fully equal to snubbing any person —rich or merely impudent, peer or commoner—who ventured to take liberties with him. Never a rich man himself, he was the most generous of hosts, and his invitation to 'a cutlet and a glass of cold water' was a prelude to many a delightful night. At the

Garrick after the play he was great, and sat up when not only was Rigour, in Milton's phrase, 'gone to bed,' but even youthful vigour had a velleity for similar repose. Always suave and kindly, he grew mellower as the evening proceeded, and his 'Please understand me here a little,' with a light hand laid on the shoulder, would have soothed the most cantankerous of disputants. As a tribute to his powers, it should be recorded that on one occasion in 1902 he entertained, in the fullest sense of the word, for eight hours at a stretch and at one table, a party of friends, differing in ages and tastes, not all of his own choosing, and not all known to each other. At the Beefsteak, the Urban Club, and many another festive gathering he was the most desired of guests; in fact, the most 'clubbable' man of his day. The Arundel Club in 1884 gave him a champagne decanter, silver-mounted, and four silver candlesticks, and the list of donors was over a hundred. His popularity was so obvious that it does not need emphasis. Once when the vagaries of collectors were being discussed, he gaily exclaimed, 'I collect Ambassadors.' 'It would be better,' an intimate critic replied with hereditary wit, 'if you collected sovereigns!' Of the defunct Rabelais Club he was a leading spirit, mourning the insufficiency of members, who actually wanted to be at home by eleven o'clock. There was a legend that his only clothes were dress clothes—which had this much of truth in it, that his day and first meal began late, as he had found the quiet of the small hours, when traffic in London is reduced to a minimum, grateful for reading and writing. He had very few illnesses; otherwise this course of life, which would have injured most men irremediably, was pursued by him without any appreciable loss of vigour for many years. When he stepped from the Garrick somewhere about 4 A.M. or after into the 'growler' which awaited him, he was not tired, but, as likely as not, talking of the exceptional advantages offered by a centre like London, and the folly of not making the most of them! These nights were prolonged well into the present century, and he was born in 1829!

Sometimes his generosity brought gladness to the indigent, and one such occasion has been noted by Mr. Charles Boyd, a friend whom Knight particularly valued, in the *Outlook* (1898). Reviewing the *Life of W. G. Wills*, who came to London without adequate resources, Mr. Boyd says:

His first friend and visitor was one whose right hand is not suffered to know what his left hand does in deeds and words of kindness. It was Mr. Joseph Knight. 'Shortly after they became acquainted Mr. Knight went to call upon him at Clifford's Inn, and had an intuition that his friend was hungry. He asked him to come and have dinner with him at Carr's Restaurant, and the great readiness with which he consented showed

Mr. Knight that he had made a shrewd guess.' Wills, the story goes, said nothing at the time; but four years after he said to a common friend, 'There's the man who gave me a dinner when I hadn't one.' Mr. Knight is still giving dinners and kindnesses in a hundred ways to those who want it—viz. *doctissimus et dilectissimus*.

One thinks of him as essentially a London man, valuing the great city because it provided the best talk, the best intellectual gymnastic for an ever-active mind which even in old age seized eagerly on new impressions. But in the country, too, he pleased himself well and his associates. Mr. Boyd writes to me of a series of walks in the northern suburbs of London, which continued till in 1900 walking became too much for him, though I recall one tramp at a later date with me in Epping Forest in which he valiantly removed oppressive boots. Mr. Boyd remembers

visits to Enfield, Cheshunt, and a number of places which Knight approached by a cunning choice of green routes. I remember seeing hawthorn and hearing the cuckoo on these walks. I remember, too, a rather gloomy, louring day in August, and a sudden glimpse which we had of London from these northern heights which the last lines of Pater's *Essay on Lamb* recall. I remember also the boyish delight with which, coming down a quiet country road, he saw me confronted with Temple Bar.

They were obviously well-chosen walks—by green pastures and still waters. And all the time—need I tell you?—he poured forth his inimitable talk: reminiscences of men and books and Bohemia and the stage, endless quotation and reference. Milton and Wordsworth were his favourites, I think, and he spoke of that familiar glamour by which not the best poets, but some single poem of a second-best poet becomes our constant companion. . . .

Our walks ended sometimes with dinner at his house, or at the Garrick, or at the Café Royal. He was delighted at this last resort when, having ordered a whisky-and-soda and a bottle of claret, he saw the waiter, perhaps not unnaturally, set the claret before me (his junior by near two score years). 'No, no!' he cried, '*that* is the gouty old gentleman, not I.'

In his own house at Camden Square he did not entertain frequently of late years, but all who entered it will remember its plenitude of welcome and books. If a stranger, say, and slenderly commended, one basked at once in a sun of goodwill and understanding such as other men do not produce who call themselves your intimates.

The books, varied by numerous mementoes of personal friendship, signed pictures and engravings, a tobacco cabinet and other frequent signs of the weed, were everywhere, numerous and choice enough to make a Prospero's Dukedom. The library upstairs occupied two rooms, and, when it seemed certain to end, a third *sanctissimum sanctorum* came to view, obtained by taking out the wall of the house, and renting—I fear at an extravagant cost—a room in the next one!

Knight described himself in *Who's Who* as 'an assiduous collector of books,' but he was more: he was a bibliomaniac who would have on his shelves everything between covers—even such *biblia abiblia* as Cookery Books. This form of literature was once the occasion of some chaff, which he took with his usual good humour. 'I don't think,' he said, 'I retain any traces of Yorkshire accent,' and immediately afterwards he added: 'Will ye have a lük at this cükery bük?' He could probably have reviewed it well himself; he was certainly an authority on the gentleman's cellar, if not on the kitchen: but he was always disconcertingly modest about his own range of learning, and eager to make the most of other people's. 'I would give an arm,' he once said to a friend, 'to know as much Latin as you do. But then, I suppose, if I got it I should be an opsimath, and like my friend who could never bring out his tag of Horace without boring us with "the Venusian."' An historic name attracted him, though he was no snob, but he valued above all intellectual distinction. Of scholarship, indeed, he was passionately enamoured, and there was a gusto in his reviews which signed them effectually for those who knew him. Frequently on his lips in his last years were Milton's

> For who would lose,
> Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
> These thoughts that wander through eternity?

and Lear's 'Ripeness is all.' In death he saw the end of sentient life, and, coming in latter years on the 'Mimnermus in Church' of 'Ionica,' used to repeat the lines:

> You say there is no substance here,
> One great reality above:
> Back from that void I shrink in fear,
> And child-like hide myself in love.

The 'fear,' however, was not his, though the 'love' was eagerly desired. To Mr. Boyd's kindness I owe a revealing story of Knight in youth. He had been fond of long walks, taken principally alone, and coming one day to a green, lonely place, he there and then uttered a prayer: 'Don't give me wealth or position, or any of the prizes men fight for; but give me the love of all things worth loving, particularly the love of friends, and above all to be loved.'

This prayer, when he was an old man, he recognised as granted in full. Money had missed him, sometimes when it was almost within his grasp; position had been promised by influential men who knew his worth; but he had been miraculously preserved from these for the happiest of lives. If he was a pagan, as he

sometimes vowed, he was a pagan who by his life praised God, and bestowed on others a perpetual benediction.

A man of such natural charm and brightness is apt to move 'thro' troops of unrecording friends,' unhonoured by the tributes paid to the sulky specialist, the great author or painter who sacrifices everything to his own work. Knight was to the end a happy master of the art of living—which is, perhaps, greater than the art of books or drama or painting. He dreaded 'dying at the top first,' but the good grey head of the Roman soldier (so he was painted, and liked to believe some of that blood in him) was as clear and quick in age as in earlier days. He fought deafness cheerfully, and his powers of mind were unabated, though he did not lack the depreciation of the spiteful and the suspicion of those sour-complexioned men who think gaiety dangerous, if not immoral. His tact, gifts of speech and quickness of comprehension would have amply fitted him for the arts of intrigue by which advancement is sometimes won, or spurious reputation secured, or credit got for work done by others. His talents found no such occupation; he was always a straight man; and his word, though often witty, was always as good as a legal agreement. In that respect, perhaps, he was old-fashioned as things go nowadays, and it is as well to add that amid the ignoble Saturnalia of endless push and imposing vanity he held on his way unspoilt, untainted, unadvertised.

Shakespeare was always in his mind, and he sometimes applied to himself the words of Bertram's father recalled by the king in *All's Well that Ends Well.* That speech I find so apt to conclude this imperfect record that there is nothing to be changed in it:

> Would I were with him! He would always say
> (Methinks I hear him now: his plausive words
> He scatter'd not in ears, but grafted them,
> To grow there, and to bear)—'Let me not live'—
> Thus his good melancholy oft began,
> On the catastrophe and heel of pastime,
> When it was out—'Let me not live,' quoth he,
> 'After my flame lacks oil, to be the snuff
> Of younger spirits, whose apprehensive senses
> All but new things disdain; whose judgments are
> Mere fathers of their garments, whose constancies
> Expire before their fashions':—This he wished. . . .

His wish was granted. There may be newer and noisier reputations. But none can for his friends work so naturally and graciously for good as Joseph Knight.

VERNON RENDALL.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AND TARIFF REFORM

One of the most important and certainly not the least interesting chapters in Mr. Bernard Holland's admirable *Life of the Duke of Devonshire* is that which deals with Free Trade and Tariff Reform.

The suggestions for a revisal of our present system of Free Trade have come from two very different points of view: (1) The idea that our commerce is suffering; (2) the idea that Tariff Reform would strengthen the Empire.

As regards the first reason Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in 1903, was emphatic in his warnings, and now that eight years have elapsed, we can submit his apprehensions to the test of experience.

He singled out certain interests as being in especial danger. He told us on the 7th of October 1903 [1] that

> Agriculture, as the greatest of all trades and industries of this country, has been practically destroyed. Sugar has gone; silk has gone; iron is threatened; wool is threatened; cotton will go! How long are you going to stand it? At the present moment these industries and the working men who depend upon them are like sheep in a field. One by one they allow themselves to be led out to slaughter, and there is no combination, no apparent prevision of what is in store for the rest of them.

It would not, of course, be fair to take these statements literally, but no doubt the manufactures referred to are those which in his opinion were especially suffering. Now eight years have passed, and how do we stand? No one will allege that agriculture has ceased.

No doubt the growth of corn has diminished, but we must remember that much land has been built over; with the increase of population the demand for milk has increased, and land which was arable has been converted into pasture. But, so far from agriculture being destroyed, the land under cultivation has actually increased.

Now let us take the other cases.

I need not, indeed, go into the case of sugar, because the Government of which Mr. Chamberlain was so distinguished a

[1] Speech at Greenock.

member dealt with it by the Brussels Convention. The next of the 'ruined trades' is that of silks. Our exports of silk and silk goods, which were 1,600,000*l.* in 1902, have risen to 2,800,000*l.* in 1910.[2] Silk, therefore, has not 'gone,' and does not seem to be 'going.'

Iron, we are told, is 'threatened.' No doubt the competition is severe. We cannot help that. But is our great iron interest holding its own?

As a matter of fact, the total exports of iron and steel in 1902[3] were 29,000,000*l.*, in 1910 no less than 42,976,671*l.*[4] Moreover, the profits of ironworks, which were returned to income tax in 1903[5] at 3,400,000*l.*, in 1909 amounted to 5,100,000*l.*[6] This heading does not, moreover, I understand, by any means include all manufactures of iron, which would have made the increase, large as it is, much greater.

In the case of wool the value of our exports in 1902[7] was 23,000,000*l.*, in 1910 was 38,000,000*l.*[8]

Lastly, our exports of cotton goods have risen from 72,500,000*l.* in 1902 to 106,000,000*l.* in 1910.[9]

Summing up this part of the question:

The exports of the goods specially mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain from the United Kingdom in 1902 and 1910 were:

	1902	1910
	£	£
Silk	1,600,000	2,800,000
Wool	23,000,000	38,000,000
Iron and Steel . . .	29,214,100	43,000,000
Cotton	72,500,000	106,000,000

Thus, then, the manufactures to which Mr. Chamberlain pointed as being in special danger, so far from falling off have increased, some more, some less, but the most important enormously.

Now let us look to our commerce as a whole. The figures can be put in a nutshell:

Exports.

	1903	1910
	£	£
United Kingdom	290,800,108[10]	430,590,000[12]
France	170,092,000[11]	240,229,000
Germany	250,780,000	367,183,000
U.S.A.	290,046,000	380,662,000

Thus, then, our exports, so far from showing any tendency to fall off or even to remain stationary, have increased, and are increasing, as much as the most sanguine could hope for. More-

[2] *Stat. Abs.* 1910, p. 180.
[3] *Ibid.* 1911, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid.* 1911, p. 175.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 39.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 175.
[7] *Ibid.* 1910, p. 181.
[8] *Ibid.* 1911, p. 181.
[9] *Ibid.* 1910, p. 181.
[10] *Stat. Abs. U.K.*, 1908 (Cd. 4258), p. 152.
[11] *Stat. Abs. For. Countries*, 1905 (Cd. 2566).
[12] *Return* 69—XI., January 31, 1911.

over, they have increased even more than those of our Protectionist friends. Take France, Germany, and the United States. France has a greater area than ours, but her population is somewhat less. Germany has a much larger area, and half again as large a population; the United States have thirty times the area and twice the population; yet, while the exports of France have increased 70,000,000*l.*, those of the United States 91,000,000*l.*, and of Germany 116,000,000*l.*, ours have gone up no less than 140,000,000*l.*!

Surely our Protectionist rivals would do well to abandon their policy and adopt ours, in which we should indeed be mad to make any radical change.

It is clear that there is nothing in the figures which need alarm us.

Let us now turn from statistics to arguments.

Mr. Balfour—and may I express here my sense of the extreme loss which the Unionist Party have sustained by his resignation—is no Protectionist, and approaches the fiscal problem with the desire to promote Free Trade. He does not, however, quite realise our position, or appreciate the strength of the Free Trade cause.

For instance, writing on the 6th of September 1903 to the Duke of Devonshire, he said:

> It may, of course, happen that the injury done at some future time to enormous home industries by foreign competition will so arouse public feeling that another President of the Council and another First Lord of the Treasury may be compelled to adopt Protection. I do not venture to prophesy, but I am confident that the best way of avoiding such a contingency is to do what we can now to mitigate illegitimate competition. If, *like the Cobden Club, we preach a doctrine of Free Trade which takes account of nothing but the immediate interests of the consumer*, and which welcomes every form of competition which appears to minister to these; if, in other words, legitimate and illegitimate foreign competition receive from us an equal benediction, depend upon it Free Trade, thus made necessarily repulsive, will be repudiated by the nation in the first great commercial stress which occurs.[11]

The italics are mine. I shall hope to show that the Cobden Club have done nothing of the kind.

On the contrary, Free Traders maintain that Free Trade benefits not merely the consumer but the producer also.

In considering the effect of the Protectionist policy of Germany, Tariff Reformers look only to the influence of the duties on the trade between Germany and Britain. Even so, those duties do not prevent Germany being one of our best customers—second only to India and the United States. In fact, Germany

[11] *Life of the Duke of Devonshire, 1833-1908* (By Bernard Holland), vol. ii. p. 332.

took no less than 47,000,000*l*. of our exports. The duties have not killed our commerce.

But how have the German duties affected German manufacturers in their trade with the rest of the world? They have hampered her manufacturers seriously, and made them much less formidable competitors than they would otherwise have been. German manufacturers, having to pay more in many cases for their raw materials and semi-manufactured articles, find themselves heavily handicapped in their competition with our manufacturers. Mr. Balfour does indeed allude to this consideration in his interesting *Notes on Insular Free Trade*, but does not seem to appreciate its importance. For instance, he gives three reasons to which we owe the prosperity of our commerce:

(*a*) Foreign countries owe us a great deal of money, the interest of which they pay by means of imports into the United Kingdom.

(*b*) Large areas still remain which are not protected at all.

(*c*) Existing protected areas are not completely protected.[14]

We owe (he says) our commercial prosperity to these three causes, and these alone.

There is, however, a fourth, which he does not mention, but which is most important.

The Board of Trade Reports give interesting particulars, showing in many cases how the German Protective duties injure Germany and benefit us. They quote [15] a remark by Herr Sayous, in his work on German trade, that foreigners—*i.e.* foreigners to Germany—

are able to purchase from the German mines, blast-furnaces, and steel works at prices materially lower than we (*i.e.* Germans) can buy, and on the basis of these purchases of materials the state of the foreign market for our (German) finished manufactures becomes increasingly bad.

The German manufacturers who work up half-finished steel products complain

that sales had been made abroad at very low prices, far below the prices ruling in Germany (*e.g.*, blooms f.o.b. 80, and, subsequently, 72 marks), which made it possible for the Belgian and English rolling-mills to lower their prices and quite ruined the (German) foreign market, with consequent evil results to the German manufacturers who work up half-finished metal products.

In my book on *Free Trade* I have given many other similar cases.

We hear a great deal about the unfair competition of foreign countries, but we must remember that, with perhaps a single not very important exception, they give us the most-favoured-nation clause—*i.e.* they charge our manufacturers no more than those of other countries.

[14] *Loc. cit.* p. 31.

[15] *Board of Trade Memoranda, &c.*, 1903, p. 302.

Now in discussing these questions it would much facilitate matters if Tariff Reformers would tell us by whom they suppose these duties are paid. We maintain that they fall on the consumer.

Take, for instance, the course of the wheat trade. When wheat comes from Argentina, or elsewhere, the vessel 'calls for orders' at Queenstown, Plymouth, Havre, Southampton, or some other European port. The merchant compares the prices at the principal markets, calculating all the expenses—freight, insurance, port dues, etc., including, of course, the Customs duty—to a fraction. If he finds that the highest price, including the duty, is at Berlin, to Berlin it goes; but it will not go to Berlin until the price there has risen to cover all the charges, including the duty. If, after allowing for all other charges, the price in London and Berlin is the same, the wheat will of course be sent on to London. There being no duty in England, and assuming the German duty to be 12*s*. 2*d*. a quarter, no wheat will go to Berlin until the difference in price exceeds, or at least equals, the German duty. It is surely therefore obvious that the consumer pays the duty.

Messrs. Pears have recently established works in America, and have told us why in a very interesting letter to the *Morning Post*:

'Who Pays the Duty?'

To the Editor of the 'Morning Post.'

Sir,—I think I can give a very practical reply to Mr. R. A. Cooper's challenge as to who pays the duty on our goods in America by telling him that, for example, the wholesale price of a certain universally-known specialty of ours—which shall be entirely nameless (*et ex uno disce omnes*)—is 6*s*. 5*d*. per dozen in England and 10*s*. per dozen in America, the difference being duty, freight, and other expenses paid by the consumer; the exact net amount brought back to us in England being again 6*s*. 5*d*. Who paid the duty?

Now, if we can make in America and put some of the duty now paid by Americans into our own pockets—should such duties continue—I assume that Mr. Cooper will consider us justified in doing so.

In conclusion, in the interests of truth, may I ask why avoid the fact that the American tourist buys his suit of clothes in London and *pays the duty on arrival home or wears the suit and avoids the duty*?

Yours, etc., A. and F. Pears, Limited.
(Thomas J. Barratt, Chairman and Managing Director.)
71-75 New Oxford Street, 1st November, 1911.

This is no isolated case.

I could mention other British firms who have established works in the United States, and are making large fortunes out of the American people, thanks to the American duties.

In these cases the goods are of course only intended for the American market.

Moreover, the American duties not only enrich certain ente[rprising] British firms, but they have driven American houses [to] establish themselves here in order to obtain the advantage [of] cheap raw materials. Mr. Brunker has published in *The Fr[ee] Trader* of 1908 a long, though not by any means a complete, li[st] of important foreign firms who have been driven over to thi[s] country by the duties in their own—who have come here to enjo[y] the advantages of our Free Trade system—and thus supply addi[tional] employment and wages for English workmen.

Both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain desire to impose—or at any rate threaten the imposition of—duties on certain [of] our imports.[16] Their objects are twofold: firstly, to break dow[n] foreign duties; and secondly to consolidate the Empire. Thes[e] two policies, however, are very different and almost incompatible[.] For instance, take Canada and Holland. Canada imposes on a[n] average 17 per cent. duties, Holland only 3 per cent. Therefor[e] from the first point of view we should impose duties on Canadia[n] produce and admit those of Holland free. On the second we shoul[d] impose duties on Dutch produce, because Holland is a foreig[n] country, and admit those of Canada free. It would be surel[y] impossible to carry on these two policies simultaneously. T[o] impose new differential duties against their produce would not ten[d] to induce foreign countries to lower their duties in our favour.

Mr. Balfour speaks and writes of himself as a Free Trader[.] He proposes that we should impose duties on imports in order t[o] induce foreign countries to remove, or at any rate reduce, theirs[.] He suggests that

> the only alternative is to do to foreign nations what they always do to eac[h] other, and instead of appealing to economic theories in which they wholl[y] disbelieve to use fiscal inducements which they thoroughly understand[.] We, and we alone among the nations, are unable to employ this means o[f] persuasion, not because in our hands it need be ineffectual but because, i[n] obedience to 'principle,' we have deliberately thrown it away.[17]

I cannot think that any such course would have the result which he desires; and it is clear that the effect of such duties would be protective, whatever the intention with which they were imposed.

Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were

> A normal duty of 10 per cent. (*e.g.*, upon most manufactured produce), a lower preferential duty to goods produced within the Empire, a higher or penal duty on goods of nations who would not give reasonable terms t[o] us, a low duty on food products, with a preference to Imperial produce.[18]

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[16] *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, 1833-1908, vol. iii., p. 338.

[17] 'Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade,' *Speeches*, 1880-1905, p. 94.

[18] *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, 1833-1908, vol. ii. p. 386.

Let us consider the effect of imposing a 'penal duty on goods of nations who would not give reasonable terms to us.' Has he, has Mr. Hewins, has Lord Ridley, really thought out what this means? The two countries which impose the heaviest duties against our goods are Russia and the United States. What 'penal duties' could we impose against either of these countries? It is not suggested that any duties should be imposed on raw materials, and those on food are to be kept low. Now take the case of Russia. What do we import from that country?[19] Of the total exports of Russia 63 per cent. are articles of food and 32 per cent. are raw materials! The small remainder consist of a great variety of articles, including books, pictures, china, etc. It is obvious, therefore, that we can put no serious pressure on Russia unless we are prepared to tax food or raw materials.

I pass on to the United States. Their duties check very much, no doubt, the commerce between the two countries. Nevertheless our exports to the United States amount to over 59,000,000*l*. If the people of the United States really think it is their interest to pay twice as much as they need for clothes, ironware, etc., in order to enrich a few millionaire manufacturers, we may regret it, but it is their affair. Need we, however, regret it very much? It is not an unmixed evil. The duties tend to shut us out of the United States, but they also tend to shut the United States out of neutral markets: as against United States manufacturers we suffer in the markets of 100,000 people, we gain in those of 1,400,000 people. The United States manufacturers, but for their duties, would be much more formidable competitors in South America, India, China, and, in fact, in the world generally. The American duties are by no means an unmixed injury to us: that the people of the United States suffer by them admits of no doubt.

Let us suppose, however, that we determine to take the advice of Tariff Reformers, and take 'penal' measures against the United States.

What do we import from them? Of their total exports to us 70,000,000*l*. consists of food, 94,000,000*l*. of raw materials, and 46,000,000*l*. of semi-manufactured articles. Is it really seriously proposed that we are to penalise the United States by heavy duties on such American produce? What would Lancashire say to a suggestion to put a 'penal' duty on cotton?

The remainder of our imports from the United States consists of a great variety of objects, some of which we do not produce, of new American machines, inventions, etc.

When the Edison Company was introducing the electric light into this country progress was at first very slow. Only half a

[19] *Stat. Abs. Foreign Countries*, Cd. 5446, p. 89.

dozen or a dozen dynamos were required in a year: it was obviously impossible to establish works for so small a demand, and dynamos were imported from the United States. As soon, however, as the light was established, our manufacturers set up works and we made the dynamos for ourselves. In the meantime, however, a duty on dynamos would have seriously retarded the progress of the electric light.

Moreover, look at the Russian and United States duties from another point of view. Have they broken down the tariffs of France or Germany? Not at all. In fact, this policy of fighting duties by duties has been tried and has utterly failed.

Russia has tried it and failed; France has tried it and failed; Germany has tried it and failed; the United States have tried it and failed. They have put on heavy duties, but have not broken down foreign tariffs. Moreover, under the favoured-nation clause, if they succeeded, we should share the advantage.

Nor have we only the experience of foreign countries. We have tried it ourselves. We had Protection for years, and Mr. Gladstone has recorded that when he was at the Board of Trade:

> From 1841 to 1844 we were anxiously and eagerly endeavouring to make tariff treaties with many foreign countries. And the state of our tariff, even after the law of 1824, was then such as to supply us with plenty of material for liberal offers. Notwithstanding this, we failed in every case. I doubt whether we advanced the cause of Free Trade a single inch.[20]

Tariff Reformers generally draw a broad line between duties on raw materials, food, and manufactured articles. Raw materials they would admit free; on food they would impose light duties, if any; manufactures they would tax much more heavily.

At first sight there seems much to be said for the imposition of duties on manufactures, but the more the question is examined the weaker the distinction becomes. In the first place the classification is arbitrary, and seems to me misleading. Many things which are classed under the head of 'manufactured and semi-manufactured articles'[21] are in reality raw materials. For instance, the class includes sawn timber, yarns, and pig iron.

I do not know that the Board of Trade could do otherwise, but as a matter of fact timber, yarns, and iron are really raw materials—in Cobden's graphic words, 'the daily bread' of our manufactures.

Processes are so much divided that it is the business of many manufacturers to buy semi-manufactured materials and turn them into manufactured articles. To them in their business these are really raw materials. Take the shipbuilders. We build more ships than all the rest of the world put together, and one great reason is that our shipbuilders get the semi-manufactured articles

[20] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*. [21] P. 63.

which are the raw materials of their business more cheaply than their rivals in Protectionist countries. If you tax these semi-manufactured articles you strike a blow at their trade.

But the same argument really applies to manufactured articles. In a sense they also are raw materials. Steam-engines, for instance, to a cotton-spinner, to a railway company, to a coal-mine, to an electric-lighting company—in fact, to most manufacturers—are one of the most necessary adjuncts of their business. If you tax a manufacturer 1000*l.*, it matters little whether you put it on the steam-engines he uses or the raw material he employs.

The argument against taxing raw material applies, then, to machinery, and indeed to manufactures generally.

Mr. Chamberlain himself does not suppose that small duties imposed here would affect the policy of foreign countries. He did not suggest that 2*s.* a quarter on wheat would electrify agriculture.

But would this small duty be *any* advantage to farmers? In the first place it could only benefit those who grow wheat for sale, and only to the extent that they do so. But further than this, in reply to a very important agricultural deputation, Mr. Balfour, on the 15th of May 1903, expressed a strong opinion that Sir M. Hicks Beach's 1*s.* a quarter duty was a positive injury, as far as it went, to the farming industry on account of its action on feeding-stuffs. It was, he said,

> not merely a trifling tax on corn, but a tax on the raw material which farmers use in their industry. . . . It has turned out that the tax has operated as a great burden on the raw material used by farmers. . . . My firm conviction is that the tax is, fiscally speaking, a good tax, but that the class who have most reason to complain of it in the whole of the United Kingdom are the farming class.[22]

However this may be—and there is certainly a good deal in Mr. Balfour's ingenious argument—it is quite a mistake to suppose that our commerce is really at the mercy of our rivals.

Some of our statesmen are alarmed for the future of British commerce. With the present tendency to Protection, what, they say, is to become of us in the future? They need, I think, have no fear. No doubt, when we consider the very high duties imposed by various countries on our goods—duties imposed not for revenue, but to keep out our products, or, as it is euphemistically called, to 'protect native industries'—it seems at first wonderful that we can do business with them at all. The explanation, no doubt, partly is that, firstly, manufacturers in these countries take advantage of their own countrymen, raise prices to the extent of the duties, and put the money into their own pockets at the

[22] 'Fiscal Reform,' *Speeches*, 1880-1905, p. 23.

expense of the community. This enables our manufacturers to pay the duties and yet compete with them. And, secondly, no country produces all that it requires. It is impossible to protect manufactures which do not exist. These considerations seem to me to relieve us from the apprehension felt by some of our statesmen, that if foreign countries and our own Colonies become more and more Protectionist, they will thus more and more restrict our commerce.

I submit, then, that, so far as the economical aspect is concerned, no case whatever has been established for any change in our system.

The second reason which has been brought forward is of a different character, and raises totally different considerations.

Mr. Chamberlain wrote to the Duke on the 21st of September 1903:

> It is ridiculous to suppose that 2*s.* a quarter on corn would restore prosperity to agriculture, although the farmers might possibly support it as drowning men will catch at a straw. For my own part I care only for the great question of Imperial unity. Everything else is secondary or consequential. But for this—to quote a celebrated phrase—I would not have taken my coat off.[33]

This is indeed a noble object, well worthy of a great statesman. It would repay substantial—even considerable—sacrifices.

The Duke was quite willing to have a full and exhaustive inquiry, but he very wisely wished to have before him the exact changes which were proposed.

> I should hesitate very long [he said[34]] before I could bring myself to assent to changes the effect of which, so far as I know or have the means of knowing, might be to improve the conditions of certain of the higher classes of labour, but might also have the effect, so far as I know or have the means at present of knowing, of breaking down that barrier which still exists between those millions and absolute starvation.

In fact, he was always prepared to consider carefully and sympathetically any plan which would bring the scattered elements of our great Empire into closer connexion, but in his opinion no practical solution had been proposed.

Take, for instance, Australia. Our imports[35] from there are 31,000,000*l.*, of which 19,000,000*l.* consists of raw materials and 11,000,000*l.* of food.

Our principal imports are wool, wheat, and gold. A duty on gold is of course out of the question, because gold is the standard of value. No preference on wool would benefit Australasia, for the simple reason that she produces more than we consume. Even as it is, much of the Australasian wool goes to the Continent, because it cannot be used up here. It does not, therefore, appear

[33] *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, 1833-1908, vol. ii. p. 355.
[34] *Ibid.* p. 315.
[35] Cd. 5906 (1911).

that a preference would be any great advantage to Australia. It could not benefit their main industries.

Or take Canada. Our imports from the Dominion are again almost entirely raw materials or food. Out of $140,000,000 no less than $111,000,000 are food and $25,000,000 raw materials.

Moreover there are special difficulties.

Considerably more than one-half of the Canadian wheat actually comes to us through the United States.

To this it has been replied that Halifax and St. John are open all the winter, but Mr. Carnegie has calculated that the extra cost of transit would be 'eight shillings' a quarter as compared with exports and imports through Montreal or American ports. Unless, therefore, the preference amounted to a larger sum, the extra charge for freight would be prohibitive. Moreover, though the port of St. John is in Canada, the railway to it passes through the United States.

The United States have a duty of 8*s*. 7*d*. a quarter on wheat, but they courteously allow Canadian wheat to pass through in bond. This we could not expect to continue.

It would, again, be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish Canadian wheat from that grown in the United States.

Tariff Reformers seem to be under the impression that in some mysterious way the United Kingdom has precluded itself from bargaining with foreign countries. In his great Sheffield speech Mr. Balfour said:

> I say distinctly that in my judgment the country ought never to have deprived itself of that liberty, and that it ought publicly to resume it in the face of Europe and the world."

Mr. Balfour concludes his *Notes on Insular Free Trade* by laying down the axiom that

> The first and most essential object of our national efforts should be to get rid of the bonds in which we have gratuitously entangled ourselves. The precise manner in which we should use our regained liberty is an important, yet, after all, only a secondary, issue. What is fundamental is that our liberty should be regained."

I confess I do not understand what Mr. Balfour means by saying that we have deprived ourselves of any liberty. We are free to embark on tariff wars if we please, however foolish we might be to do so. But would not engagements with the Colonies and foreign countries deprive us of that very freedom which Mr. Balfour so wisely regards as most important?

I confess I view with some alarm the prospect of bargaining with the Colonies. We may seem to favour one Colony or one

[26] *The Times*, August 6, 1903.
[27] Balfour, 'Fiscal Reform,' *Speeches*, 1880-1905, p. 111. [28] *Ibid*. p. 95.

interest, and may find that, instead of closer union, we have roused jealousies, suspicions, and animosities.

Would not any arrangements such as are suggested involve us in most difficult and perhaps dangerous discussions with the Colonies? Lord St. Aldwyn in 1908[39] dwelt on these with his usual force and ability. He said:

Then comes the question of the practical working of the system of Colonial preference if it were brought about by the imposition of these duties, and I am bound to say this appears to me to be beset by difficulties of the greatest importance, one of which I will venture to place before your lordships. Suppose we had made a bargain with Canada—that, I think, is the best case to take—that we would impose a duty on corn, meat, and dairy produce from foreign countries, and leave such articles coming from Canada free. The effect of that, if it was effective, would be to transfer the supply of these articles which now come to us from foreign countries to Canada, and, of course, to any other Colony which had the same advantage. That is a result which, so long as we get the articles cheaply, I do not know that anybody need quarrel with. . . . But there would be another result. Supposing the United States were deprived of the market for her corn in this country, what would she do? Surely, if she saw it going she would come to us and say, 'We do not like this at all. We are ready to make an arrangement with you. We will lower our tariff on some of your manufactured articles which it is of great importance for you to send to us, if you will place us on the same footing as Canada with regard to the duty on corn.' What should we say? 'We are very sorry, but we cannot relieve you from this duty.' I know it is a very inconvenient thing sometimes to be bound not to impose a duty, but it may be very much worse than inconvenient to bind yourself not to take off a duty. We should, of course, be unable to obtain from the United States that which might be of the most urgent and utmost importance to the great manufacturing industries of this country. Supposing the request was renewed when the term of our arrangement with Canada expired, what answer should we give then? If we had accepted the principle of preference because Canada is part of the Empire, and in order to obtain greater advantages in Canadian trade, we should have to depart from that principle at the risk of losing the trade advantages we had obtained from Canada in order to obtain the greater advantages which the reduction of the United States tariff might give us; and if we refused to make an arrangement with the United States which might, as I have said, be of the utmost importance to our great industries, it would be said by everybody that we refused to do this in order to keep up the price of food. That seems to be a practical difficulty, and one of very great importance.

A duty of 2*s*. a quarter on wheat would, as Mr. Chamberlain said, do little for farmers. Suppose there was a substantial increase—nothing extreme, but say half the German duty—is there not much force in Lord St. Aldwyn's argument that

I cannot help thinking—though that would have been a painful subject—of the effect that might have had upon the position of the Government of

[39] Lord St. Aldwyn on Preferential Trade, in the House of Lords, May 21, 1908.

my noble friend if the people of this country were being told that this duty had raised the price of corn 7s. or 8s. more a quarter, and that it was intolerable that this sort of thing should be allowed to continue for the benefit of Colonial farmers at the cost of the English working man. Now, would that have tended to improve the feelings of kindliness and goodwill in this country towards our Colonial brethren? These are two of the practical difficulties which I own that I see in the working of this policy.

Though the French suffer most from their high duties so far as France itself is concerned, the case is very different when similar duties are extended to countries which they have annexed. Our trade with Madagascar has been practically ruined, and this is not an isolated case, so that the subject seems to me to demand the serious attention of our Government; but I do not enlarge on these questions because they did not enter into the discussion between the Duke and Mr. Balfour. I may take some other opportunity of calling attention to the subject, which is indeed one of great and growing importance.

In his important Sheffield speech Mr. Balfour said that any one negotiating with a foreign country must perforce admit that 'We have nothing to give you; we have nothing to take from you.' But this is not so: we are free to go into a commercial war if we choose: we could exclude their goods if we thought it our interest to do so. We have also much to give. When Mr. Bonar was negotiating the Austrian Treaty of Commerce the following incident occurred:

The Scotch were very anxious that the duty on British herrings should be reduced, and Mr. Bonar was instructed to urge this strongly on the Austrian Chancellor. The Chancellor said he was anxious to meet the views of our Government, but he asked, 'In that case, Mr. Bonar, what will you do for us?' 'Oh,' said Mr. Bonar, 'we will send you many more herrings.'

Mr. Balfour's Government was much divided as to Tariff Reform, and the Duke, Lord George Hamilton, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Ritchie, and Mr. A. Elliot, to their great honour, determined to retire.

It was Mr. Balfour's Sheffield speech which finally decided the Duke. He was not prepared, as he said in his letter of resignation,[20] to form part of a Government which desired to 'reverse the fiscal tradition, to alter fundamentally the fiscal tradition which has prevailed during the last two generations.'

I had hoped to have found in your speech a definite statement of adherence to the principles of Free Trade as the ordinary basis of our fiscal and commercial system, and an equally definite repudiation of the principle of Protection in the interest of our national industries; but, in their

[20] *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, vol. ii. p. 362.

absence, I cannot help thinking that such declarations as those which I have quoted cannot fail to have the effect of materially encouraging the advocates of direct Protection in the controversy which has been raised throughout the country, and of discouraging those who, like me and, I had hoped, yourself, believe that our present system of free imports, and especially of food imports, is, on the whole, the most advantageous to the country, although we do not contend that the principle on which it rests forms any such authority or sanctity as to forbid any departure from it for sufficient cause.[31]

It seems clear, then, that:

(1) Our commerce is increasing most satisfactorily;

(2) It is increasing more rapidly than that of any of our Protectionist rivals;

(3) While any plan which would tend to consolidate the Empire is entitled to respectful and sympathetic consideration, even if it involved a substantial sacrifice, no practicable plan has yet been proposed;

and I submit, therefore, that the Duke of Devonshire was fully justified in his conclusion 'that no sufficient case has been made out for disturbing the foundations on which the fiscal and commercial policy of the country rest.'

AVEBURY.

[31] Duke of Devonshire to Mr. Balfour, October 2, 1903.

LATEST LIGHT FROM EGYPT ON THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

EGYPT is a land of marvels. It is marvellous, not only for the colossal monuments of its ancient civilisation, which strike the visitor with a persistent wonder, but also for the startling discoveries which, from time to time, its preservative soil yields to the excavator.

The great discoveries at Tel el Amarna, which revolutionised the views of our historians as to the relations of the ancient empires of the nearer East, and furnished light on the conditions of Canaan before the Hebrew occupation, were a surprise to the learned world. This marvellous discovery has been followed by finds, made within the last few years, which rival it almost in importance.

Winter visitors to Egypt, who, attracted by its position on the border of the tropics, have made Assuan their headquarters, will remember the island of Elephantinê, which lies almost opposite to it. As the site of an early border fortress, this island has its special interests; but to the casual traveller it is chiefly attractive for its rural quiet and beauty. It is composed of detached masses of granite, formed into a compact whole by accumulations of sand, over which, on the lower portions, the Nile has deposited its mud for centuries. To-day, fellahin cultivate every available strip of this rich soil, and the unceasing sound of their saqiyehs drawing water from the river lulls the mind of the visitor into a tranquillity harmonising with the scene. Acacias and mulberry trees, date trees and Dôm palms furnish an agreeable shade. Buffaloes and oxen graze among the patches of verdure, while flocks of fowls and pigeons pick up here and there whatever they can, the whole presenting a scene of oriental calm contrasting refreshingly with our restless home-life.

The ancient city, called the 'fortress Yeb' in the documents to be afterwards described, was crowded into the southern half of this island, on a plateau beyond the reach of inundations. It is now marked by mounds in which the *Sebakh* diggers have been long at work in their search for phosphates. Here in January 1901

Professor Sayce procured a papyrus roll, which he himself had seen unearthed by the diggers. It was in the Aramaic script, and was the herald of the subsequent important finds made on the same site.

A year or two later, Mr. Robert Mond, who was excavating in Egypt at the time, was the purchaser of several Aramaic papyri offered for sale at Assuan, but from the same site, and Lady William Cecil became the fortunate possessor of others. The two collections, supplemented by one or two papyri acquired by Professor Sayce, were published at Mr. Mond's expense in 1906, under the editorship of Professor Sayce and Dr. A. E. Cowley.

The eleven documents contained in this work are in the Aramaic language, a Semitic speech closely allied to the Hebrew, and employed in certain portions of the Books of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah in our Hebrew Bibles. The translations of these documents given by Dr. Cowley show that there was at Elephantinê an organised Jewish community in the fifth century before Christ. The documents (from 471-411 B.C.) are chiefly deeds bearing on loans, marriage dowries, divorce, legal decisions, etc. A noteworthy characteristic of these deeds is that women are represented as on precisely the same social and legal footing as men. Mention of a temple of Yahveh (Yaho)—or Jehovah as it is commonly written—built, like the Egyptian temples, fronting on a street, is made more than once therein, and legal oaths 'by Yaho' as well as 'by Sati,' an Egyptian deity, are recorded.

As soon as the source of these documents was ascertained, a systematic excavation of the site was begun, a concession having been given by the Egyptian Government to the German and French authorities for the purpose. M. Clermont Ganneau was selected as the French explorer, but the results of his excavations have not yet been published. Professor Dr. O. Rubensohn, acting for the Royal Museum in Berlin, began work in 1906, with the result that by 1908 a considerable number of papyri, ostraca, and inscribed pottery had been unearthed. The papyri, in a more or less damaged condition, were found in the ruins of houses belonging to an ancient Jewish settlement, some two feet only beneath the surface, while the ostraca and pottery were unearthed all over the site. The whole of these objects have been quite recently dealt with in two handsome quarto volumes under the editorship of the celebrated Semitic scholar Professor E. Sachau of Berlin. The first volume has a preface by Dr. Bode of the Royal Museum at Berlin, and, beside a learned introduction, contains a transliteration of the Aramaic into Hebrew script, a German translation of the texts, and copious elucidatory notes by the editor. The second volume is occupied exclusively by the facsimile reproduc-

tions of the documents, which are printed in seventy-five plates. The whole constitutes the most important contribution to Biblical history which has appeared of late years—especially in relation to the later books of the Bible, the Books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, and to Jewish history of the little-known period between the time of Nehemiah and the appearance on the scene of Alexander the Great. The period covered by the papyri is from 494 to 404 B.C. The language is, as has been already said, that of certain portions of the Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Not long ago critics regarded Aramaic as having been brought back from Babylon by the returning exiles, and that it presence in any of the sacred books (such as in Jeremiah x. 11, and in the *Jegar-Sahadutha* of Genesis xxxi. 47) indicates a late origin. We know now that this is not the case. Three Semitic languages (Hebrew and Arabic are to us the most familiar types of Semitic), Professor Sachau tells us, played an important part in early West Asiatic history. The first of these was the Assyro Babylonian, of which there are vast remains preserved to us in the cuneiform inscriptions discovered in the ruins of the ancien cities of the Euphrates. When the Assyro-Babylonian Empire came to an end, this language did not disappear, but continued in use in the Persian period; it then began gradually to die out Even during its prevalence, that is in the time of the Sargons the eighth century B.C., a second variety of Semitic speech wa becoming its serious rival for predominance. This was th Aramaic. This language was written in what was formerly re garded as the Phœnician alphabet. The characters used, how ever, can be traced back to a fairly early date, and they seem t be associated from their first appearance with the Aramaic lan guage. They represent a stage of development towards the squar Hebrew alphabet, from which they do not differ very seriously i form. The Aramaic language gradually acquired the upper han among all Semitic peoples north of the Arabian Continent, an in the time of Christ everyone, including Christ Himself, spok Aramaic. It is still spoken in the neighbourhood of Lake Va Arabic, another Semitic language, however, eventually took i place almost everywhere.

The Semitic languages of Canaan, including Hebrew, and t speech of the coast line, the Phœnician, did not play a great *rôl* although the latter maintained its existence in North Africa unt the Arab domination. Hebrew, on the other hand, fell early in desuetude before the use of Aramaic, becoming at length restrict to religious and liturgical use. Its extinction as the speech the people was owing, in the first instance, according to Profess Sachau, to the over-running of the Kingdom of Israel by Sarg in 723 B.C., and the consequent settlement of aliens in t

country; and, in the second place, to the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar and the exile of the ruling classes, a fact which seriously altered the linguistic relations of the country. Henceforward the advance of Aramaic displaced more and more the Hebrew, until it became at length the predominant tongue.

The documents discovered at Elephantinê are all in this Aramaic language, and Professor Sachau expresses his astonishment that after careful scrutiny he has found not a single instance of Hebrew influence upon them, except in the case of personal names which are of a definitely Hebrew character, and are distinguished, like the Hebrew designations of the same epoch, by the frequent use of the Divine name (*Jah*) in their composition.

It will be some years, perhaps, before a learned scrutiny of these Aramaic documents will succeed in extracting from them all the fresh historical and linguistic material which underlies them. In the case of some of the documents, however, there are facts on the face of them which have a bearing on Biblical history. A striking instance of this is furnished by the first two papyri in the published collection. These represent two almost identical forms of the same epistle, the variants being accounted for on the hypothesis, suggested by Professor Sachau, that one is the original draft, and the other the revised copy. As this is the most important document in the collection, and has many references to Biblical matters, it is best to give, *in extenso*, a somewhat close rendering of Professor Sachau's German translation:

'To our Lord Bagohi, Governor of Judaea, thy servants Jedoniah and his associates the Priests (*Koheni*) in the fortress of Yeb (Elephantinê) greeting: May the God of Heaven ask after[1] the health of our Lord on every occasion, and place thee in favour before King Darius and the sons of the (royal) house, a thousand times more than now, and give thee a long life. Be fortunate and strong always.'

'Now at this time Jedoniah and his associates speak thus:—

'In the month of Tammuz (i.e. June), in the fourteenth year of King Darius (i.e. 410 B.C.), when Arsames had departed and gone to the King, the Priests (*Kemari*—idolatrous priests) of the God Khnum in the fortress of Yeb (formed) a conspiracy (?) with Waidereng, who was the ruler here, with the following object. "The temple of the God Yahveh (Yāhō) in the fortress of Yeb must be done away with."

[1] The phrase 'ask after' seems to Professor Sachau highly derogatory in this connexion, but, as he shows, from its occurrence elsewhere in these documents, it is a recognised form, meaning 'look to the health.'

"Thereupon the said Waidereng, the accursed, sent letters to his son Nepayan, who was general in the fortress of Syene (Assuan) with the following contents: "The temple in the fortress Yeb must be destroyed." Then Nepayan led Egyptians and other soldiers hither. They came, together with their implements (?), entered the said temple, razed it to the ground, and broke to pieces the stone pillars which were there. And it came to pass that they destroyed also the five stone gates (? pylons) constructed of square stones, which were in the said temple, and burnt with fire the wooden doors of the same, and the bronze hinges, as well as the cedar roof, all, together with the rest (?) of the Ussarna (?) and other things that were there. And the golden and silver sacrificial bowls, and everything that was in the said temple did they take away and appropriate to themselves.

'As far back as the days even of the King of Egypt did our fathers build the said temple in the fortress Yeb, and when Cambyses entered Egypt he found the temple already built there. And the temples of the Gods of Egypt were all torn down, but no one did injury to the said temple.

'After we had been thus treated, we, together with our wives and children, wore sackcloth, fasted, and prayed to Yahveh (Yāhō) the Lord of Heaven, who informed us in relation to the said "dog of a" (?) Waidereng (as follows):

"The fetters will have been removed from his feet,[2] and all the treasures which he acquired destroyed, and all the men who had attempted to inflict injury on the said temple will have been killed together, and we shall have looked down upon their overthrow."

'And already previously, when this evil was done to us, we sent a letter to our Lord, Jehohannan the High Priest, and his associates, the Priests in Jerusalem, and to Ostanes the brother of Hanani, and the notables of the Jews. Not a single letter (in answer) have they sent us. So we, since the month of Tammuz of the fourteenth year of Darius to the present day have worn sackcloth, and fasted: our wives are become as widows (as a widow): we no longer anoint ourselves with oil and drink wine: and from thence forward to the (present) day in the seventeenth year of King Darius (407 B.C.) have we not instituted in the said temple (i.e. in its ruins) Meal-offerings,[3] Incense-offerings,[4] and Burnt-offerings.[5]

[2] The first sentence of this seemingly oracular saying may mean, as Professor Sachau suggests, that he was executed, and, after the removal of the fetters, his corpse cast out.

[3] The *Mincha* of the Hebrew Bible. [4] The Hebrew *Lebonah*.

[5] The Hebrew *Olah*. The terms used in the papyrus for these sacrificial words are identical with their equivalents in Leviticus.

'Now thy servants Jedoniah, his associates and the Jews, all citizens of Yeb, say thus:

'If it is pleasing to our Lord, mayest thou be mindful of the restoration of the said temple: as we have not been permitted to rebuild it, so look to the receivers of thy benevolence and manifestations of thy grace here in Egypt: may a letter in respect of the temple of Yahveh (Yâhō) in the fortress of Yeb be sent from thee to them to rebuild it, as it formerly was built. In thy name will they offer on the altar of the God Yahveh the Meal-offering, the Incense-offering, and the Burnt-offering, and we shall at all times pray for thee, we and our wives and our children, and all the Jews who are here, if it shall have been thus managed, until the said temple be again built; and there shall be to thee a reward before Yahveh the God of Heaven greater than the reward of a man who offers a Burnt-offering and an annual sacrifice[a] of a value like to the value of silver of 1000 talents; and in regard to gold, we have sent a messenger to thee and given information, and we have, in our names, in a special letter, imparted to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of the Governor Sanaballat of Samaria, all these particulars. Arsames, moreover, has had no knowledge of what was done to us.

'On the 20th of Marchesvan (October) in the seventeenth year (407 B.C.) of King Darius (i.e. Darius II).'

The period covered by the papyri in this collection extends, as already stated, from the year 494 B.C. to 404 B.C. None is apparently later than 404 B.C., when the Persian rule over Egypt came to an end, and with it probably the favoured position of the Jewish people, from whom these documents emanated. As Cambyses the son of Cyrus conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. the papyri come within the time of the Persian dominion. The Persian empire at this period embraced Asia as far as the Hellespont and the Mediterranean Sea, as well as Africa up to the boundaries of Nubia. Palestine was thus within its limits, and the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah, who, with the help of Artaxerxes I, in the middle and latter half of the fifth century caused the temple and wall of Jerusalem to arise anew from their ruins, was well within the period covered by these papyri.

Here a few questions naturally suggest themselves:

Who were the writers of these papyri?

When was the Colony planted at Elephantinê?

Whence did they come?

Whence their traditional ritual observances and the worship of 'Jehovah the King of Heaven'?

[a] *Dibchin* = the general term for sacrifice of a slaughtered animal in Leviticus. The word altar in the papyri involves the same root—*Madbach*.

The answers to some of these questions are furnished by the letter of Jedoniah given above, and by certain other documents in the collection. We know, in the first place, that they were colony of Jews, but that they were not an agricultural colony, or a trading colony like the Phœnicians. They designate themselves in these documents as 'the Jewish Army in Elephantiné,' that is, they formed the garrison at this border fortress against the Nubians. And although at the time when the papyri were written they, together with their wives and children, were settled community owning land and buildings, they were still members of a military organisation.

We learn from the papyri that they were divided into si 'standards' or troops, each designated apparently by the name of its commander. The word used for 'standard' is the same as that employed for the divisions of the Israelites when passin through the desert: 'Every man of the children of Israel shal pitch by his own standard."[7]

The relation of this military colony to the Central Persian Government is indicated by the portions of an Aramaic translation, among the papyri, of the celebrated Edict of Darius I which a few years after his accession (520 B.C.) he caused to be inscribed in three languages (the old Persian, the Elamite, and the Assyrian) on the carefully smoothed surface of the rocky precipice at the village of Behistun (Bagistana), on the road from Babylon to Ecbatana, the modern Hamadan. Here, the figure of Darius is still to be seen with his foot on the neck of a prostrate foe, possibly Nebuchadnezzar, whom he slew.

It seems from this discovery that the Edict in the various languages of the Persian empire was sent to all administrative outposts.

With regard to the origin of this military colony, the papyri are silent, but some indications in them may help us to trace it.

During the Persian domination it was customary to employ foreign mercenaries in the Persian campaigns, and one might therefore, assume that this Jewish military colony was introduced into Egypt at that time (that is, in the period of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, 559-520 B.C.). Against this assumption is the fact that Cyrus, the founder of the Persian Empire, had never occupied Egypt. Moreover, when his son Cambyses entered Egypt (525 B.C.) he found the temple, a stately structure which probably required years to construct, already in existence; and the letter to Bagohi, given above, states that the temple had been

[7] Numbers ii. 2. *Degel* is the word for standard in this document and in the Bible.

constructed in the time of the King of Egypt, that is, at the epoch of a native dynasty, we are forced to look further back.

Professor Sachau considers that the letter of Aristeas (written about 200 B.C. by a well-informed Jewish writer) may throw some light on the subject. This letter is recognised to be what is called a *tendenzschrift*, and to have been written to magnify the Greek translation of Holy Scripture known as the Septuagint. Yet, as Professor Sachau thinks, apart from this aim, the document may furnish trustworthy historical facts.

The letter states that Ptolemy I brought numerous soldiers from Palestine into Egypt, and that even in earlier times, under Persian rule, Palestinian troops had come to Egypt, and moreover, at a still earlier date, others had been led against the Ethiopian King by King Psammetichus. Since the Jewish colony, as we have seen, must have been planted at Elephantinê *before* Persian times, we are thrown back upon the period of Psammetichus. Was this Psammetichus I (659-611 B.C.) or Psammetichus II (594-589 B.C.)? Professor Maspero [8] distinctly states that Psammetichus I placed outposts at the entrance to the passes leading from the desert into the Nile valley, and that he had fortified Elephantinê against the Ethiopians. In his efforts, ultimately crowned with success, to wrench Egypt from the Assyrio-Babylonian occupation in the north, and to defend it from the aggression of Nubians on the south, he had employed not only native troops, but also foreign mercenaries. When some 240,000 of the native army, however, had mutinied, and marched into Ethiopia,[9] he was obliged to trust more to the foreign mercenaries—Greeks and Asiatics—in his employ.

Is this Jewish military colony to be reckoned among them? Professor Sayce [10] has no doubt of the fact, and quotes, in confirmation of other proofs, Zephaniah ii. 12 and iii. 10, showing that Jews, at the time—that is, during the reign of King Josiah—were living beyond the southern boundaries of Upper Egypt. The question seems to depend for a satisfactory solution on another debatable piece of Egyptian history, namely whether the military expedition under a Psammetichus which proceeded on a campaign against the Ethiopians as far south, at any rate, as Abu-Simbel was under Psammetichus I. 'The officers in command,' says Professor Maspero,[11] 'after having admired the rock-cut chapel of Rameses II, left on it a memento of their visit in a fine Greek inscription cut on the right leg of one of the Colossi.' This inscription informs us, 'that King Psammetichus, having come to Elephantinê, the people who

[8] *Passing of the Empires*, p. 498.
[9] Maspero, *ibid.* p. 499.
[10] *Expositor*, August 1911, p. 420.
[11] *Passing of the Empires*, p. 538.

were with Psammetichus son of Theocles (a general of the same name as the King), wrote this, etc.' Many of the soldiers of the expedition wrote also their names on the monuments here and there, each in his own language. An almost complete collection of these *graffiti* is given by Lepsius.[12] Most of the inscriptions are in Greek and Carian, but several of them are in what Lepsius calls Phœnician script, a term generally, until lately, used to include all Aramaic writings.

The latter, of which one seems to be Aramaic, are not easily deciphered. Some of the names, inscribed in early Greek letters, however, appear, as Maspero suggested, to be Jewish—for instance, 'Elisibios of Teos' can be hardly other in form than the Eliashib of the Bible.[13] Teos (in Egyptian Zichi) occurs also in the Elephantinê papyri.

Was the Psammetichus of the Abu-Simbel inscription the first of this name, and the ruler by whom this expedition was undertaken? The inscription of Abu-Simbel, says Maspero,[14] 'has been most frequently attributed to Psammetichus I, and until recently I had thought it possible to maintain this opinion.' He has now, however, concluded that the expedition was in the reign of Psammetichus II, and the Jewish soldiers present in this expedition would, therefore, belong to that period. Professor Sayce, on the ground that the Greeks called Psammetichus II 'Psammis,' and would have thus written it, believes that the Psammetichus of the inscription could only be the first of that name (659-611 B.C.).

Professor Sachau, on other grounds, is inclined to think that Psammetichus II was the King mentioned in the letter of Aristeas and that the Jewish military colony was planted at Yeb in his reign (594-589 B.C.). But he is aware of the possibility of an earlier date arising from the consideration that the colony was unaware of the injunction in the twelfth chapter of Deuteronomy (as to the worship of Yahveh exclusively in Jerusalem), and consequently may have left the homeland before the date assigned by critics, since the time of De Wette, to the publication of Deuteronomy, that is 621 B.C. These Aramaic documents show, at any rate, the development of an Israelite colony, separated possibly for several hundred years from the homeland, and among an alien race. While they had been at Yeb long enough to lose their ancestral speech (the Hebrew) they had continued to preserve their sacrificial cult, which required a temple for its

[12] *Denkmäler*, Vol. XII., pp. 98 *et seq.*

[13] A name which appears in 1 Chron. iii. 24; xxiv. 12; and also in Ezra and Nehemiah, as that of the High Priest at Jerusalem.

[14] *Passing of the Empires*, p. 537.

observance, and the recognition of Yahveh, the God of the Hebrews.

Whether we assign the earlier or later date to the plantin of the colony at Elephantinê, it is clear that they could not have acquired their religion and its sacrificial rites from the exiles returning from the Babylonian captivity.[15] Yet it was a fundamental assumption of certain critics in later years that the sacrificial ordinances prescribed in Leviticus were imposed, in the priestly interest, on the Jewish community in Jerusalem by the priests who came back from exile. To enforce these ordinances, the priests had edited, it was contended, their sacred books afresh, and introduced into them here and there these priestly prescriptions which the acumen of modern critics has been able to disentangle from the sacred writings, and to give them a local habitation and a name in 'The Priests' Code.' It is fair to add, however, that the more moderate recent critics have qualified this assumption by asserting that the sacrificial rites were not *invented* by the returning priests, but had an anterior existence, and were merely codified in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The Aramaic papyri of Elephantinê have, therefore, done signal service to sound criticism by checking the modern tendency to form conclusions from internal evidence only.

Professor Sachau has worked out from these documents further evidence as to the connexion of the colony of Elephantinê with the events in later Biblical history. For instance, the personal names in the document given above find an echo in th history handed down to us by Ezra and Nehemiah. Bagohi, to whom this document is addressed, is mentioned under the Gree form Bagoas by Josephus,[16] in association with Johanan (*Joannes*), the High Priest in Jerusalem, who appears in th letter above, and is also mentioned by Nehemiah[17]

A person called Bagoas, different from the addressee of thi letter, is mentioned in the book of Judith (that is, in the English version of the Greek), and it is not without significanc that the form of the name in the Vulgate translation, whic St. Jerome says he made from the Aramaic, is Vagoa—showin incidentally that initial B (Beth) was pronounced then, as by modern Jews, as V, and preserving, at the same time, almost the form in the Epistle. *Johanan*, who is mentioned also in the papyr as High Priest at Jerusalem, appears in Ezra[18] and Nehemiah

[15] If we accept the later date for the planting of the colony at Elephantin it must have been in existence there before the flight of Jeremiah to Egyp (584 B.C.). Jeremiah was a priest, and seems to have got as far south as Pathro (=the South-Country). See Jer. xliv. 15. Professor Flinders Petrie measure the remains of a Jewish temple at Tahpanes (Tel defennah) associated wit Jeremiah.

[16] *Ant. Jud.* ed. Niese, iii. 60, 61; and *ibid.* x. 7.

[17] xii. 22. [18] Chap. x. 6. [19] Chap. xii. 22, 23.

in the same capacity. Sanballat, whose name, together with those of his two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah, occurs also in the papyrus, is mentioned by Nehemiah as the leader of those who opposed the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem. Nehemiah designates him with the same title as that in the papyrus, namely, 'Governor of Samaria.' Professor Sachau argues from the Hebrew form of his sons' names that, notwithstanding his exotic name (Sanballat), he was himself a Jew. On this hypothesis, however, it is hard to account for the fact that Nehemiah[20] excommunicated a brother of Johanan the high priest for having married a daughter of Sanballat, a daughter whom he would thus class with alien women.

The answer to the letter addressed to Bagohi is among the papyri discovered, but it is in a fragmentary condition, and in addition to the formal instruction that the temple at Elephantinê is to be rebuilt merely mentions that the offering of pigeons, *turtledoves and goats is to give place to the usual sacrifices*, limited in this case, either by accident or design, to two—which are also those mentioned by Nehemiah.[21]

In another fragmentary papyrus of the collection (dated 419-418 B.C.) there is an injunction to the due observance of the Passover, and the prescriptions therein are regarded by Professor Sachau as having close relation to those of Deuteronomy[22] and Exodus.[23] Whether there was a previous observance or whether it was merely neglected cannot be determined from the papyrus, but it may have been a case similar to that in Nehemiah[24] where the children of Israel are represented as not having observed the Feast of Tabernacles according to the law read out by Ezra 'since the days of Joshua the son of Nun until that day.'

Another series of fragmentary papyri in the collection furnishes us with an early literary monument of great interest. This is the story of Achikar, a wise man of the East. The story, of which we have versions in several languages belonging to post-Christian times, describes how Achikar, having risen to great dignity, adopted in his old age a young man whom he had instructed by proverbs and fables to succeed him. The youth, forgetful of the benefits he had received, accused Achikar to the king, who sent his executioner to put him to death. The executioner had also received benefits from Achikar and contrives to conceal him, bringing back to the king the head of a eunuch in place of that of Achikar. The injustice done to Achikar is at

[20] Chap. xiii. 28.

[21] Chap. xiii. 9. Offerings permitted in case of poverty by Lev. v. 7; cf. also iii. 12-16.

[22] Chap. xvi.

[23] Chap. xii. Professor Sayce, *An Aramaic ostrakon from Elephantinê* (Proc. Soc. Biblical Archæology, November 1911) shows that 440-430 B.C. the Passover was observed at Elephantinê.

[24] Chap. viii. 17.

length discovered and he is restored to the king's favour. Th perfidy of the young man is also made known, and he is hande over by the king to Achikar for punishment. Achikar's ven geance seemingly takes the shape of moral addresses to the youn man, couched in proverbs and fables. In the Greek biography Aesop a similar experience is recorded of the latter while he w at the Court of King Lykeros, and the association may be mor than accidental.

This story was widely known in Christian times, and Clemen of Alexandria[25] records that Democritus (*circ.* 460-470 B.C.), th so-called 'laughing philosopher,' had made use of the aphorism of Achikar, and incorporated into his writings a translation had made of a stele of the same. Professor Sachau has looke in vain in the writings of Democritus for a verification of thi statement. Strabo also mentions Achikar.

The interest of the story to Biblical students arises from th fact that a lesson is drawn from it in the Book of Tobit. Th English version of Tobit is from the Septuagint. The versio in the Vulgate was made by St. Jerome, against his inclinatio as he says in his preface, from the Aramaic. This original ha been entirely lost sight of until Dr. Neubauer found a shortene form of it in a Midrash[26] and published it in 1878, together wit a Hebrew version and the Latin pre-Jerome rendering, the *Itala*

It is somewhat remarkable that the lesson on ingratitude take from the story of Achikar (Achiacharus in the English version o Tobit) does not appear in the version of St. Jerome nor in th Aramaic edition of Dr. Neubauer. There is evidence of curtail ment in both the latter. The book of Tobit is regarded by som critics as having been written not earlier than 200 B.C. Some indeed, make it post-Christian; but the presence of Achikar' story in the papyri suggests a much earlier date.

A few only of the interesting topics discussed by Professo Sachau in his notes on the papyri have been dwelt upon here Sufficient, however, it is hoped, has been touched upon to sho the great importance of this 'latest light from Egypt on the Hol Scriptures.'

EDMUND MCCLURE.

[25] Flourished 190-203 A.D. See *Stromateis*, Book V.

[26] A Hebrew Exegesis of Scripture.

THE KING'S TOUR IN INDIA

THE evening shades had deepened on a foggy London day, so dull and dreary at noon that no one knew when the goblin of gloom had swallowed up the angel of light. The mists had not lifted, there was a decided note of chill and dampness in the air, and the wind beat sharply against the face. The atmosphere lacked the exhilaration of dry cold just as much as it was minus the geniality of a tropical winter. There was something in the weather which damped all the fire that lay innate within a soul conceived and reared beneath sunny skies, something which actually clutched at the throat like a monster with a million clammy, slimy tentacles. The eyes which were used to gazing at the azure heavens, clear and expansive, flecked with myriad stars and a benign, beauteous moon, giving the sky the appearance of a royal-blue escutcheon with the Koh-i-noor in the centre and millions of diamonds set about it, felt oppressed by the uncertain gleam that the arc lights, capping the tall poles, shed in a vain attempt to penetrate the veiling fog, and they chafed rebelliously at their vision being so circumscribed.

It was a relief to enter the large library lined with huge bookcases. A bright fire blazed in the old-fashioned grate, and a dozen electric bulbs glowed in radiant glory. It was not a superbly furnished place—the easy-chairs showed long use—but the room had a character all its own. The lights shone through pink silk shades, ruffled with exactness. The blinds were not the cheap, shoddy things, that pull up and down on squeaky reels, which commercialists have foisted on an age whose finer susceptibilities have been dulled by money-madness—they were casement curtains of the same dainty, warm hue as the lamp-shades, and just as neatly and painstakingly ruffled. They not only looked pleasant, but effectively kept out the dulness and dampness.

The electric light straining through the pretty pink shades and the glow irradiating from the punctiliously laid fire fell on a half-dozen countenances so different in their outlines that no one could have guessed that the young men who bore them came from one and the same land—India. There was one, tall and lank, with kinky hair, arched forehead, jet-black, flashing eyes surmounted by bushy eyebrows, thick lips, receding chin, and black

skin—a Negroid type. Another was not so coarse-featured, not so dark, not so curly-haired as the first; yet not so delicately chiselled, nor so fair, nor so straight-haired as the third. The fourth had the cast of countenance which the old Grecians delighted to carve—he came from that part of Hindostan where Hellenic kings at one time reigned supreme, and possibly diluted Greek blood ran in his veins. The fifth had been fashioned by Nature in a moment of whimsical stinginess, and his face and figure bore the marks of her capriciousness as few human specimens do. He was wizened and shrivelled like the kernel of a walnut. The most remarkable thing about the last member of the party was the shiftiness of his eyes, betokening a high-strung, restless nature.

They would have made fine specimens in a living anthropological collection; but their faces and figures were not half so interesting as their talk, which centred around the King's visit to their native land—a topic which, on account of the uniqueness of the event, had pushed all other subjects into the background with the Indians abroad and at home. They spoke directly, curtly, vehemently—as if they had made up their minds.

One said: 'Their Majesties are going to have the time of their lives while in India.'

Another added: 'At our expense.'

The third remarked: 'And the Motherland already has been bled to death.'

The fourth called attention to the fact: 'India is now suffering from famine.'

The fifth sarcastically rejoined: 'But the British officials say there is no famine in Hindostan—the late rains have removed the last vestige of scarcity.'

The shifty-eyed one capped this statement by saying: 'Remember that all the *tamashas* (empty shows) that the English have had at the expense of our country were held when famines were despoiling our land. Lord Curzon's glorious Durbar took place when India was acutely suffering the pangs of starvation.'

If the scene of the talk had been shifted from the cosy, warm, bright library to the gloom and damp of the depressing night outside, there would have been less of a jarring note between the discontent and its surroundings. Impotent rage against weather conditions can and does lend bitterness to speech. But the motherly, considerate, noble-hearted English lady who was entertaining these 'boys' had laboured hard to dispel clamminess and dreariness from her home, and she had succeeded in her design. Why, then, this fretful dialogue?

But the weather had nothing to do with these restive statements. I heard similar sentiments expressed under blue-vaulted,

jewelled, tropical skies, when the season was simply ideal—pleasant, sunny days, and genial, perfect nights. It was not in one city alone or in a single society of avowed anarchists that such opinions expressed themselves. In many centres, in diverse gatherings of men, and sometimes groups where emancipated ladies were present, such statements were made—not so directly, curtly, or vehemently; disguised, to be sure, in much finished innuendo, but nevertheless with a distinct tinge of bitterness. These remarks, therefore, may be taken as indicating the point of view of a section of Indians.

To particularise: these are the people whom modern education has so denationalised that pageantry and pomp have no meaning to them, though by nativity and parentage they are Orientals, and all Asiatics are supposed to love splendour. Indian character is naturally very conservative, and a great deal of Occidental schooling is needed to produce this radical change; but there is no denying the fact that, in a great or small measure, such a transformation actually has taken place in all the natives of Hindostan who have come much under the influence of modernism. The change has come about strictly in the proportion in which the Indians have assimilated Western learning. The effect has been the greatest on those who have sojourned in Europe and America—especially in the latter land. The younger these men are, the more they have been cut away from the moorings of the past, leaving behind them all reverence for tradition, dogma, and the dictates of their 'elders'—whose authority, until recently, has been supreme and unquestioned.

The dialogue reproduced verbatim expresses the opinions of the extreme wing of these men in its naïve irreverence. In one word, these people do not believe that any good can spring from the King's visit to India, and that, on the contrary, the Delhi Durbar will do Hindostan positive harm, by diverting into a meaningless show public funds which the country can ill afford to disburse for such a purpose and could utilise to better advantage if applied to reducing taxation, increasing educational facilities for the children of the soil, and bettering sanitation in the Peninsula.

II

Such radical views necessarily are not bluntly expressed by many Indians in public, especially from the Press and platform in the Eastern Dependency, where statements of this kind, openly made, render their authors liable to severe punishment, a factor which puts a seal on the lips of the glibbest Indian anarchist. The majority of the natives, in addition to the outside forces inspiring them to pitch their protests in a calmer key, possess the spirit

of compromise and moderation, on account of which not a few would express themselves as befits sane, even-tempered men, even though the dread of prosecution by the Government were altogether absent. Be this as it may, the large percentage of Indians trained in institutions of Western learning express their attitude in very guarded terms. But no matter how they seek to hide their real meaning in a maze of words, and no matter with what personal restraint they may speak, it is plain that the forthcoming function at Delhi, no matter how resplendent it may be, will not, of itself, appeal to them, for the simple reason that Occidental education has more or less completely replaced that part of their Oriental nature which loved barbaric splendour with a utilitarian sense which seeks to divert funds from mere show into productive channels.

These people, be it noted, have been fashioned largely by Britons, very much after the British pattern—cold-blooded, matter-of-fact, calculating men of the world. They abominate the trait in the character of their own Maharajas and Rajas which makes them draw largely upon the State revenues to maintain meaningless magnificence, and unequivocally condemn those Chiefs who, despite being brought up under the guidance of English tutors, and having imbibed Western ideas from wide travels in the Occident, do not give up the exaggerated display associated with the dark ages. They would be happy beyond measure if a way could be found to restrain the Indian rulers from treating their principalities as estates, instead of States, and considering the taxes collected from their subjects to constitute their privy purse, to be spent as the whim may direct on *nautch* girls and elephants. It is quite natural that these men should find it hard to reconcile themselves to the British devoting a stupendous amount (at least, so it seems to the natives of India) from the Indian finances upon a Durbar, where pomp and pageantry is to run riot as it probably never did before in the annals of the barbaric East, for the delectation of the pompous Native Princes, who will be present in full force at the function, and for the delight of that infinitesimal portion of the Indian masses who will be present in Delhi on the occasion and who will, no doubt, carry the news of the event to the four corners of Hindostan, to their illiterate kinsmen and friends, who otherwise never would hear of it.

However, the average educated Indian realises the utter futility of pressing this utilitarian point of view. Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary already have gone to India; elaborate preparations for their welcome and entertainment have been made at an expense which, when expressed in Indian currency, mounts up into eight figures; representative native associa-

tions, municipalities, and the Government, singly and collectively, have laboured to make the Royal progress through Hindostan a memorable event; and no matter what may be said against the wastefulness of the pageant, it cannot now be cancelled. Moreover, the instincts of hospitality innate in the Indian character are not so dead in literate natives that they would not desire to accord a reception to their Emperor and Empress most suitable to their exalted rank. In addition to this, their susceptibilities have not become so dulled that they fail to feel flattered at the compliment their Majesties have paid them by selecting India as the only overseas dominion belonging to their vast Empire to be personally graced by their presence in the Coronation year. While, no doubt, there are a few irreverent extremists amongst them who think that the King and Queen are going to India merely to 'have the time of their lives,' most of them believe that they are taking great personal trouble to go to Hindostan, and feel grateful to them, especially in view of the fact that the first part of their voyage has been very rough and far from pleasant. It is an open secret in India that every possible effort was made to dissuade the King from going to his Oriental Dependency. His Majesty was warned of the dangers arising from the deep-laid plots of diabolical and shrewd terrorists, and from the scourge of plague and pestilence. To add eloquence to these pleas, the monsoon failed, and scarcity of food became accentuated, in different parts of the country. Further to arm the croakers with arguments against the tour the Italo-Turkish war complicated the diplomatic situation. But the Emperor has fared forth to India, heeding not the counsels of the timid, following what he considers to be the behest of his duty. All these factors have combined to make the honour the King is conferring on India bulk all the larger in the eyes of educated Indians, minus, of course, that portion of the fraternity which has irreclaimably been lured from loyalty to their sovereign by the Delilah of anarchism. In view of these considerations, most of the natives liberalised in Western schools and colleges are looking forward with much enthusiasm to the Delhi Durbar, and, instead of assuming an attitude of aloofness similar to that threatened by the Hibernian Nationalists when their Majesties visited Ireland immediately after their Coronation, they have actively and whole-heartedly co-operated with the officials of the Administration to accord a regal and loyal welcome to the King and Queen.

This point needs to be elucidated. It means no more, no less, than that one single factor has saved the Delhi Durbar of this year from being bitterly opposed. If this item were lacking, the grand pageant of 1911 would have been much more uncompromisingly condemned by the consensus of opinion of educated Indians than

was its immediate predecessor of 1903—popularly called 'Lord Curzon's Durbar'—though its wastefulness, barren pomp, and the fact that the Viceroy and Vicereine took precedence over a Prince and Princess of the Blood Royal, were so ruthlessly criticised that it is hard to conceive how stronger protestation could be made without exceeding the bounds of law and decency. The factor which has saved the situation is the move made by his Majesty, who only a few months ago was described as 'our young and inexperienced King,' on his personal initiative and (the author learns on unimpeachable authority) with the active endorsement and encouragement of his Queen-consort. Their Majesties' decision to go to India to be present at the function has redeemed it from being a show which merely would appeal to the dull susceptibilities of the pomp-loving Princes and the illiterates amongst Indians, whose number, unfortunately, is hundreds of times larger than that of their educated brothers; has given legitimacy to the egregious expenditure which, calculating all that will be spent by the British-Indian and Native States Governments, municipalities, associations, and private individuals, is expected to total up to many million rupees; and has even inspired enthusiasm amongst the natives who count in the Peninsula because of their intelligence, education, culture, and character, and who have a tremendous power over the millions of illiterates. The statesmanship of King George the Fifth, and his persistence and pluck to carry out his 'hope' to visit India, have altered the whole situation, and stirred to its deepest depths the loyalty so deep-rooted in all Indians that Western education, even when distorted by terrorist teachers, has been unable to blot it out.

III

But it must be remembered that the brown men trained in modern schools and colleges do not at all hesitate, more or less frankly, to point out that the grand assemblage at India's Imperial centre and the visit of the British sovereign and his consort will really appeal to them, not on account of the pomp of the various functions, but in spite of them. To their mind, there is one and only one way in which the uniqueness of their Majesties' visit can make a *lasting* impression upon literate and illiterate India, and that is, to supplement the splendour of the Durbar by his Majesty granting one or more 'Coronation boons' to his Indian subjects calculated to appeal to their imaginations and soften their hearts.

This sounds very much as if India wants to get 'its money's worth' (to use an expressive Americanism) from the King for lavishly entertaining him and his consort. While this construction might be put on the thing by foreigners, some Indians will

go to the length of declaring that, in urging that the King-Emperor should thus signalise his visit to India, they are acting from disinterested motives, believing that the grant of a boon of the kind they desire would weld the country to Great Britain as nothing else could; and therefore they really are promoting an Imperial issue. Others would affirm that they are asking for nothing out of the way—that Hindostan is accustomed to receive uncommon grants upon the accession of its Maharajas and Rajas, that it used to be given substantial concessions when its native Emperors succeeded to the throne, and if George the Fifth does not follow this precedent he will disappoint the teeming millions of his brown subjects. They also call attention to the fact that the conferring of boons is not unusual in countries with constitutional government, least of all England. Moreover, while King George is the 'limited monarch' of Great Britain, they aver that he is the despotic ruler of India, and for this reason can go farther in the matter of bestowing favours upon the natives of his Oriental Empire than he can where he is hampered with a popularly elected Parliament and Ministry.

The demands for 'Coronation boons' are being so insistently made by educated Indians, and all the functions in connexion with the Delhi Durbar have been so fashioned along Oriental lines by the British officials, under the guidance of Sir John Hewett, in charge of the committee which has arranged the details of the great pageant, that it is extremely unlikely that the King will content himself with merely dispensing customary grants, such as conferring titles on a few Englishmen and Indians, and setting free some convicts. It does not need much of a prophet to foretell that his Majesty is sure to commemorate his visit to India by granting some favour big enough to be associated with the epoch-making character of his tour.

IV

The question of prime importance, therefore, is, what benefaction will please India most? Hindostan being a huge country, split up into many provinces, each larger than many European kingdoms, and harbouring a population vastly dissimilar in life-habits from the people in other parts of the land; Indians in the year of grace 1911 lacking, almost completely, the sense of nationhood, and being divided amongst themselves by inflammable racial, credal, clannish, and parochial passions; and a microscopic minority of the natives having made appreciable progress in assimilating Occidental ideas and ideals, while the teeming millions remain sunk in ignorance—it is no easy matter to answer this query satisfactorily. Consensus of opinion does not, and necessarily cannot, exist on this subject. Many requests have been

made and are being urged upon the consideration of his Majesty. Brief allusion may be made to the most important amongst the proposals.

(1) Unquestionably, the most ambitious Royal gift that is being asked for is Colonial self-government for India. This by no means is a new demand, the 'Indian National Congress' having been supplicating the British-Indian Government for almost twenty-five years to institute this reform.

(2) The Hindus are urging the repeal of the provisions of the constitutional reforms recently given to India during the régime of Lords Morley and Minto, which, according to their notion, give preferential treatment to Mahomedans, as to the number of seats and qualifications for election to the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils.

(3) The Bengalis and their friends are agitating with might and main for the complete abrogation or modification of the ukase of Lord Curzon which cleft Bengal into two provinces—'Bengal' and 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'—and the consolidation of the two divisions into (if possible) a Presidency governed by a Governor-in-Council, like Bombay and Madras, since the officials claim that, without the partition, it is too heavy a charge for a single Lieutenant-Governor.

(4) Many public-spirited Indians claim that by repealing the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, and the Explosives Act, which were framed at the time when the Nihilist propaganda seemed to be making such rapid progress in Hindostan that it was considered necessary to provide repressive measures, the King-Emperor will draw the hearts of Indians very close to himself.

(5) In conjunction with this, his Majesty is being importuned to release all political prisoners—editors and lecturers—who are in prison because of sedition against the Paramount Power. The offender of this type who is best known and has the largest following is Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Poona editor, who, about three years ago, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for publishing articles offensive to the Administration.

(6) Friends of the representative of the House of Oudh request that the British Government may restore Oudh to the descendants of the ex-King, since on the death of the present head of the family his successor will enjoy a very small income in the shape of an inconsequential monthly pension, and since if even a portion of the territory which was taken over by the British on the collapse of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 were to be turned over to the humbled dynasty its financial future would be assured.

(7) An important boon, in the opinion of many people, would be the provision for simultaneous examinations to be held in London and Calcutta for the Indian Civil Service, an agitation for

which was led by Dadabhai Naoroji, India's Grand Old Man, who brought forward this issue many years ago; or, at least, the annual assignment of a certain and increasingly larger number of vacancies in the service to be filled by Indians only, and the improving of the pay and prospects of provincial engineering, educational, and other services.

(8) Considerable agitation is going on amongst people, whose loyalty is unassailed by the breath of suspicion, to urge his Majesty to open up services which at present are closed to Indians—to bestow commissions in the British Army upon Indian royalty and aristocrats and members of families that have raised themselves to a high social position; to make Indian soldiers eligible for the Victoria Cross; to create a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry wholly officered by Indians, and open the doors of the Navy to natives of Hindostan.

(9) Those interested in the welfare of the Indian agriculturists are proposing that the present system of revising the rates of taxation on land every thirty years, or at even shorter intervals, be replaced by permanent land-tenure, where the rate is settled once for all, as is the case in Bengal to-day; or that, at least, the lapse of time between settlements may be considerably lengthened, so as to cover two generations; that the period of tenancy be lengthened; that the farmers be exempted from imprisonment for debt; or that the cultivators be protected against heartless usurers by a Royal Proclamation declaring their plough-cattle, farm implements, and seed-grains unattachable.

(10) The reduction or total abolition of the salt tax.

(11) Some Hindus ask for the absolute prohibition of the slaughter of beef-cattle; while others request that the Government stop all slaughter of cows for food for the Army, and instead import frozen or tinned beef from Australia, Canada, or the United States, thus to an appreciable extent doing away with the butchering of cattle in a land where they are largely used for agricultural and draught purposes.

V

Few Indians, no matter how highly educated they may be, want Colonial self-government for India to be given to Hindostan all at once, though most of them would like to have a much more important voice in the administration of their land, especially in the matter of levying, collecting, and spending Governmental revenue, and making and unmaking tariff laws and schedules, than the Morley-Minto reforms have given them. But those who have closely studied the situation feel that such aspirations, no matter how eloquently and impassionately they may be pressed upon the attention of his Majesty, are bound to be denied, inas-

much as all the officials, *en bloc*, are opposed to the granting of any further political concessions, and therefore will be likely to use all their influence to persuade the King to pay no attention to such requests.

The suggestion seeking to do away with the separate electorate that the Mahomedan leaders secured after a great deal of agitation, very cleverly engineered and perseveringly waged at the time the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms were being put into working shape, is objected to by cool-headed Indians on the ground that, while such a thing, no doubt, would please the entire body of educated Hindus, it would annoy and inflame the protagonists of the Moslem community. Even though grave injustice may have been done in framing regulations which gave the Mahomedans separate electorates and distinctive electoral rights, qualifications, and privileges, and even though the abrogation of separate electorates may tend to promote Indian unity—statements whose accuracy is challenged by the Islamites—the reversal of the policy by the King, viewed from a broad, non-sectarian standpoint, is considered inadvisable by many, on account of the fact that while it will conciliate one section it will antagonise another.

The repeal or modification of the partition of Bengal, it is contended, more than likely would have to be done in the face of strong official opposition. Even if the boon is granted, it will directly affect only a section of people in a single province of India; since the Mahomedans in Bengal, it must be remembered, as a rule have been reconciled to this measure from the very beginning, and some of them have supported the move with even more enthusiasm than the officials during the half-dozen years that the Bengali Hindus have been agitating against it. It must be added that educated people throughout India will hail the grant of this boon, because they have supported the Bengali Hindus in their agitation, and the successful issue of it will be likely to stiffen their necks—a factor, the extremists declare, which, inasmuch as it would be considered detrimental to the prestige of the British bureaucrats in charge of India's administration, would promptly and uncompromisingly enlist their opposition. However, when the agitation for the reversal of this policy was at its height, Lord Morley definitely, authoritatively, and finally declared that it was 'a settled fact' and could not be disturbed. Now that the demonstrations against it have almost entirely disappeared, because of executive action and the natural cooling of passions stirred by the partition of a part of the country which for many generations had formed a single administrative division, and was linked up by a common language and civilisation, it is not likely that at this particular juncture this boon will be considered especially appropriate.

In view of the present quietude prevailing in all parts of India, and the falling off of anarchical crime almost to the vanishing point, more than likely the proposal to repeal the Acts meant to stifle treason may receive more sympathetic consideration from the officials than any other suggestion that has been discussed. The timid amongst them, however, will be unwilling to disarm the executive of those instruments which, in their opinion, have been responsible for the calming of India's nerves. They will be likely, therefore, to counsel the grant of a more or less general amnesty to political offenders, rather than the rescission of the Press, Seditious Meetings, and Explosive Arms Acts. However, since Hindus are principally affected by this legislation, and since only Hindu agitators are at present languishing behind the bars for sedition, the bestowal of such a favour would affect only a section of educated Indians, though there is not the least doubt that such a concession would promote peace and goodwill in India.

British statesmanship has already restored two Native States to Hindus. More than a generation ago Mysore was handed over to the present reigning dynasty. Only a short time since, Lord Minto published the fact that his Majesty had been pleased to order that a principality be carved out of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the Maharaja of Benares. The creation of a State for a Moslem Prince like the representative of the House of Oudh would be strictly in line with the same policy. The educated as well as the uneducated followers of the Prophet would be pleased by such a gracious act, and the Hindus would feel that an act of justice had been done.

A boon which would be universally esteemed by all educated Indians, and would benefit all of them, without reference to race or creed, would be a generous provision for the employment of natives in the higher grades of the civil, military, and naval services. During recent years a few Indians have been placed in charge of responsible offices. Notable, in this respect, was the elevation of a native to hold the legal portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive Council; the inclusion of a Hindu and a Mahomedan on the Advisory Council of the Secretary of State for India; the appointment of a Mahomedan to be a member of the Judicial Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council; and the raising of Indians to be commissioners of administrative divisions and to hold the highest appointments in the engineering, meteorological, hospital, and other services. What is now needed, most thinking Indians feel, is that a liberal provision should be made to enable Indians to rise to distinctive posts, and that this principle should be liberally carried toward its logical end. There is especially a great need, it is believed, for the opening up of careers for the scions of

fighting families, by throwing open commissioned offices to the natives.

As early as 1833 the British Parliament solemnly pledged:

That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.

At the time the East India Company's duties were transferred to the Crown, when the reins of the Indian Government passed from the hands of the commercial corporation into those of the British sovereign, Queen Victoria, the grandmother of the present King, affirmed these vows:

We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to . . . administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

These pledges were often reiterated during the reign of Queen Victoria, and were forcefully endorsed by the late King Edward. Most Indians feel that it is only meet and proper that India should look to King George, on the occasion of his visit to Hindostan, to arrange that the principles enunciated by his grandmother and father be put into fuller effect during his reign than they have been in the past, and that he should signalise his visit, either by permitting the holding of simultaneous civil service examinations in London and Calcutta, or ordering the yearly apportionment of a certain and increasingly larger number of vacancies in the Indian Civil Service to natives, throw open to them the commissioned offices in the Army, make the brown soldiers eligible to receive the Victoria Cross, allow Indian regiments to be officered by natives, admit his Oriental subjects into the Navy, raise the status of the natives in the provincial services and adjust their grievances, and increase the salaries of the low-paid drudges in the Governmental offices.

VI

The remaining favours asked by the Indian publicists affect the illiterate masses more than they do the educated classes. Hindostan, it must be borne in mind, is a country of farmers,

agriculture and allied industries giving employment to the largest percentage of the people of the Peninsula. Any gift from the King calculated to do the greatest good to the greatest number of his brown subjects must necessarily, therefore, be associated with the soil.

The ignorant Indian no doubt is a fatalist, but he knows when his pocket is touched. He does not, as a rule, welcome the time when the land-rent falls due. His habitual slowness to pay his rates, due to the fact that he has not become accustomed to discharging this debt to the Government in cash instead of in the time-honoured fashion of liquidating it in kind, and his poverty, lay him open to shabby treatment at the hands of petty officials. The revenue collectors, though themselves Indians, are men neither of education nor of natural refinement, have little sympathy for the people over whom the Administration has set them up as despots, and are subject to little check imposed from outside. Even if some of them desire to treat their charges decently, the lowness of their salaries—which, in fact, are mere pittances, not amounting to even a sovereign a month in the case of thousands of them—compels them to be corrupt. The ignorant farmers naturally dislike these representatives of the British Government. They especially detest the officials whose duty it is to make local inquiries every ten, twenty, or thirty years (the period for revising land-settlement rates being determined by the respective Provincial Governments) as to how the farms have been improved by boring wells, or by other means of water supply, and how the crop yield has increased in value, thus enhancing the Governmental incidence. The only other thing that ruffles the even-tempered lives of the agriculturist is the failure of the monsoon, or some dire calamity in the family.

In view of all this, students of Indian economics are united in feeling that the boons which the average Indian will esteem most from the hands of his Majesty will be an appreciable cut in the land revenue, a reversion to the method of collecting taxes in corn instead of in cash, or, at least, a relaxation of severity in the methods of the revenue collectors. Unless native agency is employed in the higher grades of Government services to a much larger extent than at present, the Army expenditure materially reduced by decreasing the strength of British soldiers garrisoned in India, and distinctly Imperial charges transferred from the Indian to the London exchequer, the King, it is claimed, will be unable to reduce the burden on Indian agriculturists, especially in view of the increasingly diminishing revenue from the sale of opium to China. Official authorities invariably controvert the Indian charge that the ryot bears more of the brunt of the burden of taxation than he should, and, as the matter has not progressed

beyond the stage of discussion, and because of the official influence upon the mind of the King during his Indian tour, one naturally cannot look for a material decrease in the land-revenue rate. His Majesty, also, cannot change the hearts of the petty officials who represent him in the Indian villages, merely by issuing a mandate.

However, the natives, educated or otherwise, Hindu and Moslem, Sikh, Parsi, native Christian, Buddhist, and Jain, living in all parts of the Peninsula, fully believe that the lot of the farmers will be improved if permanent land-settlement—a system which has been in force in Bengal for more than a century—is introduced throughout Hindostan. If, for financial reasons, this is not deemed practicable, the lengthening of the interval between the successive revisions to, say, once in every two generations, or fifty years, it is thought would afford much relief and go a great way to assure the peace of mind of Hindostan's millions. Whether this is granted or not, the other agricultural boons will be highly appreciated by the masses.

The reduction of the tax on salt during Lord Curzon's viceroyalty has been universally acclaimed by Indians of the poor classes, since that measure placed it within the reach, it is calculated, of hundreds of thousands of men and women who did not possess the economic ability to use it in normal quantities. Its total abolition, or a further cut, in the opinion of most Indians, will no doubt please the poor people.

The prohibition of cow-killing is an impracticable suggestion, according to the ideas of most unprejudiced thinkers, in view of the millions of Moslem subjects who, for economic reasons (beef being cheaper than mutton and other meat) and because of having used it for generations, prefer it. Moreover, their religion requires the sacrifice of animals, and they find that, in order to fulfil all the ceremonial requirements, it is far cheaper to employ cows for sacrificial purposes than any other animal. On account of these considerations, a mandate prohibiting the slaughter of bovines would be regarded as a hardship by at least one-fourth of the population of India. The suggestion that the King should stop the supplying of the British army garrisoned in India with fresh-killed beef has enlisted the sympathies of a vast number of Hindus. At best, however, it is but a palliative measure, though it would show the Hindus the King's desire to respect their prejudices. Possibly the increased cost of bringing frozen beef from a foreign country might outweigh this issue. As a device for saving the plough-cattle of Hindostan, it appears to many not to be so practicable as for the Government to make provision for improving the breed and taking better care of cattle during famine times.

VII

To be sure, the educated Indians possess strong lungs, and any boon given to them will be noised all over the world. Anything granted to the illiterates, on the other hand, will not possess this advantage. Though the pomp and pageantry will appeal to such amongst them as have the privilege of witnessing the magnificence of the affair, much more than to their Westernised countrymen who will be present at the functions, yet they will not be able to give voice to their feelings, and their loyalty, no matter how much it may run riot in their hearts, will lack the eloquence of suitable expression. However, since the King's object is not to seek advertisement, but to be kind to his subjects, it is generally felt that the best thing he can do is to give them something that will better the lot of the large bulk of the populace. It is more than likely that, in view of the great disparity existing in India between the classes and masses, separate concessions may be granted to each group. But in case only one boon is to be conferred, the illiterates deserve it, not only because they are in the majority, but also because the educated Indians only recently were given a boon in the shape of the Morley-Minto constitutional reforms, and, as education advances in Hindostan, they are bound to get more and higher appointments and political preferments.

Probably, in the last analysis, the boon with which the first British sovereign's visit to India should be associated is the issuance of an Imperial Rescript on education, which will guarantee that the second decade of the twentieth century shall see the torch of knowledge carried to every home throughout the Indian Peninsula. 'The Giver of learning' always has been reverenced in Hindostan equally by the Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains, and nothing will appeal so much to the educated classes, nothing will do so much substantial good to the illiterate masses, as the provision of a system of free and, if possible, compulsory education throughout India. The boon will be all the more worthy of the epoch-making event if a handsome donation is made from the Privy Purse, and if his Majesty will use his good offices to induce the House of Commons to vote a donation of, say, 1,000,000*l*. from the Imperial Exchequer.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

SMOKE ABATEMENT

We must therefore rely chiefly on our coal reserve for our supply of energy, and for the means of supporting our population; and it is to the more economical use of coal that we must look in order that our life as a nation may be prolonged.

THE above quotation from the latter part of the Presidential Address which Sir William Ramsay delivered before the British Association at Portsmouth on the 30th of August last, proves, if proof be necessary, the great importance of the subject of this article. As Sir William Ramsay pointed out, smoke is a sign of waste and careless stoking, and the energy of the coal which is lost from these causes is far more than one-half of one per cent. represented by the actual thermal value of the carbon contained in chimney gases. The Royal Commission which investigated and reported a few years ago upon the probable life of our fuel resources, in fact, estimated that of 150,000,000 tons of fuel used annually at that date for heating purposes in this country, 50,000,000 tons (or fully one-third) was wasted owing to the inefficient methods of use.

As regards the manufacturers' share of this loss, Sir William Ramsay, in his Presidential Address, was perhaps too inclined to accept the view that the general adoption of mechanical stokers had already largely solved the smoke problem in factories and works, and that the domestic chimney was now the chief cause of the pollution of our city and town atmosphere. It will be shown later on in the present article that this view is incorrect, and that hand-stoked boiler and furnace fires are still responsible for a very large proportion of the smoke and dirt which contaminate the air of our northern towns, and of the larger centres of manufacturing industry.

Turning to other aspects of the losses arising from smoke, the state of the iron and stone work of the public buildings in London and many provincial towns and cities proves the destructive action of the gases arising from the imperfect combustion of coal, while the dirtiness of the atmosphere of cities and manufacturing towns, as judged by the necessity for the frequent application of soap and paint, is proverbial. As regards the effects of smoke upon health, Dr. Hope, the Medical Officer of Health for Liverpool, in an

Introduction to a recently published handbook on *Boiler Control*, has stated

that the injury done to health by the smoke nuisance is not limited to pollution of the air with carbon; indirectly, it leads to another mischief, for it is common knowledge that the careful housewife will close the windows to exclude smuts, and her household will incur as a result all the objectionable consequences of unventilated rooms.

It is a singular reflection, says Dr. Hope, that man has greater regard for his stomach than for his lungs. He would resent the possibility of the introduction of unclean food three times a day into his stomach, but the introduction of unclean air, sixteen times a minute, into his lungs is submitted to without complaint.

Considerations of health, prudence and economy, therefore, all urge attention to this subject, and it is satisfactory to note that the smoke abatement exhibitions and conferences which have been held in recent years in London, Sheffield and Glasgow have served a useful purpose, even though they may have appeared, at the time, to have been followed by little practical reduction of the smoke nuisance in the cities in which they have been held.

These exhibitions and conferences have drawn the attention of the general public to the progress which is being made in the apparatus and appliances for reducing industrial and domestic smoke; they have brought together those specially interested either as manufacturers, council officials, or experts in the subject of smoke abatement, and have thus led to the dissemination of much useful information; and finally, they have produced a much needed consolidation of the various forces and agencies that are now at work for the improvement in the cleanliness of the atmospheres of all large cities and industrial centres. As proof of this latter statement, it may be noted that the exhibition at Glasgow in the autumn of 1910 was promoted by the Sanitary, Gas and Electricity Committees of the City Corporation, and that as regards attendance and results it was the most successful exhibition of the kind yet held.

Similar exhibitions are to be held in Manchester[1] and London during the present winter, allied in each case with public conferences of those interested in the question of smoke abatement. In view of these exhibitions and conferences, the moment may be regarded as opportune for summarising the present position as regards the achievement, methods and aims of those who are attempting to solve the black smoke problem.

The discussion of the subject can be most satisfactorily carried on under the following headings:

(1) The present state of the law in London and the Provinces, and the effects of smoke prosecutions,

[1] The Manchester Exhibition was held from Nov. 10th to 25th.

(2) The practical aspects of smoke abatement,
(3) The work of voluntary agencies, and
(4) The line of future progress.

I.—The Present State of the Law in London and the Provinces and the Effects of Smoke Precautions.

Prosecutions for nuisances arising from excessive smoke emissions are based in England in almost all cases on the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875, or upon similar provisions in local Acts. The London Public Health Act of 1891 is representative of the latter, and contains clauses dealing with excessive smoke emission. Proceedings within the Metropolitan area are always taken under this Act. When the emission of smoke can be proved to be the cause of either injury to health or to public and private property, proceedings, it is true, may be taken under the common law, but it has been found difficult in the past to prove the existence of an actionable nuisance, and prosecutions under the common law have been too often unsuccessful, and have now been almost entirely dropped.

Section 91, Sub-section 8, of the Public Health Act of 1875 enacts that 'any chimney not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house sending forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance shall be deemed to be a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily in manner provided by this Act,' and Section 92 of the same Act imposes upon the local authority the duty of inspecting the districts for which they are responsible and enforcing the provisions of this Act as regards nuisance arising from smoke. Section 106 provides for the coercion of defaulting local authorities in this matter, by the Local Government Board.

The provisions of the London Public Health Act of 1891 and of the other local Acts under which proceedings are taken in Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool and Leeds and a few other large towns are practically the same as those of the Act of 1875. Section 23 of the London Act imposes cumulative fines for every conviction of any person who,

> being the owner or occupier of the premises, or being a foreman or other person employed by such owner or occupier, (*a*) uses any furnace employed in trade which is not constructed so as to consume or burn the smoke arising therefrom; or (*b*) so negligently uses any such furnace as that the smoke arising therefrom is not effectually consumed or burnt; or (*c*) carries on any trade or business which occasions any noxious or offensive effluvia, or otherwise annoys the neighbourhood or inhabitants, without using the best practicable means for preventing or counteracting such effluvia or other annoyance.

Section 24 enacts that 'any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house) sending forth black smoke in such

quantities as to be a nuisance' shall be deemed a nuisance liable to be summarily dealt with under this Act. By a decision of the Courts in 1903 it was held that London club premises were not to be regarded as private dwelling-houses, and were not to be exempt from the operation of the Act.

As regards the powers of provincial cities, the following is the section dealing with smoke in the Glasgow Police Act of 1892, Section 31:

> Every person who so uses, causes, permits, or suffers to be used, any furnace or fire within the city (except a household fire) so that smoke issues therefrom, unless he proves that he has used the best practicable means for preventing smoke, and has carefully attended to and managed such furnace or fire so as to prevent as far as possible smoke issuing therefrom, shall be liable for the first offence to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings, and for a second or any subsequent offence, if committed within twelve months of the immediately previous conviction, to a penalty not exceeding five pounds.[3]

This being the legal position as regards the nuisance arising from excessive smoke emission, it is of interest to see what success has attended the operation of these Acts in the past. In a large number of towns and cities where manufacturing operations are carried on some attempt has been made to enforce the existing law, and special inspectors have been appointed to watch the factory chimneys and to report when excessive smoke emission occurs. Glasgow, which is most energetic in this matter, has five smoke inspectors, Manchester has four, and Liverpool has three.

In London the Coal Smoke Abatement Society have their own paid inspector for this work; while similar organisations in other cities also assist the local authorities by reporting the cases of excessive smoke emission when they occur. But it is one thing to report and another to obtain convictions under the Act, and only a very small proportion of the cases brought before the magistrates are successful, or result in the imposition of a fine. The offending party usually pleads (1) that the inspector was mistaken, and that his chimney was not the offending one; (2) that the excessive smoke emission was due to a temporary breakdown; (3) that he has spent, or is about to spend, a large sum upon a patent smoke-consuming device, warranted by the inventor to suppress all smoke; and on one or other of these pleas he generally succeeds in escaping the imposition of a fine. Even when a fine is imposed, it is generally so light that it is cheaper to pay it than to incur any expenditure upon alterations or improvements

[3] A fuller discussion of the legal position will be found in a Paper by Mr. Joseph Hurst, Barrister, read before the Conference on Smoke Abatement held in London in December 1906.

of the plant. The power to impose cumulative fines for repeated offences under the local Acts is still more rarely exercised, even when it exists. At Glasgow each twelve months is treated as a closed period, and the offending party starts with a clean slate as regards previous convictions when this period has expired.

Further, in too many towns and centres of manufacturing industry no attempts are made to enforce the provisions of the Public Health Act of 1875, in so far as they relate to the nuisance arising from smoke. Those who ought to set the Act in operation are themselves manufacturers, and have no desire to annoy and worry their fellow-manufacturers, even if blameless themselves, and Sections 91 and 92 of the 1875 Act in their districts are practically a dead letter. Stipendiary magistrates are, as a rule, equally lenient towards offenders under the Act, owing to the fact that most of them have no scientific knowledge, and have not the faintest idea what is and what is not possible with a boiler furnace.

In London a further difficulty has been created in the path of those who are charged with the duty of enforcing the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891, by the decision of Mr. Curtis Bennett three years ago, in the case of the Lot's Road Electrical Generating Station. This works possesses four huge chimney stacks, each nineteen feet in diameter, and it was urged successfully by the defence that the smoke emitted from these chimneys only appeared 'black' because of its great depth and volume, and that it would have appeared much lighter in colour if emitted from chimneys of half the diameter. Since the decision of Mr. Curtis Bennett in favour of the defendant company, there have been exceedingly few prosecutions for nuisances arising from smoke within the Metropolitan area, and there is general dissatisfaction expressed with the state of the law upon the subject. This discontent has found expression in the attempt of the London County Council in its General Powers Bill of 1910 to obtain further powers in relation to the nuisance arising from smoke emission, and in a deputation representing nineteen municipalities and public associations which interviewed the President of the Local Government Board in June 1910, and urged that the smoke clauses of the London Public Health Act of 1891 (as amended in 1910) should be made applicable to the whole country.

The chief modification in the London Public Health Act of 1891, proposed by the London County Council, was the deletion of the word 'black' from Section 24, which would then read: 'Any chimney, not being the chimney of a private dwelling-house, sending forth smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance shall be deemed a nuisance,' &c., &c.

It was stated in support of the change that until this alteration

was made no smoke prosecution in the Metropolis could succeed, for the offending parties could always refer to Mr. Curtis Bennett's decision, and plead that if the smoke had been emitted from double the number of smaller chimneys it would have appeared grey in colour.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons charged with the consideration of this Bill decided on the 28th of June 1910 to retain the 'black' in Section 24 of the Act of 1891. It is evident, however, that the controversy is not yet ended, and when the London County Council's General Powers Bill for 1912 is framed, the attempt to obtain some amendment of the wording of Clause 24 of the 1891 Act is almost certain to be renewed.

The present state of the law with regard to the nuisance arising from smoke emission in London and the Provinces is therefore far from settled, and convictions under the 1875 and 1891 Acts are rarely obtained. In those cases in which the prosecutions have been successful the fines imposed have been inadequate. Many of those interested in smoke abatement are beginning to doubt whether further effort in this direction is desirable or necessary, and to ask whether better progress could be obtained by concentrating effort and attention upon those practical and voluntary methods of dealing with the evil which will now be discussed.

II.—The Practical Aspects of Smoke Abatement.

There are three fundamental facts which must be insisted upon when considering the practical aspects of smoke abatement from the manufacturers' and householders' point of view. The first of these is, that smoke abatement is practicable and is allied with fuel economy; the second, that the ordinary domestic fire and chimney in London and in most large towns is responsible for quite one-half of the smoke; and the third, that when smoke is entirely banished from our atmosphere the sulphuric acid produced by the burning of coal will still damage iron and stone work, and kill vegetation, in our cities and centres of manufacturing industry.

The fact that it pays the fuel users to reduce smoke to a minimum can be proved both by scientific reasoning and by practical examples. Although the actual weight of carbon suspended in smoke is small, and as already stated in the introduction to this article, rarely represents one-half of one per cent. of the total heat value of the fuel, the emission of smoke points to defective conditions of combustion in the furnace. Smoke is most often caused when using bituminous fuel—*i.e.* fuel containing over

25 per cent. of volatile matter—and is chiefly produced at the moment when a fresh charge of this fuel is thrown upon the fire. The cooling of the fire which thereby results, and the sudden liberation of large volumes of hydrocarbon gases from the newly-charged fuel, are the cause of the smoke. The heat losses can be calculated from the chemical composition of the gases passing away from the furnace, and are found to vary from 10 per cent. to 33 per cent. of the total heat value of the fuel. These losses can be largely reduced in the case of hand-fired furnaces by the employment of skilled stokers specially trained in the scientific principles of firing, and by the installation of one of the numerous devices for more thoroughly mixing the air and the hydrocarbon gases, and also for regulating automatically the air supply to the needs of the fire, at different stages of the combustion process.

The other and more usually adopted method of preventing smoke-formation, and of obtaining high efficiency when burning bituminous coal, is to instal one of the tried and trustworthy forms of automatic or machine stoker. The fuel is then fed regularly by the mechanism of the stoker in small amounts into the furnace without opening the furnace door; the volatile gases of the fuel are evolved regularly, and the air supply requires no sudden increase to allow for the combustion of sudden bursts of hydrocarbon gases.

As practical proof of these claims, the following examples may be given:

(1) The Hamburg Smoke Abatement Society—a voluntary association of fuel users—in its official reports for the years 1903-1910, gives hundreds of detailed tests of the efficiency trials of boilers in and around the city of Hamburg. These tests show gains varying from 5 to 15 per cent. (representing equal savings upon the coal bill), by the change from unskilled to skilled, or to mechanical stokers. The membership of the Hamburg Society, which provides this training for stokers, has increased from fifty-six to 353 manufacturers and factory-owners during the eight years it has been in existence, and over 1000 stokers have received practical instruction during this period.

(2) Mr. C. D. Leng, of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, at a meeting held in 1910 in Sheffield for the purpose of forming a Sheffield and District branch of the Smoke Abatement League, stated that

In 1896-7 we were conducting a pretty hot campaign against the smoke evil in the *Sheffield Telegraph*. Our own boiler chimney was, and is, very distinct, and was not above suspicion. We were burning forty-five tons per week of washed nuts at 12*s*. 6*d*. per ton, at a total cost for fuel of 28*l*. per week, and we made smoke. I read the subject up, called in a good

firm, made some alteration to our boilers, and reduced the fuel bill from 22*l*. a week to 16*l*. 5*s*. 6*d*. We make no smoke, and we evaporate water at a cost of 2*s*. 4*d*. per thousand gallons.

The second and third assertions relating to the practical aspects of smoke abatement can only be dealt with briefly here, though of vast importance in their relation to the whole question.

The ordinary domestic open grate is acknowledged by all who have studied the question of smoke-production to be the most wasteful and unscientific device for burning bituminous fuel that could have been adopted for general use. Two of the three cardinal principles of good combustion—namely, the maintenance of a sufficiently high temperature, and good intermixture of the incoming air and hydrocarbon gases, are quite unprovided for by this grate; and were it not for its ventilating properties it would have been relegated long ago to the scrap heap of mid-Victorian inventions. As compared with the ordinary factory furnace the domestic grate is greatly inferior, and having regard to its comparative size and amount of fuel consumed, the domestic chimney produces more smoke and wastes more heat than any factory chimney in existence. It has been estimated that London consumes 16,000,000 tons of fuel annually, of which one-half is burned for domestic purposes. The statement that more than one-half of London's smoke is to be attributed to the domestic chimneys is therefore well within the truth, and finds confirmation in the observations of the Hon. Rollo Russell upon the formation of London fog, as recorded in a paper read in December 1905 before the London Smoke Abatement Conference.

With regard to the amount of sulphuric acid produced annually by the combustion of fuel, it may be stated that the average amount of sulphur contained in ordinary bituminous coal is one and a quarter per cent., and that on heating fuel, one-half of this sulphur (three quarters of one per cent.) is liberated, and burns with the evolution of heat to form sulphurous acid gas. This gas sooner or later condenses and falls to the earth in the form of sulphuric acid.

From these figures it is possible to estimate the amount of sulphuric acid which is turned into the atmosphere by the combustion of the daily quota of the 16,000,000 tons of fuel burned annually in the metropolis. The calculation gives 1000 tons of acid. The corresponding figures for the whole country give the enormous total of 10,000 tons of acid per day, or three and a half millions of tons per annum. The banishment of smoke alone will not remove therefore the whole of the evil effects upon decorations, architecture and vegetation, which follow the combustion of solid fuel, and it is unfortunate that the substitution of gas for coal still leaves this particular problem unsolved.

III.—The Work of Voluntary Agencies.

The voluntary agencies which have been called into existence during the last few years for the purpose of promoting smoke abatement may be divided into two broad classes.

In the first of these may be grouped all the societies which exist merely for the purpose of calling attention to the evils arising from black smoke and of reporting offenders under the present law; the societies which have more educational and practical aims, the members of which are drawn chiefly from the manufacturers and actual consumers of the fuel, may be gathered into Class II. The value of the work carried out by these different societies and organisations can be judged most satisfactorily by examining their latest reports.

The London Coal Smoke Abatement Society is the most representative of the society in Class I. This society was founded in the year 1899, and is therefore now in the thirteenth year of its existence. The society's chief work during the past twelve years has been to call the attention of Londoners to the dirt and damage caused by smoke within the Metropolis, and to assist the authorities by reporting offenders under the London Public Health Act of 1891. The society maintains at present one inspector, who reports to the committee the cases of excessive smoke emission as they arise, and the committee in their turn, after examining the evidence, pass on the reports to the various local councils and authorities concerned. During the year 1909, 1156 cases of excessive smoke emission were reported by the society's inspector, and in 1910, 1094. In the majority of cases these reports formed the basis of complaints to the borough councils and other local authorities. The following extract from the 1909 report shows the difficulty and limitation of the society's work in this direction:

> There are, it is true, a limited number of metropolitan authorities, such as the Southwark Borough Council, which still fail to enforce the provisions of the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, under the mistaken impression that if they insist upon the abatement of smoke nuisances they unfairly harass trade. They decline to recognise the evidence accumulated by the society and by independent investigators that it is possible to get rid of black smoke nuisances without ultimate loss, and, indeed, generally with much profit to the manufacturer. And they confine their activities to the issue to the offenders of formal complaints or even friendly letters, mildly urging that steps should be adopted to remove the nuisance.
>
> Under such circumstances no improvement can be expected. Whereas, for example, in Westminster, or in the City of London—the council has resolutely insisted upon the observance of the law, a remarkable improvement has been effected.

But, in view of the Committee, no further step forward can be anticipated until the law has been simplified, and the powers of the London County Council extended.

It has been frequently pointed out by the Coal Smoke Abatement Society that the factories which now cause London the greatest inconvenience from smoke-polluted air are those situate on the verge of the Metropolis. Over these works the London County Council has no jurisdiction, and whenever the wind sets in from the east it brings with it the smoke from scores of factories, and in winter time greatly adds to the severity and density of fogs.

Although this is admittedly the case, the society cannot induce the sanitary authorities concerned to take any effective steps to abate the nuisance. In the case of West Ham about 3500 complaints have been made by the society to the Corporation. Not a single prosecution has ensued. The nuisances may be observed at any time and by anyone, and the accuracy of the society's complaints can be readily tested. Under such circumstances it is competent for the Local Government Board to intervene, but that department has once more declined to move, or even to send an inspector to check the society's observations, though pressed in Parliament to do so. At Chiswick a similar state of affairs exists in connexion with an electricity generating station; and on the banks of the Thames, between Woolwich and Gravesend, a large number of factories exist which are constant offenders. Notwithstanding this, the local authorities fail to move, possibly because representatives of some of the offending firms are known to be members of the councils whose express duty it is to suppress black smoke nuisances.

Under these circumstances the Committee are of opinion that nothing will be done to abate these nuisances until the London County Council is empowered by Parliament to take proceedings in the case of smoke nuisances which, though arising outside the area under the Council's control, pollute the atmosphere of the Metropolis.

The Coal Smoke Abatement Society therefore supported the London County Council in its efforts last year to obtain extension of its powers in relation to the nuisance and damages arising from smoke, and its president (Sir William Richmond) has already expressed in public his profound disappointment that the proposed alteration of Section 24 of the 1891 Act was not accepted by the Parliamentary Committee.

The London society's more practical work has been the joint promotion with the Royal Sanitary Institute of a very successful Exhibition of Smoke Prevention Appliances, and a three days' Conference on Smoke Abatement, at the Vincent Square Hall, in Westminster, during December 1905, and more recently of courses of lectures to stokers and firemen, at the Borough Polytechnic. These lectures were delivered for two successive winters by Mr. W. H. Booth, and were very largely attended.

The Hamburg Smoke Abatement Society, or, to give the German title, the Verein für Feuerungs-betrieb und Rauchbekämpfung in Hamburg, may be selected as chief representative of the societies of Class II., for it is a voluntary association of

fuel-users, with works or factories located in and around the city of Hamburg. The society was started in the year 1902 by a few Hamburg manufacturers, who were convinced that by more scientific control of their steam-raising plant they could save coal and reduce smoke. The society has achieved a striking success, and at the end of 1909 there were 365 subscribing members on its register, and 1207 boilers, with 155 other heating appliances, under the control of its engineers. The society is managed by a strong committee of manufacturers. The technical work is undertaken by a staff of five chemical engineers and four instructors for firemen; these devote the whole of their time to the supervision of the steam-raising and heating plant of the members. Fuel savings of between 10 and 15 per cent. are of common occurrence in the past records of this society's work, and the annual reports form a most valuable contribution to the literature of smoke prevention and fuel economy.

The civic authorities of Hamburg have recognised the value of the society's work by placing the whole of the municipal steam-raising and heating plant under its control.

The latest accession to the society's ranks is the Hamburg Bakers' Guild, and the baking ovens of the majority of bakers in the city of Hamburg are now worked and fired in accordance with the recommendations of the staff of the Verein.

During 1909 the emission of smoke from the steamships lying in the river and docks has claimed the society's attention, and it is stated that some improvement may be expected to follow from the special study made of this branch of the problem.

In addition to their regular work of testing and supervising the efficiency of the steam-raising plant of the members of the society, the engineering staff have carried out special investigations relating to mechanical firing, the purchase of fuel on a heat-unit basis, the advantages of bonus payments to firemen, and other matters of great interest to fuel-users.

The practical training and supervision of stokers, which has been undertaken by the society since its formation, and forms one of the most important and useful branches of its work, has been continued with success during the last few years, four instructors being now specially retained for this duty.

A third society deserves mention in this article, since although of recent formation, it has initiated what the writer trusts will prove to be a most useful educational propaganda on the subject of smoke abatement in some of the northern industrial towns.

An *Exhibition of Smoke Abatement Appliances and Conference upon Smoke Abatement*, held in Sheffield in March 1909, led to the formation of a society named the Smoke Abatement

League of Great Britain, and three branches of this league have been started—in Glasgow, Manchester, and Sheffield.

The Glasgow and West of Scotland branch of this league is the most active, and combines to some extent the objects of both the London and Hamburg societies. These are set forth in its constitution as follows:

(a) To promote such consolidation of, and improvement in, legislation as would secure smoke abatement, and to join with other branches throughout the country in furthering the objects of the league.

(b) To take steps to institute lectures and spread information among the public by pamphlets and leaflets, and generally to carry out an active propaganda against the smoke nuisance.

(c) To approach the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College and other educational institutions regarding the establishment of lectures on combustion and furnace management for firemen and boiler attendants, with a view to the granting by the league of certificates of competency.

No time has been lost by this branch society (which was only instituted on the 2nd of February 1910), in commencing an active educational propaganda in Glasgow upon the subject of smoke abatement, on the lines indicated in the 'objects' of the society as set out above.

Two courses of evening lectures were arranged for the winter months of 1910-11, the first intended to teach working boiler engineers and firemen the scientific principles underlying their craft, and the second directed towards the education of their masters, the manufacturers, shipowners, and the general public.

The series of lectures for firemen consisted of five similar courses of twelve lectures each, delivered by the Glasgow municipal sanitary officers and smoke inspectors in different centres of the working-class portions of the city, a fee of *5s.* being charged for the course. The education authorities of Glasgow and Govan granted the use of suitably situated elementary schools for these lectures, and 186 firemen and engineers registered their names as students at one or other of the various centres. In the majority of cases the employers paid the fee, and urged the men to attend regularly.

The series of nine lectures for the general public were free, and were made attractive by the aid of limelight views and experiments. They were delivered in the large hall of the Technical School by several gentlemen connected with the health and medical departments of the university and city, and covered such objects as:—'The Black Smoke Problem,' 'The Necessity for Pure Air,' 'The Chemistry of Combustion,' 'How to Fire Steam-Boilers without Smoke,' &c.

IV.—The Line of Future Progress.

The writer believes that a candid and unbiassed judgment of the efforts of these voluntary agencies for the abatement of smoke, as set forth in their latest reports, will be in favour of the educational and practical line of work; and that it will be generally recognised that further progress can be best secured by continued efforts along the lines which the Glasgow and Hamburg societies have adopted.

The experience of the London Coal Smoke Abatement Society, and also of other provincial societies framed on the same basis, proves that legislation in advance of existing knowledge and opinion is useless for dealing with the question. Until we have convinced the majority of our manufacturers and factory-owners that it is wasteful to produce smoke, and that it will pay them to suppress it (or to reduce it to a minimum), the strict enforcement of laws against smoke emission is impossible.[3]

Either, as at West Ham, the local authority refuses to enforce them, or the offending party escapes either on some plausible plea of special circumstance, or with the imposition of a fine too light to have any effect.

The imposition of cumulative fines, which is provided for in the London Public Health Act of 1891, is not possible at present, simply because public and private opinion is uneducated on the subject.

The efforts of all interested in the question of smoke abatement should therefore be concentrated upon an educational propaganda having for its aim the conversion of the majority of our manufacturers and factory owners to the belief that 'smoke' spells loss, and that its abatement or suppression would lead to savings which can be measured in actual *l. s. d.* at the end of each financial year. The fact that stoking is skilled work which demands a high degree of strength and intelligence should also be emphasised, and the larger fuel-users in each district should be urged to give some attention to the selection and training of men specially for this work.

The United States Government has published, through its Geological Survey Department, bulletins on various branches of the subject, and the Syracuse Chamber of Commerce have published a valuable report on smoke abatement. The annual reports of the Hamburg society also contain most valuable

[3] The reluctance of the authorities in West Ham to enforce Sections 23 and 24 of the Public Health (London) Act of 1891 is due to the fear of driving manufacturers away, and to the dread of increasing the already heavy burden of rates. From the ratepayers' point of view, their attitude is quite

information relating to the scientific control of boilers and to the economy of fuel. Our British smoke abatement societies would be making good use of their funds if they published and distributed gratis among fuel-users in this country copies or translations of these and similar pamphlets.

Having educated the manufacturers and the fuel-users to see the wisdom and economy of reducing smoke to a minimum, the further developments and progress of the movement for smoke abatement may be left to the people who are most concerned. The discussions and conferences of the past ten years have not been without result, and at the present time the majority of large manufacturers and large fuel-users in this country are fully awake to the importance of the subject. In many large works, engineers or chemists have been appointed for the express purpose of controlling the supplies and combustion of fuel, and a strict watch is kept over the composition of the waste gases and the character of the smoke emitted from the chimneys. At one large works in south-west Lancashire, where the combustion of fuel has been treated as a chemical process, and a chemist has been placed in charge of all the boilers and furnaces, great economies in fuel costs have been reported.

Evidence given in June 1910 before the Select Committee of the House of Commons charged with the consideration of the London County Council's General Powers Bill, proved that the companies owning the large London electrical supply stations have also realised the importance of the subject, and that they are as anxious as Sir William Richmond to reduce smoke emission from their chimneys to a minimum. At the present time it is not the larger mills and factories, burning 1000 tons of fuel a week, but the smaller ones, using only ten to fifty tons, that are the chief offenders as regards smoke emission, and it is among these smaller manufacturers that an educational propaganda is most required.

Whether these smaller manufacturers and fuel-users, when converted to the wisdom of suppressing smoke, and so obtaining a higher efficiency from their fuel, will agree amongst themselves to form societies on the lines of the Hamburg society, or will act independently, and each seek the advice and retain the service of some outside expert, remains for the future to disclose.

In the writer's opinion, the co-operative plan which has yielded such good results in Hamburg is the best, since it enables each manufacturer to benefit by the experience of all, and places at his service highly skilled technical advice and control at a minimum of cost. The Hamburg system also provides what is certainly the most important factor in the abatement of smoke in small works, namely, skilled stoking, and on this ground alone it is worthy of

adoption in this country. In most large works using bituminous coal mechanical stokers are now employed.

But mechanical stoking is not adapted for use and is not economical in small works, and in these hand-stoking is absolutely necessary. An organisation which can train and maintain a regular oversight of the stokers employed in small works is certainly required in each manufacturing district of this country, and whether evolved by private or public enterprise, it will form a *sine qua non* of the successful campaign against smoke. The deputation from nineteen municipalities and public associations which interviewed the head of the Local Government Board on the 28th of June urged upon the Right Hon. John Burns the creation of a Smoke Department of the Board, and the appointment of trained inspectors for dealing with the question.

Mr. Burns, in his reply, was sympathetic as to the evils and damage resulting from smoke, but not very hopeful of developments on the lines proposed by the deputation. In his opinion substantial progress had already been made in the abatement of nuisance from smoke, and he stated his belief that further progress would occur when the employers recognised the importance of engaging only trained men for stoking, and encouraged the efforts of these men to reduce smoke by the adoption of a bonus system of payment.

The writer agrees with the general tenor of the right hon. gentleman's remarks, and only regrets that a visit to Hamburg, and an examination of the Hamburg society's work, had not preceded his reception of the deputation.

As regards factory smoke then, the manufacturers and fuel-users, when once convinced that smoke spells loss and that smoke abatement is practicable, may be left to apply the remedy in their own way. The British manufacturer is not easily moved, but when once his national and characteristic objection to change is overcome, he generally moves with effect and achieves what he desires.

The domestic smoke problem is more complex, and at the moment no simple and direct method of solving it is apparent. The more efficient and modern forms of open grate are too costly to be adopted generally for all classes of property, and even these grates produce smoke, unless very carefully attended to.

The Englishman has an ingrained dislike of closed stoves, and the patent smokeless fuels of which we heard so much a year or two ago still remain unpurchasable by the ordinary householder. Gas fires and gas cooking-stoves solve the smoke problem, it is true, but here again the national prejudice against gas fires in living or bed rooms causes difficulties, and delays the extension of this method of heating our houses.

A smokeless fuel, suitable for burning in the ordinary unscientific open-fire grate, so long as this retains the affections of the English man or woman, is what is required. When this fuel is obtainable in large quantities, and is sold at a price which will compare favourably with that of coal, the domestic smoke-problem will be solved. If, in the process of manufacture, all sulphur can be fixed in some non-volatile form of combination, or can be removed entirely from the product, the general use of the new fuel will solve another and far greater problem, namely, that involved in the daily production of, and distribution throughout our atmosphere, of ten thousand tons of one of the most destructive and corrosive acids known.

JOHN B. C. KERSHAW.

THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE EMPIRE

The rush of party politics, always shooting out at a tangent from the course of national progress, has once more brought the question of Home Rule for Ireland prematurely before the electorate. The renewed attempt to settle this question as an isolated problem is so ill-timed that in the natural order of things it would prove abortive; but the natural order may, as often before, be subverted by the politicians. The Liberal Government, which, with a competence and determination unfortunately lost to better causes, has so far made good nearly all its political undertakings, is in earnest about this matter; the very men who were loudest in their denunciation of the suggestion that the suspension of the constitution of Cape Colony might be a useful preliminary to the Union of South Africa, have suspended the imperial constitution to pave the way for the disunion of the United Kingdom, and, should they weather the present industrial storms, they will, failing some extraordinary blunder of their opponents, have to stake their existence on carrying a Home Rule measure which will command the support of the Nationalist Party. The opposing forces have, indeed, already begun manœuvring and skirmishing, and if the country is to be enveloped in the dust and turmoil of party warfare, it is essential that Imperialists should clear their minds and get back to the fundamental principles which must guide them amidst the alarums and excursions of what may prove a prolonged and bitter struggle. Many will approach the question with fresh minds unclouded by the details of a past controversy. This is an advantage, for some of these principles have acquired new force and meaning from events that have taken place in the Empire since Mr. Gladstone's great failure and the overthrow of Mr. Parnell.

I.—Imperial Considerations.

The eager and determined fight for consolidation throughout the Empire, the triumph of Imperial union which is at last within reach, will cause Imperialists to steel their hearts against any pleadings of sentiment, however glorious its tradition or pathetic

its grievance, in favour of a weakening of the bonds which make of the United Kingdom one nation among the Five. These islands must be preserved as one unit of nationality. The establishment in the political sense of a separate Irish nation, if it were practicable, would embarrass and complicate the work of consolidating the Empire as much as if the French of Quebec were to separate themselves from the Canadian nation,[1] or the British of Natal were to refuse to participate in the creation of a united nation in South Africa.[2]

No solution of the question which is not acceptable to all reasonable Irish Unionists can be countenanced by British Unionists. Unionists in Ireland are there as a result of the traditional policy of England, and England must stand by them. If they seriously decide to risk their lives and property rather than consent to some scheme which the Nationalists, with the assistance of the Liberal Government, endeavour to force upon them, British Unionists must fight by their side. Should the mimic warfare of party politics lead to the tragedy of a supreme appeal to arms, the duty of British Unionists is perfectly plain. The time will have gone by for all historical inquiry into the past policy of England. Those who think that that policy was right will fight with a clear conscience. Those who consider that it was wrong will face, like men, the visitation of the sins of their fathers upon them rather than allow those to suffer alone who have been the instruments of that policy.

During the last ten years much attention has been paid by Imperialists to the question of the functions of the Imperial Parliament, and there are those who wish to see the present Parliament extended so as to include direct representatives of the four nations overseas. There are others who favour a further development of the Imperial Conference to take over all the imperial powers at present exercised by Parliament, which would then exist solely as the National Parliament of the United Kingdom. The former are a rapidly decreasing minority, and

[1] Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, in the November number of *The Nineteenth Century*, rather embarrasses one by assuming that Imperialists aim at welding 'into an organic whole the sister nations of British blood in four continents.' But the fact that in two of the four Continents the sister nations are largely not of British blood is almost the starting-point of all modern thought towards Imperial organisation.

[2] A distinguished statesman from overseas, in the course of conversation some years ago, declared himself always to have been in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. On its being pointed out to him that he could not be a Home Ruler, for while he might agree to Ireland's being placed in the same relation to England as Quebec held to Canada, he would never approve of the relations between Ireland and England being those of Newfoundland to Canada, which was then demanded, he replied: 'No, in that sense I am not a Home Ruler; and if Redmond and his friends want that they want independence, and I would not give it to them.'

the march of events is against them; but one is still reminded from time to time of their existence, as in the recent discussions on the question of the reform of the House of Lords, when there were not a few advocates of the inclusion of representatives of the Overseas Dominions in a reformed Second Chamber. Among both schools are to be found those whose chief desire for a change is based on a recognition of the hopelessly clogged condition of the present Parliamentary machinery. But those who watch the natural growth of imperial organisation, who foresee the inevitable advent of closer commercial relations among the five nations, realise that any supreme imperial body which the future may have in store will be a growth arising out of new needs and new interests, and will do little to relieve the Parliament of the United Kingdom of its present overload of legislative work. A calculation of the number of hours at present devoted at Westminster to such questions as the affairs of India and the Crown Colonies, which should ultimately come within the purview of the new imperial body, will show that the time now spared to the discussion of these questions would hardly prove adequate in the future for the consideration of the United Kingdom's share of responsibility under any new division of functions for those parts of the Empire.

Few authorities would dispute the contention that the national Parliament of, say, Canada represents the normal working capacity of the parliamentary machine, and there is a consensus of opinion among Englishmen that Scotland, Ireland and Wales—to adopt the traditional divisions—must be called upon in the near future to relieve the Parliament of the United Kingdom of as much as possible of the management of their local affairs. The congestion of business at Westminster has attained to appalling dimensions, and a point has now been reached when the minimum of necessary discussion is given only to the one or two questions in a session which are considered of importance by the party managers. One of the chief causes of the present alarming social and industrial unrest is the feeling of hopelessness among the working classes, resulting from vain endeavours to obtain proper consideration by Parliament of the hardships and grievances which changing conditions and, still more, hasty legislation bring in their train. The necessity of provincial legislatures for the four component parts of the United Kingdom is now generally accepted, and those whom recent events have led to realise the urgent need, from the national point of view, of this reform of the parliamentary system are the least patient with party fanatics who obstruct any practical development along this line of thought, exclaiming in season and out of season that this way lies devolution, and that devolution is only another name for Home Rule. This obstruction

must be swept aside; it is doubly dangerous, as it attracts attention exclusively to the special case of Ireland, and confuses the issue for Scotland and Wales. Imperialists must therefore insist that any scheme of 'federalism'—a term generally accepted but teeming with risky analogies—shall pay equal attention to all four sections of the United Kingdom. Should the Government introduce a Home Rule measure for Ireland and by means of a preamble—a not very courageous device for bequeathing to posterity an incomplete and therefore a probably erroneous solution of a political difficulty—postpone the consideration of the Scottish and Welsh aspect of the question, Imperialists would oppose such a measure. Should it nevertheless reach the Committee stage, it would be the duty of Imperialists to show in detail that it would be impossible of future application to Scotland and to Wales. How easy this would be with regard to matters of finance was shown by Mr. Edgar Crammond in the October number of this Review.

These are some of the principles which Imperialists must bear in mind during the coming struggle over the Home Rule question, and even if, as is not improbable, the present attempt to obtain Home Rule should prove abortive from causes which will not appear on the surface, the struggle will have done good service if it prepares minds for the great changes which must be made in the parliamentary system of the United Kingdom. It may at least result in some clear imperial thinking, and clear the way for future reforms by breaking up the unnatural alliance between some Imperialists whose sentiment entices them to the consideration of temporary palliatives and, on the other side, those whose reason is opposed to imperial greatness, and who conscientiously believe that the human race will benefit by the disintegration of nations and a return to the tribal system. Nothing certainly could be worse than the present confusion of imperial thought, which allows a Home Ruler to tell the Canadians in Toronto that all that is wanted for Ireland is a change that would place Ireland in the same constitutional relationship to the United Kingdom that Ontario holds to the Dominion of Canada, and makes it possible almost simultaneously for a Nationalist leader in Ireland to tell his fellow-countrymen that Ireland should be given self-government of the national kind possessed by Canada and South Africa.

II.—The New Ideal of a United Ireland.

Nowhere is this confusion of thought doing more harm at the present moment than in the North of Ireland, where a large number of Unionists, dissatisfied with the conduct of political affairs by the Unionist party and alarmed by the spread of 'socialism' in Great Britain, are through want of

an imperial ideal and in the course of events turning to a new conception of Irish nationality. They have been taught by the statesmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett that all classes and all religions have a common interest in the welfare of Ireland, and the extraordinary and well-established success that has followed the co-operative movement which he initiated has confirmed a new ideal of a united Ireland. There is a danger of Irishmen of the North concentrating exclusively on this ideal, losing sight of its proper relation to the imperial aim—which, since Mr. Chamberlain ceased to take an active part in public life, their leaders have failed to emphasise—and forgetting the common interest of English, Scots, Irish and Welsh in the Empire which has been founded by their combined efforts.

It is undoubtedly a splendid ideal, that of an Ireland united, not in the political sense of hostility to England, but for her own prosperity and for the development of her commerce and industry. Sir Horace Plunkett has in the last fifteen years, thanks in large measure to the far-seeing and constructive land policy of Mr. Balfour, Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. George Wyndham, brought about a peaceful revolution in the agricultural districts of his country. The Ireland of to-day is a closed book to those who only know the Ireland of twenty years ago. The future holds out dazzling prospects to all true Irish patriots; and should a wise reform of the educational system, directed to the training of character and the all-round development of intellectual interest rather than to the premature stimulation of industrial activities, strengthen the foundations of the new and inevitably hastily constructed edifice, Ireland, essentially undemocratic in its instincts, may yet lead the way in the Empire by a solution, along co-operative lines, of the pressing problems of democracy. To a sympathetic English observer the vision of an Ireland reconstructed from the small holding to the largest factory on a co-operative basis is certainly suggested by the present march of events.

Imperialists, and, above all, British Unionists, should welcome this new ideal, and should do all in their power to assist Irish Imperialists to see it in its proper perspective. Unionism, if it is to live as a political creed, must make unity its chief objective—union of Empire, national union and union of classes. For these it must strive throughout its whole sphere of influence and activity. If it is false to this aim in any portion of its work the vital force will leak away. Nowhere can it pursue a policy of 'divide and rule.' To-day Unionism has an opportunity—which others will seize and misuse if it fails to rise to its responsibilities—of establishing a prosperous and united Ireland accepting its proper place in the United Kingdom and the Empire.

In Ireland political partisans on both sides look with disfavour

on the rapid progress which is being made towards a united Ireland. Indeed, no sooner did Mr. Redmond perceive that the co-operative movement which he had assisted Sir Horace Plunkett to start was prospering and uniting the Irish people, than he wrote a letter of warning to Mr. Ford in America, in which he stated that 'the real object of the movement in question is to undermine the National Party and divert the minds of our people from Home Rule, which is the only thing which can ever lead to a real revival of Irish industries.'[3] The opposition has culminated in the withholding by Mr. Birrell and Mr. T. W. Russell in the present year of the 'development' grant to the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society—presumably at the bidding of the Nationalist Party, for it is inconceivable that anything but political pressure would have led the representatives of a British Government into a course of action so petty.[4]

Viewed, however, apart from its immediate object, Mr. Redmond's line of attack is instructive. One of the fatal mistakes of party politicians is to ignore the truth that underlies the attack of their opponents. Even if it be necessary to the game to paint the leaders of an opposing party as scoundrels, it is stupid to think of them as fools. It is wiser, indeed, to start from the presumption that they are honest and to endeavour to follow their train

New York, October 4, 1904.

[3] My Dear Mr. Ford,—I am anxious before leaving for home to say a word of warning with reference to an insidious attempt which I find is being made in America by officials and agents of the British Government to divert the minds of the friends of Ireland from the National movement under the pretence of promoting an industrial revival in Ireland.

The promotion of Irish industries is so praiseworthy an object that I am not surprised some of our people in America have been deceived in this matter. I myself, indeed, at one time entertained some belief in the good intentions of Sir Horace Plunkett and his friends, but recent events have entirely undeceived me; and Sir Horace Plunkett's recent book, full as it is of undisguised contempt for the Irish race, makes it plain to me that the real object of the movement in question is to undermine the National party and divert the minds of our people from Home Rule, which is the only thing which can ever lead to a real revival of Irish industries.

The men who are conducting this movement are for the most part avowed anti-Home Rulers, and many of them salaried officials of the British Government. I am informed that an agent of theirs is about to visit America for the purpose of still further pushing this movement, and I feel it my duty to issue this word of warning to prevent our friends here from being deceived as to the real meaning of this movement.

Believe me, very truly yours,

John E. Redmond.

(Quoted in the last edition of Sir Horace Plunkett's *Ireland in the New Century*.)

[4] Since this was written the Irish Council of Agriculture has met, and by a majority decided, in this matter, in Mr. Russell's favour. It is significant that a private Whip, which was published in the *Irish Times* of November 13, was received by a member of the Council from the Assistant Secretary to the United Irish League, asking him to attend the meeting 'and support Mr. Russell in reference to the Agricultural Organisation Grant.'

of thought and ascertain what they believe to be the truth, however they may have misapplied it for party purposes. Following this method, it is obvious that Mr. Redmond believes that there can be no full prosperity for Irish industries until Ireland has control of her own finances, the right to do what she likes with the Customs and Excise, and the power to protect her industries against British and foreign attack. Many honest Nationalists will tell you to-day that they would consider a Home Rule Bill which did not give control of the Customs useless, and that they would sooner be without it. That brings us to the crux of the question —the commercial relations between Great Britain and Ireland, in which lie all the permanent grievances of the past, not the least of the insuperable difficulties in the way of the present Liberal attempt to draft a Home Rule Bill, and the hope of Imperialists in the future. The difficulties of financing a Liberal Home Rule scheme cannot be discussed with any certainty until the details of the scheme are known; they may or may not be found to be exaggerated if ever that time comes; at any rate, the common-sense view is held by many who are watching the provisional discussion of the subject by experts, that if Ireland is to make her own coat Great Britain will expect her to cut it according to her cloth; there seems, however, already to be sufficient evidence that, at a time when her industries are only beginning to revive, it would be a somewhat tight fit, and that she would naturally endeavour to raise revenue by a protective tariff. What more popular way of doing so than by taxing the imports of her hereditary commercial enemy, particularly as that enemy is alone unable to retaliate?

III.—Commercial Relations of Great Britain and Ireland.

The commercial relations of Great Britain and Ireland are not a pleasant chapter of history for an Englishman to read, but offer few surprises for those who know the story of our Crown Colonies in the past, or who have lived under that form of administration and felt the movement making for self-government. Indeed, the fact that Ireland has not held the full status of a Crown colony, for the same reasons that she could not now be given the position of a self-governing dominion, has even deprived her of some of the commercial advantages she might otherwise have enjoyed. But the sentiment in favour of Home Rule for Ireland which exists so largely in the Overseas Dominions of the Empire is in great measure accounted for by intelligent sympathy with Ireland's commercial grievances. The most potent incentive to self-government in the old colonial days was the hardship inflicted by an English commercial system—whether Protectionist or Free Trade—im-

posed by English officials on colonies to which it was unsuited. That is Ireland's most permanent grievance, and one which Englishmen have only begun to appreciate since the whole of our commercial system was brought by Tariff Reformers into the open light of economic criticism. Other grievances are preached and appeals to sentiment are made on other misdeeds of history. But there are few portions of the United Kingdom which have not their harrowing stories of a more barbarous age: few which could not produce a veritable *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* as moving as any written by modern Irish Nationalists. Yet nowhere else is the same political bitterness to be found. Nothing is more significant in this connexion than the cessation of political agitation in those districts which, more or less dependent on indirect British subsidies, have learnt from Sir Horace Plunkett how to extract an improved standard of national comfort from existing conditions. Nationalist partisans are even heard to complain of the political 'ingratitude' of the farmers who now own their land and have learnt the benefits of co-operation.

It is little exaggeration to say that in the old Protectionist days every industrial venture of Ireland was suppressed by Great Britain as soon as it showed signs of prospering. Then on a people commercially cowed, nurtured in industrial despair, enfeebled by the emigration of their strongest and most courageous, was imposed the Free Trade system of the British manufacturers. Against this, until recent years, it has been idle for Ireland to protest; for her complaints fell on the ears not of misguided egoism but of missionary fanaticism, which replied by preaching an economic gospel. The commercial grievance has nevertheless to be recognised and dealt with by enlightened statesmanship before Ireland can prosper, be content, and take her right place as a component part of one of the five nations.

A section of Tariff Reformers have always contended, with reason, that Ireland has even more to gain from Tariff Reform than any other part of the United Kingdom. And yet the Tariff Reform movement has failed to capture Ireland. This is to some extent the fault of the Tariff Reform leaders, who have allowed their cause to be made subservient to the exigencies of the Unionist Party. But it is still more due to the inherited suspicion of Irishmen—which nothing will allay and which no historical research can prove to be ill-founded—that once Great Britain, with a majority in the House of Commons, has the power to impose duties covering an even wider sphere than at present, the interests of Ireland will again be ignored. Irishmen, indeed, are ready to believe that she already receives inequality of treatment, and it is even asserted that less favourable terms have been granted to Irish than to English tobacco-growers, thus unduly handicapping one of

the most hopeful of rising Irish industries, struggling as it is against the Excise duty which, in accordance with Free Trade theories, artificially forces this new venture in the United Kingdom to compete, without its natural preference, against the old-established industry of the foreigner.

It is certain that Ireland will not be 'pacified' by any gift of Home Rule offered by Free Traders unless the donors are false to the principles which they have enshrined in the market-places and preached at the street-corners of Great Britain. Neither will Ireland support any extension of the present tariff system unless she be satisfied that her voice shall at any rate be heard and her opinions duly represented and given proper weight in determining the duties to be imposed. To argue that she is afforded both under the present constitution is to ignore the overcrowded state of the parliamentary machine; though no doubt a very serious responsibility rests upon the Nationalist members at Westminster for not taking greater advantage of the opportunities that they do possess of safeguarding the commercial interests of their country.

IV.—A National Finance Council.

Is it, however, beyond the powers of statesmanship to find a common factor of agreement among Irishmen, Imperialists and Liberals, on which to found the future of the United Kingdom? It is admitted on all sides that financial considerations form the crux of the Irish question. The Irish—at any rate the Nationalist majority and an increasing number of Unionists in the North—would prefer absolute control of their finances if they could comfortably afford to be independent of the predominant partner. All thoughtful Liberals perceive that their Home Rule ideal cannot be realised unless they give Ireland control of her own finances; without the granting of such control, the South African analogy which they are always quoting, no doubt in full sincerity, could hardly hold good; indeed, self-government separated from finance, must be either merely advisory in its functions, or based on some artificial financial arrangement whose only permanent strength would be a force making directly for financial independence; but the Liberals dare not grant financial control without imposing Free-Trade restrictions which would be unacceptable to Irishmen. Imperialists, on the other hand, would oppose any tendency to the development of Ireland's financial independence, above all at a time when the Canadian elections have brought the commercial union of the Empire many stages nearer, and when it is essential that the United Kingdom should be prepared at any moment to enter, as a solid national unit, into tariff relations with the four Overseas Dominions; but they would in great measure agree with

the Irish as to Ireland's financial grievances. Again the Liberals are having it borne in upon them day by day that the financial difficulty is the first obstacle in the way of the realisation of their ideals; and the Irish would admit that the financial end is the right end at which any development of self-government should begin.

The recent industrial unrest, both in Great Britain and Ireland, has done much to cool the party passions of all three sections, and to awaken them to the perception of a common interest. Are they in a sufficiently subdued mood to agree as to the means by which Ireland should now be given a voice in the control of her own finances, more real than that which she possesses under present Parliamentary conditions amidst the rush and scramble which has become the custom at Westminster? Does not the raising of this question at this crisis in our history provide a concrete reason, and point to a definite method, for initiating without delay that national Parliament for the United Kingdom which, with its provincial legislatures, may stem the tide of revolution that is threatening to overwhelm an ancient constitution weakened by its antiquated machinery?

The present Government has swept away the last vestige of financial control exercised by the Upper Chamber, and has left the House of Commons in the invidious position of sole disposer of the public revenues. The House of Commons may be—though proportional representationists would deny the fact—the focus of the public will; it has undoubtedly become more and more in recent years the arena where the party game is played. Should a Government with a strong majority prove, notwithstanding the unbridled powers which it exercises over national finance, incorruptible and as adamant against all temptation to use those powers to gain a passing popularity on the eve of an election, the discussions of the nation's economy nevertheless take place in an atmosphere charged with party feeling, these discussions have to be unduly curtailed owing to the overwhelming pressure of other business, and many items of expenditure of prime importance are agreed to without any serious explanation or debate at all. The time has come, and the opportunity too, for transferring the control of the finance of the United Kingdom to a body no less democratic and representative of the people's will but working under more favourable conditions.

Such a body might consist in the first instance of a number of members of the House of Commons elected by the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh members of that House from among themselves. It would in the transition stage be necessarily subordinate to the present so-called Imperial Parliament, but it would not be a Committee of the House of Commons. The powers given to it

might be so framed as to lead to its ultimate independence in all matters which concerned the finance of the United Kingdom exclusively. It would thus form the nucleus of the future National Parliament. There would be no nominated element on this body; for the nominated element is incompatible with democratic principles, and where it is introduced it implies either that the body which requires it possesses powers to which it has no right, or that it is not to be trusted to exercise the powers which it might be expected to wield. To introduce the nominated element in connexion with the government of peoples long accustomed to democratic institutions is indeed an admission of political failure; for it must be known to any statesman that they will inevitably sweep away this element and with it the safeguards which it is intended to ensure. Where, as in Lord Dunraven's devolution proposals and Mr. Birrell's Irish Councils Bill, the nominated element is necessary, it points at once to a recognition of the fundamental weakness of the case advocated.

Such a national finance council for the United Kingdom would, in the exercise of its powers, prepare the way for the creation of subordinate Scottish, Irish and Welsh finance councils which would, in their turn, form the nucleus of provincial legislatures. In the same way it would evolve a scheme for establishing the proper financial relations between itself and the future development of the Imperial Conference, for, with the coming of Tariff Reform, the common financial interests represented on the Imperial Conference will be large and vital, while even under a system of Free Trade they cannot remain altogether negligible.

To those who fail to read the signs of the times, and who believe that the old order need not give place to a new, it is useless to appeal in support of changes of so far-reaching a kind. But there are few whom the recent industrial unrest has not taught that the old order has gone. Strikes, following immediately upon the pageantry of the Coronation with all its hopes of united effort, paralysed the country in the summer and brought us within a few days of a European war; they threaten to recur in a more aggravated form in the winter. The present Parliamentary system can only deal with the causes and legitimate grievances underlying these revolutionary tendencies—complicated and having their roots in rapid changes of national life—in a spasmodic and belated fashion. The old political parties have, in the pursuit of minor issues from which they hoped to gain electioneering advantages, forsaken the principles which used to distinguish them. In the confusion that has ensued, each section has found itself facing to wrong partners. On the Irish question alone the Radicals, Free Traders and Nonconformists of Great Britain are opposed to Radicals, Free Traders and

Nonconformists in Ireland, and are allied with Conservatives, Protectionists and Catholics. Throughout the United Kingdom, trade unionism and socialism, whose creed is solidarity and State control, maintain a querulous agreement with a liberalism whose traditional faith rests on individualism. These things must be straightened out. A beginning must be made by developing the deliberative and legislative machinery of the nation to meet the new conditions.

Imperialists overseas, progressive and democratic, who believe that the virtue of consecration has deserted edifices which are no longer capable of resisting storm and tempest, are waiting for the United Kingdom to reform her parliamentary institutions and to bring them into line with the tradition that the Imperial Conference is slowly but surely establishing for itself. Imperialists at home must rise to the occasion. In the work of imperial organisation in which the Overseas Dominions are beginning to take a leading part, Ireland, as an active partner, is indispensable to the United Kingdom. In the last fifteen years she has begun to acquire a stability of purpose and an experience in the democratic solution of the land question which will be invaluable to Great Britain in facing firmly and calmly the threatened industrial and social upheaval.

If the inter-relation of the political problems here touched on is clearly grasped in this country—and Imperialists cannot fail to appreciate it—we may yet weather the impending revolution. Of Imperialists above all it will be expected that they will resist the natural tendency of political partisans to treat these questions in an acrimonious and inflammatory manner, which may undo the work of many years in Ireland, produce industrial chaos and national paralysis in Great Britain, and lay these islands open to foreign attack. A grave responsibility rests on those who refuse assistance, from whatever political quarters it may come, in laying the foundation of a truly united Kingdom.

FABIAN WARE.

'UP, AND BE DOING'

Why, in Great Britain at the present time, is it that people of all classes, high and low, seem steadily to refuse to regard the world in which they are living, moving, and have their being as it really is? Why do they practically so determinedly ignore its particularly unpleasant features in this twentieth century? From 1860, by which time we had completely regained our hold on India, nothing occurred in the nineteenth century to shake our belief that things would go on pleasantly and comfortably with us, as a country, as they had done for so long in the past. Manufacturing, mining, and commercial business are what may be called the chief occupations of the inhabitants, and to these the South African War with its reckless expenditure gave even a fillip rather than the reverse. We at home were in no danger at all; it was merely a question of endurance and of money, and we were sure, if left to ourselves, to pull through, as we eventually did. And so, blind to the signs of the times, we have in the twentieth century been devoting ourselves mainly to making life more agreeable to ourselves at home, straightening certain kinks in our domestic affairs, having animated controversies over the incidence of taxation, Tariff Reform, the Referendum, and the distribution of political power. And there has been pushed with vehemence to the front by leaders of all parties an idea of comparatively recent birth, labelled with the sonorous title 'Imperialism,' and so vehemently, that anyone who does not express full and thorough belief in the idea, even if he accepts it with a few reservations, is contemptuously sneered at as a 'Little Englander,' although he may be a real good Englander who merely declines to allow to Imperialism the almost fetish-worship sometimes claimed for it. After all, the world has not been a bad place for buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage, passing life pleasantly and without disturbance. But I have come across a small and most interesting book, in which is given a biography of one 'White Fang,' a four-legged being; the philosophical view held by 'White Fang' as to this world into which he found himself introduced does not, however, accord with this estimate of 'things as they are.' From his personal standpoint of observa-

tion and experience, he arrived at the uncomfortable and disappointing conclusion that the dominating principle in it is 'Eat or be eaten': and 'White Fang' is certainly fairly justified in the deduction.

Among civilised nations and nationalities, however, the 'eat or be eaten' theory in this crude form is out of date; but nevertheless it appears in another guise: '*You* have got what *I* want, and *I* intend to take it from *you*.' '*I* have got what *you* want, and *I* intend to keep it.' So sooner or later there is an outburst of war to decide the future proprietorship of what is coveted by one and possessed by the other; and therefore it seems that war, with all its horrors, is one of the inevitable conditions and accompaniments of national existence in this world. Every nation is bound to do the best for its own future, and to strive for it. Mere passive content with the conditions of the present is as much out of the question with nations as it is with individuals: consequently real lasting friendship between nations is impossible, because their needs and aspirations may at any moment give rise to opposing interests and the resulting antagonism, with its eventual decision by force of arms. Sometimes, and for considerable periods, the antagonism is avowed and is patent to all; sometimes it is latent, and the antagonism may, under the pressure of mutual interests, have, for a time, to give place even to a temporary strong friendship; but there it always is. It is a fact that, in spite of all the centuries of efforts of Christianity in the past, and in spite of all social progress, this sad view of life in our world is the true view; it is a fact that the 'jostling' of nations, due to the newly devised means of intercommunication, which is so fruitful in constantly recurring innumerable conflicts of interests, has become the ordinary, the normal rule of life between them; it is these two facts that imperatively need to be brought home to all, classes and masses alike, that they may understand our perils as a nation to-day.

Just now this country is quite satisfied with what it has got, and it wants nothing more outside its confines; but, unfortunately for our comfort and our desire for a peaceful life, Germany desires, and quite naturally, something which we have got, and which it is out of the question for us to part with, or even allow her to share with us, because our respective interests are diametrically opposed. And never will Germany give up the struggle for it, either by diplomacy or force of arms, or both, until she shall have learnt from practical experience, practical trial, that her aspirations are beyond the reach of attainment, that her efforts are not worth the further cost of money and blood.

Germany is now the greatest War Power in Europe on land. What Germany is now striving after is to become a Great Power on the seas of the world. This she has a perfect right to become, if she can; but were she to become superior to ourselves as a Sea Power we, as a nation, should by degrees dwindle out of existence, for on her would depend even the very food we might receive. To this end she is now devoting huge sums of money, and is strenuously using her factories to bring into being a huge war-fleet. Our compelled reply is to keep bringing into being a war-fleet even more huge than hers.

From the moral and ethical points of view this determined race for the production of implements for the destruction of human life is simply sickening. A singularly apt pictorial representation of our world of to-day was by chance given in the *Daily Graphic* of the 18th of last September. The illustration on the front page shows 'The first 13.5 gun being hoisted by the new floating crane into H.M.S. *Thunderer* at Dagenham yesterday.' At page 5 is another illustration of which the description runs as follows: 'It is reported that on her recent trials the new Dreadnought cruiser *Moltke*, 23,000 tons, built at Hamburg, developed the great speed of 29½ knots an hour. If this is so, then the *Moltke* is the fastest warship afloat.' What is being expounded by divines from their pulpits just now as to life and its meaning I do not know, but, conceal the fact as they may, the devil seems to have the upper hand for the present.

In any conflict between ourselves and Germany she has an enormous defensive advantage over us; for she presents to us for attack one target only, her fleet. Her country is unassailable by us; it is safe in the interior of the Continent, for the portion of sea frontage directly assailable is too insignificant to be taken into consideration, and her land forces are so enormous that no Power that has not similarly large forces could make on her the very slightest impression. On the other hand, to Germany on the attack we offer two targets—our fleet, and our country as well. No country in Europe has such a length of open frontier in comparison with area, or one so liable to attack from all points of the compass as our own, or is so thickly spread with vulnerable important centres. Thus there are two lines by which she may endeavour to force from us the sea power that we at present deny to her: the direct way, defeating our fleet at sea; the indirect way, getting such a grip, such a hold of us on our own land, even for a short time only, that on our own soil she may dictate terms impossible to refuse, though our fleet is yet paramount at sea. As success on either line would be decisive, it is clear that on both lines we must be equally secure; but the country seems to believe in the need for complete security on

one line only, that of sea power. Herein lies for us the peril of to-day. Further, we Britishers do not appear to understand the ultimate object and aim of Germany's desires; we misread it. It is not the *acquirement of territory*, the mere capture of the piece of the earth called Great Britain; it is the crushing, as a nation, of us, the dwellers in the land. The individual inhabitants, whether those of the classes or the masses, whether professional men or unprofessional well-to-do idlers, whether miners, operatives, taxi-cab drivers, Stock Exchange *habitués*, bankers, dock-labourers, tradesmen, clerks, school-teachers, or crossing-sweepers, do not realise that they themselves are the objects to be crushed. The term 'nation' is not a mere abstract idea; but the huge multitude of Britishers seem to think of the 'nation' as something outside themselves, and to forget altogether that *they*, one and all, *are* the nation itself. Talk to them of national defence, and you will soon find that they regard it not as a personal matter; it is a general matter for others to deal with. We are accustomed to speak of a war as between countries, and not between the dwellers and inhabitants of those countries; thus, people have been talking of a war between Germany and France—two geographical distinctions—whereas it would be a war between the German people and the French people. When we talk of a war between England and Germany, we are apt to overlook the fact that it would be a war between the *people* of Germany and us, the *people* of England.

To assail us Britishers on our own soil she has in her vast armed land forces ample resources with which, at all events, to try the game. And what she does it will be needful for her to do very quickly indeed, regardless of loss of life. Our fleet cannot be here, there, and everywhere in superior strength at the same time. In the history of all former wars, however successful in the end, there will be found a partial defeat of the eventual victors somewhere, a defeat retrieved during the further course of the campaign; but now in this twentieth century one such local defeat on the North Sea or in the Channel, and the aperture effected and held open but a few hours, then in through it on to British soil would be poured German legion after German legion, and they would come to stay. The Navy may speedily repair the hole, but the destroyer is already at work inside the enclosure, and will work rack and ruin, high and low, to force *you*, my readers, to come to terms; our strong fleets outside will be but helpless spectators of the fray.

Interest in our home land defence has been also damped by expert assurance that our Navy is amply sufficient to ensure our safety against invasion. It is all very well for these experts to assure us of the absolute reliability of our naval barrier, but

unfortunately their reasonings and conclusions are theoretical only—pure theories. For the next naval encounter experience makes default; there is none on which to go. Every single thing connected with naval war is new or greatly modified, and untried: torpedoes, torpedo destroyers, submarines, cruisers, Dreadnoughts, wireless telegraphy and bomb-dropping aeroplanes—all working or attempting to work in unison and according to some settled plan against each other. Everything doubtless is already worked out in theory, but whether experience will justify the theories neither Admiral Lord Fisher nor Admiral Wilson, nor any other naval expert living can possibly tell. Every naval officer will frankly admit that the first naval battle of the future will be for both foes a leap into pitchy darkness. And just now we, the dwellers in Great Britain, judging by our conduct, are willing to leave the invasion by Germany's land forces to the chance of the results of the leap.

The prominence given to naval and military matters connected with what is termed 'Imperial Defence' has also had an influence, distracting our attention from the far more important, the vital matter—the defence of the Empire's heart, this island, and of us, its inhabitants. It is, of course, right and proper to do all we can to aid our outlying connections to attain a degree of defensive power sufficient for them to hold their own against hostile attacks, until some of our naval forces can come to their aid. It must be remembered, however, that though in speaking of them we may use the possessive pronoun 'our,' just as an old man may talk of another man forty or fifty years of age as 'my' son, yet we have no more real authority over them than the old man has over his son. They, like the son, doubtless retain for us a certain amount of regard, but as to obedience for obedience' sake, such as is due from a child to a parent, they will have none of it. However, at present all parties find it to their interest to maintain relations as parts of one great unit. And, so long as this is so, they are a drain on our naval resources, and, so far as our own home defence is concerned, we can get nothing from them in return. All that our Colonial connexions could furnish us in a Continental war would be but a drop in a bucket, and the time required for the drop to fall into the bucket discounts enormously even its possible value. I should never be surprised at finding the Boy Scouts similarly estimated as a defence asset of great value.

And as if to distract us, the dwellers here, from taking to heart and thinking about defending our country, our military leaders have got hold of a shibboleth which they are always drumming into our ears. This shibboleth is, 'The real defensive

lies in the offensive'; so that with equanimity and confidence we need not mind the chance of the crack in the shield, even if our whole real army is hundreds of miles and many, many days away from us in our time of danger. Yes, but suppose the invader plays the same game, what injury worth speaking of, caused in any advance of ours into German territory, could compare with the injury to us of an advance one hundred or even fifty miles into our own? I assert that the principle, though generally correct, is here falsely applied if for any moment the land guard of this island, the heart, the vitals of the Empire, is not absolutely sufficient, even to excess, and absolutely reliable. How would the newspaper heading read: 'Our 120,000 Expeditionary Force nearing Cologne: 50,000 Germans nearing Colchester.'

And we are *not* secure at home. The reason is that to our great disadvantage we are the inheritors, in this world of permanent strife and antagonism, of a system of holding our own which allows us, as a collection of individuals forming the nation of Great Britain, to hold our own by proxy only. We, in the long past, have found it answer to apply to the preservation of our existence the principle of division of labour, fighters and non-fighters. For years and years it answered well and satisfactorily, though it very nearly broke down in the prolonged South African War: a result amply sufficient to show conclusively that this system of division of labour in the work of maintaining national existence was clearly out of date, and would be inapplicable in any of the struggles sure to come in the new-born twentieth century. This was obvious to all who watched that war, and could easily have been made equally obvious to all classes of dwellers in Great Britain and the need for radical change have been convincingly driven home. Our military resources in men and material had been dried up. I know of a lieutenant of the Naval Reserve who was appointed an officer of Yeomanry; at one time we had but forty field-guns in Great Britain. What a chance for either a real statesman or some soldier of commanding position to have spoken out so forcibly to us dwellers at home as to persuade us to 'ring out the old,' 'ring in the new!' But the glorious opportunity was let slip, and now, only ten years later, we are paying the penalty.

We have continued to adhere and are adhering firmly to the out-of-date, antiquated delegation of home-defence duty by those of us unwilling, to those of us willing to undertake it, but in the very mildest form, and to the extent only that they choose to undertake it; their efficiency has been deliberately put in the secondary position, so even the division of labour has become a farce. And now, if we send out of the country the so-called

expeditionary force, the land home-defence forces that will take their place will be nothing more than a tinkered-up composite machine, painfully ludicrous to compare with the opponents against which it will be called into play. The nation that Germany desires to cripple is, I repeat, the individual inhabitants of this island; and these inhabitants have been utterly misled since the South African War by the people in power—of course, unintentionally—as to their security against being crushed. First came the 'sleep safe in bed' theory, we being told that the Navy as our guard against invasion was impregnable; this has now given way to statements, founded purely on theories, as to the number of thousands of invaders who could manage to effect a landing in a certain time through a possible crack in the naval screen; this is followed by statements as to how many ill-trained nominal soldiers could be collected to stand in their way. Then have come expressions of changing views and opinions as to the amount of troops of the regular army that would be at home to 'stiffen' the untrained defenders; this began with *nil*, but now is something the number and value of which is an unknown quantity; in short, from first to last the delegation of national duty and evasion in its performance has been and still is the principle.

And it all comes back to the oft-repeated question: What under the present system will be the outlook, not for the geographical entity called Great Britain, which an invader does not want to crush, but for you and me that dwell in Great Britain and whom it is his aim and object to crush, when, if the crack comes in the naval cuirass, he proceeds to pour in through it? Our army will be gone, and a rough calculation shows that to maintain it at its original numerical strength some 4000 men more must leave this country monthly to join it. Awakened at last by the realisation of personal peril, there will be a rush to arms for self-preservation, and we know what that means; it was shown in France under far more favourable conditions in 1870-71: crowds asking to be taught to fight, and only a few soldiers to teach them; schools of hundreds of would-be learners, and only a master or two to teach. And, when sent from school with the merest smattering of fighting knowledge, with only a few men with real knowledge to command and lead them in the war, they may be wanted at any moment to hold and defeat the invader who cannot do what he would do unless he does it quickly; there must be no time allowed for rendering our defenders efficient or for the return of the expeditionary force. The six months' time for preparation, one of the seductive inducements held out to Territorials in the days of their birth, is a myth. Viscount (then Mr.) Haldane is

nominally the creator of that myth, but practically he is innocent of that terrible deception. False was the assumption, utterly misleading to the lay mind, and fraught with peril and disaster would be its acceptance as a principle in preparation for war. Yet soldiers of high position and commanding influence around the civilian Minister by their silence seemed to acquiesce in his accepting as a sound military principle that which is but a delusion and a snare. Heavy indeed on their shoulders must weigh the responsibility due to their fatal passivity. Let us suppose that this month or next month war breaks out between Germany and France, and away to the help of our ally goes our expeditionary force, who but a fool or an idiot would believe that until April or May 1912 we can safely trust ourselves to soldiers who are only in course of being manufactured?

What, then, is to be done in the very critical present condition? What is to be done to prevent ourselves, the inhabitants, being crushed by an invader? What is to be done to prevent the dissolution of the Empire by the paralysis of its heart? What is to be done to enable us, the inhabitants, to let our regular army depart to take the offensive side by side with our ally, and yet to leave us quite safe and secure?

At once commence the preparation of an instrument of war fitted for the warfare of the twentieth century, as a substitute for our present well-intentioned but unreliable, poorly trained, poorly disciplined, poorly led and indifferent land home-defenders.

And how must we set about this? By abandoning fully and frankly the delegation to others of the duty of defending us at home, and by taking on ourselves that duty, in one form or another—it may be in the form of personal bodily service, it may be in increased contribution to the cost, it may be in the loss of personal service given to us by others, it may be in the disappointment as to the future of those in whom we are most deeply interested; but every one of us, from highest to lowest, taking some part or other more or less directly in it, and sacrificing something or other: universal sharing some way or other in the common duty. And in this way we will build up a thoroughly well prepared and trained force for our home defence. Cost money it certainly will, cost time and patient toil and labour it certainly will, cost discomfort and inconvenience all round it certainly will; but the outcome will repay the cost cent. per cent. And one great advantage for rapid progress in the building up of our new army is that in the existence of our 250,000 Territorials we certainly possess much to help us in the work. Doubtless a certain number of them will by the fate of the ballot be drawn into this army, and among them not a few able at once to be given positions of trust, control, and command in it; doubt-

less not a few would, with a real professional future before them, voluntarily be transferred to it. The numerical annual strength of the first quota we are to furnish for our army being determined, for every Territorial on whom the lot falls, and for every Territorial who voluntarily transfers his service to it, one less shall we send from absolutely untrained men who are not Territorials. As for the rest of the Territorials, they remain as such, for we cannot afford to let them go in the stage of transition, except as they, so to speak, die out. It will be a huge task for the War Office and the country to elaborate and carry out, and we may have for a time to give less attention to purely Imperial questions; but self-preservation is the law of nature, and 'White Fang' is right.

Whether this compulsory service at home will affect adversely the voluntary service for our army abroad is a question on which opinions are divided, and it can be determined by experience only; but the soundness of the heart is absolutely necessary, and alone enables the limbs to do their work; therefore that must be the first consideration.

How, then, is this great fundamental change of national life to be effected? What is the first thing to be done? That which is the most difficult of all, but which if accomplished all else will follow easily. It is to convince the inhabitants of Great Britain, first of the peril in which they stand with regard to Germany, next of the permanence of that peril, owing to the permanency of the conflict in interests, and then of the urgent need to concentrate at once our very best personal efforts and energies to neutralise it. Gambetta, when he initiated at Tours the War of National Defence, urged his countrymen, and successfully, *to think of nothing* but that defence. And in the same way the dwellers in Great Britain must be induced not to let the social burning questions of the hour monopolise their thoughts and minds as they are doing at present. Important truly are the conditions of pay and work for railway employés, for dock-labourers, for miners, for transport men; important for us is the housing problem; important is national insurance; important with some is tariff reform and land valuation; important, doubtless, is the double or single chamber legislation; important are the relations between the heart of the Empire and the outlying fragments and dependencies; but towering above all in importance to all, and at the same time the very bed-rock on which all else rests, the very root from which they spring, and without which they wither and disappear and utterly cease to exist or have any being, is the security of the island on which these various classes live from intrusion by a foreign foe. Mere intrusion alone will suffice to produce for a time something like chaos; a stay means

annihilation of all hopes and interests whatever. But the difficulty lies in getting the inhabitants to think just now about anything except that which, in their judgment, affects their private personal interests and present well-being and comfort.

Yet for the movement of real home-defence to be effective it must come from us, the inhabitants, who are the electorate of the country. The representatives we send to the House of Commons are useless in the matter; they are either in collar and chain to their party leaders, or are afraid to lose votes by advocating measures the popularity of which with their constituents is more than doubtful, and thus apparently letting go into the background measures which are of personal interest to their supporters. And yet I know that in the House of Commons there are some 150 members personally in favour of compulsory service. Still less probable is it that either leader, Mr. Asquith or Mr. Bonar Law, will, of their own initiative, avow themselves in favour of aught but the miserable and insufficient *status quo*. And not without some show of reason from the political standpoint. It might be awkward for either of those gentlemen to get on his legs in the House of Commons and boldly state the tension of the national relations between Germany and ourselves, and its permanence of character; to point out the inadequacy of our land home-army to meet the possible results of that antagonism; and to follow this up by proposing measures to make good our shortcomings: there would probably be many warm 'conversations' between Berlin and St. James's. So the initiative must come from ourselves; we must express ourselves so determinedly, so firmly, to both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law that they will have no alternative but to carry out our demands. Germany will then know that it is we ourselves, we inhabitants, that are determined to prepare ourselves against the peril with which she is menacing us, and that the action we are taking is not the outcome of some deep political or diplomatic policy. In so doing we shall gain, at all events, the respect of our foes and the confidence of our allies. Our peril is indisputable. How can I induce my fellow-countrymen, my fellow-inhabitants, to believe in it and induce them to adopt at once our only chance of safety—the taking our land defence into our own hands?

Most deeply do I appreciate the opportunity which the Editor of this Review is again giving me, as he has so often done in the past, to try and impress on its readers my views on this vitally important matter of home land-defence. But I fully realise what little practical effect the putting before them those views will have in influencing them towards action. Possibly they may read this article, and then they will forget all about it. It is not

by printer's ink alone that either masses or classes are to be really interested and moved. What is needed is a real, active, everyday, working, word-of-mouth crusade against the fatal indifference with which from one end of Great Britain to the other the matter is treated.

The weight of years and the insufficiency of dollars prevent me taking the active part I would like to take in arousing others; but surely there must be plenty of men young and strong among the well-to-do unemployed; there must be newspapers whose proprietors and editors are alive to the situation, and who could become apostles for preaching the gospel of duty with its reward of safety, warning all in season and out of season that, pleasant as is the way of selfish passiveness, it surely sooner or later will end in national and individual destruction.

And, taking into consideration certain very recent utterances by men in positions of influence, I am not altogether hopeless of an approaching movement in the right direction. The Earl of Derby is the Vice-Chairman of the Lancashire Territorial Force Association; he has also seen service in the field, and at one time was Financial Secretary at the War Office. Speaking in October at Preston and Warrington, he urged very strongly the adoption of compulsory service. At Preston the Mayor (Alderman N. Miller), in opening the proceedings, said that 'he trusted the time would come when every Englishman would feel it his duty to serve his country, and he believed that universal service would be a godsend to the country.' (Applause.) Lord Derby said 'he agreed with the Mayor that they had got to a point when they had done all they could by voluntary service, and would have to go a step further and make it a compulsory service. Personally, he would rather see that done now, before a disaster occurred, rather than later, when it might be too late.'

And now to another speaker, Viscount Haldane himself. Lord Haldane is a 'man of moods' in his utterances, and has the knack of gauging his audiences. At Chelmsford, on Trafalgar Day, his Lordship told the Territorials, so reports the *Essex County Chronicle*, that 'he had never said the Territorial Force need be ready or could be ready in its full development and perfection at the beginning of war; he had never said it should be used at the very beginning, but he thought that on the whole we had got the most workable conception of what we could have. . . . The quality of the Territorial Force was engaging attention more than anything else.' And then the damaging admission: 'They had to avoid putting too much strain on the men, particularly the officers, but they also had to try to maintain a regular and permanent force.' But neither he nor Major-General Cowan, the Inspector of the Territorial Force, who spoke

subsequently, gave any inkling as to its efficiency; numbers were the one topic.

A few days later, however, at Birmingham, Lord Haldane again addressed the Territorials. In opening the proceedings, the Lord Mayor (Alderman Bowater) boldly said that 'if the Territorial Army was not well trained, there was only one thing, and that was to make service in the home army compulsory,' a declaration received with 'loud cheers.' Now though the greater part of Lord Haldane's speech dealt in no way with efficiency, but with numbers, mobilisation, and transport, the Northern environment and the 'loud cheers' seem to have had a bracing effect on his Lordship. The last part of the speech I give *literatim* from the *Birmingham Daily Post*; most important is it, for never previously, so far as I know, has Lord Haldane referred to compulsory service in words so friendly, so weighty, never before has he put the adoption of it on so high a level. The italics are my own.

THE QUESTION OF COMPULSORY SERVICE.

The Territorial Force had a deeper meaning than was attached to it in the newspapers. It was part of our national life. He believed it to be an institution that had come to stay. It might develop; it might come to be based some day on compulsory service. (Cheers.) He saw some applauding and some shaking their heads. He was going to say about that what he had said about the recruiting in future: It was perfectly useless speculating a long time ahead. He was one of those who liked to be off with the old love before he was on with the new. (Laughter.) And he was not just so certain how he should get on with the new love of that kind before, at any rate, a good many years had rolled over the head of the nation. He did not see it at the present time, and if that were true he was bound to plead for the situation as he found it, and not to run the risk that they might fall between two stools with the result that they would not have any Territorial Force at all. Therefore, he must turn a somewhat deaf ear to the voice of the charmers. (Laughter.) He was a practical person, and he preferred to rely on, and appeal to, what was the real foundation of the Territorial Force as it was to-day. *What would be really the foundation if service became compulsory, if the nation were minded to carry it, and that was enthusiasm to the State. And it was to that enthusiasm, the feeling for King and country, the feeling for the deeper meaning in those things, that he appealed in urging them all to treat the matter as one that concerned not themselves, but the nation as a whole, and to realise that it was the duty of every man—aye, of every woman—to try and bring in someone to serve the State in the cause of making its defence secure.* (Loud applause.)

A few more out-speaking local chief civic authorities, some more 'applause' and 'loud cheers,' and the Secretary of State for War may find it not only easy, but most desirable for the sake of his and our country to be 'off with the old love and on with the new.'

It will be very repellent, no doubt, after all these years of quiet comfort, to find ourselves imperatively summoned to be

'up and doing' and standing to arms for perhaps an indefinite period; but unless we accept the burden and the duty, we have but a poor chance of holding our own in the day foreshadowed by the members of that small trading community in Germany who are reported to have said, in declining a friendly invitation to this country: 'Yes, we will come some day or other, but it will be when we choose, and *uninvited*.' Do let us, not only as a nation, but as those who *are* the nation, accept life with its strife and its burdens as it really is, and not as, in our love of peace and comfort, we should like it to be.

LONSDALE HALE.

P.S.—Since this article was written there has been issued the November number of the *Journal* of the Royal United Service Institution, containing a translation of an article which appeared in the *Deutsche Revue*, May 1911. Its title is 'German and British Naval Armaments as a product of Historical Development and of Maritime Strategy,' the writer being Vice-Admiral Baron von Maltzahn. In granting leave for the article to appear in the *Journal* the Admiral has expressed a hope that the publication, at the present time, of a dispassionate statement on the question of Naval Armaments may have a beneficial effect. The Admiral in his excellent article shows conclusively the inevitable permanency of national conflicting antagonisms in the twentieth century, a matter I have here endeavoured to impress on my readers. His views cannot be too widely disseminated in this country at the present time.

L. H.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

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